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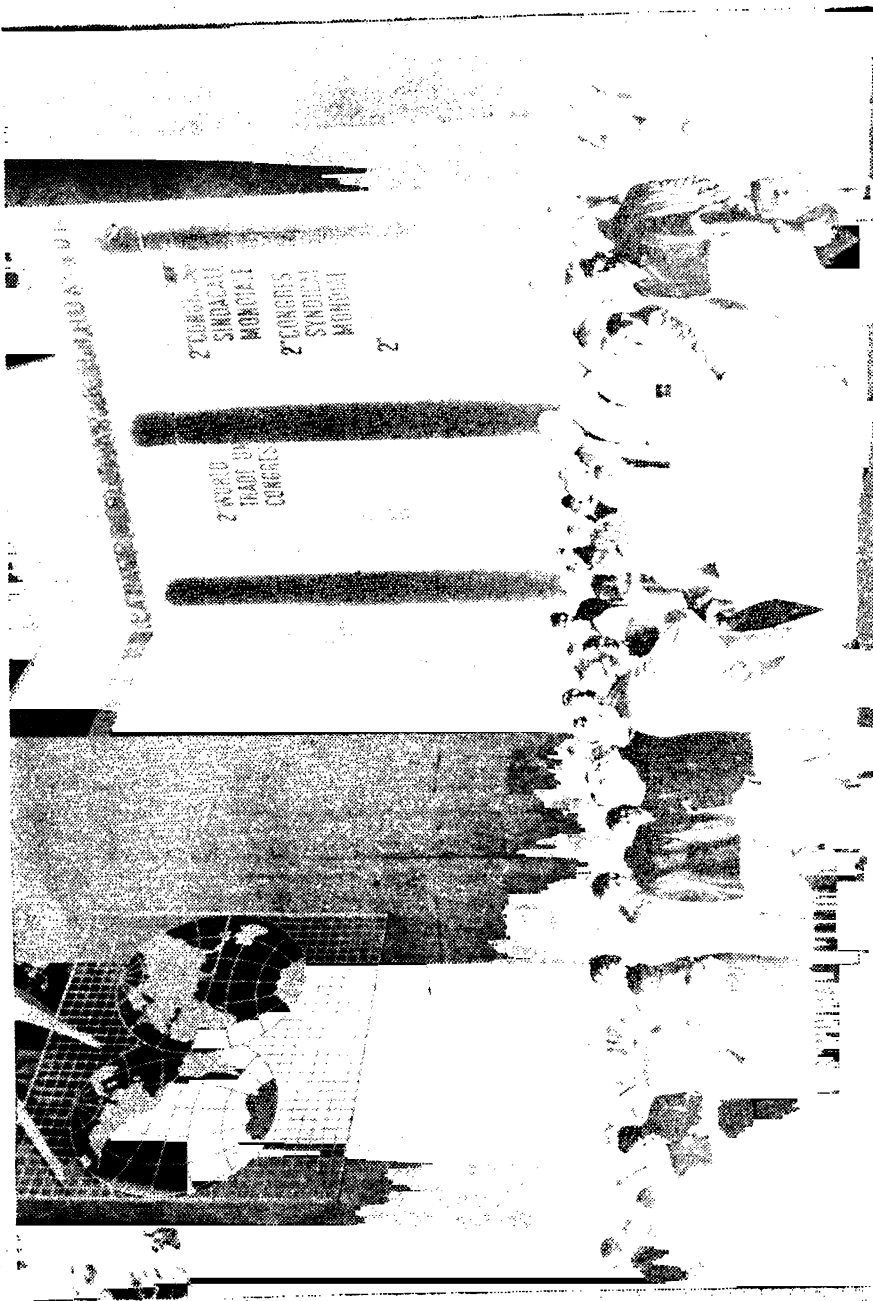
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IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

29 June — 9 July 1949

Palazzo dell'Arte

MILAN (Italy)

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS



WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

PARIS

AGENDA

- 1) *Election of the Praesidium of the Congress.*
- 2) *Adoption of the Agenda of the Congress.*
- 3) *Election of the Credentials Committee.*
- 4) *Election of the Standing Orders Committee.*
- 5) *Election of the Nominations Committee.*
- 6) *Report on the General Activity of the WFTU.*
Rap. Louis SAILLANT (WFTU General Secretary).
- 7) *General policy and action of the WFTU for the international trade union unity and in favour of peace and the defence of the democratic rights of the peoples.*
Rap. V. V. KUZNETSOV (USSR),
F. SANTI (Italy).
- 8) *Action by the WFTU and the affiliated National Centres for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers.*
Rap. B. FRACHON (France),
A. ZAWADZKI (Poland),
S. A. WICKREMASINGHE (India and Ceylon).
- 9) *Implementation of Article 13 of the Constitution of the WFTU concerning the Trade Departments.*
Rap. G. DI VITTORIO (Italy),
B. GEBERT (Sec. of the WFTU).
- 10) *Trade Union activity in the Asian, Australasian, African and Latin-American countries.*
Rap. LIU NING-I (China),
E. THORNTON (Australia),
A. LE LÉAP (France),
V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Latin America).
- 11) *The problem of the Migration of Labour. Equality of Economic and Social Rights for Immigrant Workers.*
Rap. R. BIROSSI (Italy).
- 12) *Election of the General Council, the Executive Committee and the Auditors.*
- 13) *Fixation of the place and date of the next Congress.*

CHAIRMEN OF THE SESSIONS

<i>June 29th</i>	morning	G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).
<i>June 30th</i>	morning	V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Mexico).
" "	afternoon	HASSEIN SADAOUI (Tunisia UST).
<i>July 1st</i>	morning	A. LE LÉAP (France).
" "	afternoon	S. A. WICKREMASINGHE (Ceylon).
<i>July 2nd</i>	morning	B. BLOKZIJL (Netherlands).
" "	afternoon	G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).
<i>July 3rd</i>	No session.	
<i>July 4th</i>	morning	A. LE LÉAP (France).
" "	afternoon	V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Mexico).
<i>July 5th</i>	morning	V. V. KUZNETSOV (USSR).
" "	afternoon	V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Mexico).
<i>July 6th</i>	morning	J. KOLSKY (Czechoslovakia).
<i>July 7th</i>	morning	E. HUUNONEN (Finland).
" "	afternoon	G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).
<i>July 8th</i>	morning	B. BLOKZIJL (Netherlands).
" "	afternoon	G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).
<i>July 9th</i>	morning	G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).

VERBATIM REPORT OF THE SESSIONS

SESSION OF 29th JUNE 1949

11 a. m.

Opening of the Congress

THE GENERAL SECRETARY (*L. Saillant*) : Comrades, I declare the IInd World Trade Union Congress open.

In accordance with the tradition of our International Trade Union Organisations, we feel that the Congress should propose the representative of the CGIL, the trade union organisation of the country in which the IInd World Trade Union Congress is taking place, as Chairman of the Congress and ask him to make the opening speech. We are consulting the Congress on this proposal. We do not think that there will be any objections; we therefore call on our comrade Di Vittorio to take the Chair and make the opening speech.

THE PRESIDENT (*G. Di Vittorio*).

Comrade delegates,

In the name of the CGIL and all the Italian workers, I welcome you to Italy and to the great town of Milan, the capital of the proletariat and of the productive and economic activity of our country. The Italian workers are proud of the honour which has been done them by the fact of holding the Second World Trade Union Congress in Italy; they are also proud to greet in you, comrade delegates, the qualified representatives of the workers of the whole world. I am sure that you will retain pleasant memories of Italy, for all Italians will show you that spirit of hospitality and kindness which characterises our people.

Many events have occurred since the First Constituent Congress of our WFTU in 1945, which have profoundly changed the situation in the world as well as the internal situation of many countries.

All these changes naturally very closely affect the working class and the workers, who are, in our epoch, the principal protagonists of History.

At the time of our first Congress in 1945, the second world war, which had cost so much bloodshed and so much ruin to humanity, had only just ended in the historic victory of the peoples against fascism and nazism. That war, which was waged by the popular masses

for the cause of liberty, democracy, social progress, the emancipation and national independence of the peoples, strengthened the bonds of solidarity between the workers of all countries and between the peoples of all continents, of all nationalities, race and religions.

The triumph of the forces of democracy and progress over fascism and nazism had revived the hope of the workers and the peoples of seeing an era of social justice, of well-being, of liberty and of national independence, particularly among the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. In every country, programmes of social reform were drawn up aimed at modifying the structure of the economic regime of capitalism, with the purpose of cutting down the privileges of the trusts, the private monopolies, the rich classes—who had created and utilised fascism—and of providing a little more well-being for the workers, more liberty and national independence for the peoples, and above all of ensuring the world of a stable peace.

This new phase in the history of human progress was characterised particularly by the unprecedented flow of millions of workers into really free and independent trade unions. New trade unions arose, both in Europe and Latin America and in the colonial countries of Asia and Africa where millions of pitilessly exploited workers were organised for the first time and began to fight for their economic demands and for their trade union rights as well as for their democratic liberties and their national independence.

It was in this atmosphere of strengthened international solidarity and new hopes of social and national liberation of the workers of all countries, that our great World Federation of Trade Unions was born, uniting right from the outset more than 64 million organised workers in 52 countries of the five continents of the world, and it is the unforgettable honour of the WFTU that it united for the first time in a single organisation such a great number of workers of all continents and of all races.

Thus our great WFTU arose as the living expression of the new stage of history opened by the victory of the peoples over fascism. This stage is characterised by the entry into the trade union combat and into the struggle for human progress of new sections of workers, embracing millions of men and women of all countries, and by the unanimous will of these workers to be united and to fight in unity for the improvement of their living standards, so that fascism might never more be reborn and so that never again should humanity be steeped in blood by a new war.

Yes, the WFTU is—and always will be—the flag-bearer of this desire of the workers of the whole world for well-being, social progress, liberty, national independence and peace. These were the aims for which the popular masses of the different countries consented to make so many heroic sacrifices during the war of liberation; these are the fundamental aims laid down for humanity in the Constitution of the WFTU by its first Congress in Paris. And the WFTU will always remain faithful to these aims, which are more alive than ever in the hearts of the workers of all tendencies and of all races.

During those first years of existence, the WFTU did some good work in spite of all the obstacles which were placed in its path, sometimes even within its ranks. It gave effective assistance to the

workers in different regions, particularly to those in many colonial countries as well as to those in fascist countries such as Spain, Greece and others, where the workers are subjected to savage exploitation and to bloody oppression. The WFTU has made use of all possible tribunes such as that of the Economic and Social Council of UNO, that of the ILO and many others, to denounce the crimes committed by the governments and imperialist powers against the workers. It has denounced the infringement of trade union rights and democratic liberties, and very often it has been able to save workers and active trade unionists from death.

Our WFTU has been at the heart of the struggles of the workers for their economic and social demands; it has maintained very close solidarity links between the trade union organisations of many countries. As a result of its struggles, the workers have been able, in different countries, to win new rights and important improvements in their living standards while the trade union movement has developed throughout the world.

At the same time, a number of countries of new democracy achieved both in agriculture, industry and trade, far-reaching social reforms with which the workers were able to break for all time the age-old chains of the capitalist regime and the great landowners, thereby providing the fundamental conditions for the building of a new society free from the exploitation of man by man and liberating themselves for ever from enslavement, unemployment and misery and their concomitants of suffering and pain. The labour and democratic movement of the whole world was strengthened by this fact.

But the trust, the private monopolies, the privileged classes and the imperialists do not want this; they want to prevent any social progress, they want to drive back the labour movement, they want to force the wheel of History to turn backwards, while it can do nothing other than go forward.

It is for this reason in particular that the most powerful imperialists, those of the United States and Great Britain, have destroyed the solidarity which existed between the allied powers who together won the war against fascism and nazism; it is above all for this reason that they have unleashed an odious campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and against the other countries in which the workers have liberated themselves for ever from all forms of exploitation; it is for this reason that they want at any cost to divide the world, and they seek to drag the workers themselves into this division; it is for this reason again that they have organised, by means of the Atlantic Pact, an imperialist military coalition, and that they are actively working to start a new war aimed at guaranteeing their economic and political domination of the world. But the workers and the peoples ardently desire peace, and they are in a position to impose their will for peace.

I am certain, comrade delegates, that our Congress, expressing the profound sentiments of all the workers, will loudly declare that the WFTU will firmly oppose itself to any division of the world and that it will fight vigorously to safeguard peace between all the peoples.

In connection with the threat of war, a wave of reaction against the working class and its trade union movement has been unleashed

in nearly all the capitalist countries and particularly in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. A peculiarity of this reaction is that it is carried on in the name of a so-called democracy—a “democracy” which serves as an instrument of the same capitalist and agrarian classes which created fascism, and which is not ashamed to adopt the *fascist ideology based on political discrimination*, the outlawing of certain opinions and of certain political groupings while awaiting the banning of others with the exception of those which practise absolute obedience to the dominant classes.

Naturally, reaction pursues two principal aims; those of the annihilation of trade union rights and democratic liberties in order to be able to subject the workers to unlimited exploitation, and of depriving the workers of the legal possibility of giving effect to their desire for peace, so as to be able to unleash the war which is being prepared.

As always, capitalism attempts by war and increased exploitation of the workers to ward off the economic crises to which it continuously gives rise. The present situation, indeed, is characterised by an economic depression which is worsening in nearly all the capitalist countries including the most powerful, such as the United States, where production is tending to contract in several important branches and where unemployment is on the up-grade.

There is one fact, comrades, which it is not in the power of anyone to conceal from the workers of the world: a fact more powerful than the atomic bomb or any secret weapon; the fact that it is only in the Soviet Union and in the other countries which have destroyed the capitalist regime that there are no more crises, nor economic depression nor unemployment; it is only in these countries that production is rising unceasingly and that the economic and cultural well-being of the working masses is rising at a parallel rate.

And that this fact is more powerful than all the arms has just been confirmed by the Chinese people, to whom we send our fraternal greetings and the hope of a rapid and final victory.

Comrades,

In the present conditions of the workers in all capitalist countries and still more in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it is obvious that the first essential task for our trade unions is that of tightening our ranks, strengthening trade union unity, organising a vigorous struggle for the defence of the workers' bread, for the defence and improvement of their living standards, for the defence and conquest of trade union rights and democratic liberties, for the defence of the supreme possession of humanity: Peace.

In these conditions, comrades, in which the activity, unity and strength of the international trade union movement are more indispensable than ever, who could benefit from asking for “the suspension of all activity” of our WFTU? Who could benefit from attempting to break international trade union unity and to diminish the strength of the WFTU? Who, other than the provokers of war and the reaction mongers? Everything is clear; it is in the service of these gentlemen that the splitters are working.

This is why I am sure that our Congress will approve the firm

attitude of the majority of the retiring Executive Bureau and Committee, which victoriously opposed both the liquidation of the WFTU and the attempts to disrupt it.

Every split is an unhappy event. We are conscious of having done everything possible to avoid it. To have succeeded in doing so, one condition alone was indispensable: that everyone desired to serve honestly the cause of the working class. *But this was not the case* with our splitters.

Now, they want to force the WFTU to be the organisation of only a part of the working class of the world.

No, the WFTU was and always will be the united trade union organisation of all the workers; the WFTU is the sole united organisation of the workers since it is the only one which admits of no discrimination, be it political, ideological, religious or racial.

Comrades,

The Congress is going to discuss and take its decisions on all these questions.

I am sure that our Congress will strengthen trade union unity and will reply to the hopes and confidence which more than 70,000,000 workers have placed in our WFTU.

Dishonour to those who are dividing the workers. Dishonour to those who are arousing discriminations and sowing discord among the workers!

Honour to the workers and to the militant trade unionists who have given their lives for the cause of the emancipation of labour!

Honour to all the militants who are fighting, even in conditions of fascist terror, for the workers' bread, for liberty and for peace!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKERS!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS!

(*Hearty applause.*)

Election of the Praesidium of the Congress

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). According to the Standing Orders of the Congress, we must now proceed to the election of the Praesidium composed of ten members who will preside over the work of the Congress in rotation. Have the delegates any proposals to make on the election of the Praesidium?

I call on Comrade Peña of Cuba.

L. PENA (*Cuba*). The Latin American Countries propose that the Congress should adopt a Praesidium of 10 comrades representing the following countries: Africa, Latin America, China, France, Finland, Italy, India and Ceylon, Holland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). You have heard the proposal which Comrade Peña has just made. Have you any objections or new proposals to make to the Congress?

A. ZAWADZKI (*Poland*). On behalf of the Polish delegation I support the proposal of Comrade Peña of Cuba. The Polish delegation

considers that the proposed Praesidium will represent all the trade unions of our respective countries. I therefore move the adoption of the composition of the Praesidium as it has been suggested to you by Comrade Peña of Cuba.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Are there any objections to the proposal made by Comrade Peña?

The proposal was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

(Applause.)

The Chairman asked the delegations to indicate the names of their candidates.

He announced that a delegation of workers from a Milan factory wished to pay tribute to the delegates of the WFTU. This delegation greeted the Congress and presented it with flowers.

The Chairman called on the Mayor of Milan who had come to greet the Congress in the name of the city.

THE MAYOR OF MILAN. Dear Congress members, I am happy to greet the World Trade Union Congress on behalf of the municipality of the City of Milan (*applause*). At the same time I express my welcome to the delegates of neighbouring or distant countries who have come to take part in the work of the Congress.

Milan is a great democratic community which regards with sympathy and confidence the meetings and exchanges of view-points between the representatives of millions of workers. Cutting across different political ideologies, there is universal and uniting significance in conscious and creative human activity. The problems of labour are at the same time the problems of peace and civilisation. The delegations present here are the expression of the ideal of the different peoples of Europe and of the whole world. Our heartfelt thoughts go out to these peoples with the hope and the desire for an ever more intimate and constructive comprehension and collaboration so that not only today, but in the future, humanity shall be nothing other than an eternal Congress of Workers united by a supreme ideal of justice and liberty (*applause*).

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, I am certain of speaking for you in very warmly thanking the Mayor of Milan who has expressed the fraternal sentiments of the Milanese towards our great World Congress.

Election of the Commissions and Committees of the Congress

The Standing Orders of the Congress now require us to appoint certain Commissions and Committees. The first, the Credentials Committee must begin its work immediately. I propose that we proceed to the election of this Committee which in accordance with the rules must be composed of 9 members. Are there any objections as regards the number of persons composing this Committee? Has anyone any proposals to make on the subject of the election of this Committee?

G. ROVEDA (*Italy*). I propose for the Credentials Committee the 9 following countries : the Soviet Union, France, Italy, Chile, Hungary, the Netherlands, Rumania, Germany and Yugoslavia.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Are there any objections to the proposal made by the Italian Comrade ?

Since there are no objections, the proposal is adopted; each of the delegations from these countries should nominate a delegate.

Still within the terms of our Standing Orders, we must proceed to set up a Standing Orders Committee composed of 9 members. Any objections to this number ? The Committee will therefore be composed of 9 members. Do any comrades have any observations to make on the composition of this Commission ?

G. MONMOUSSEAU (*France*). The French, Italian and Czechoslovak delegations propose a delegate from each of the following countries to constitute the Standing Orders Committee :

USSR, France, Italy, Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, Australia, Union of South Africa.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). You have heard Comrade Monmousseau's proposal. Have you any objections to put forward ?

Since there are no objections, the proposal made by Comrade Monmousseau is adopted unanimously. We request the delegations of the aforementioned countries to hand in to the Secretariat the name of their candidate.

We must also set up the Nominations Commission, namely the Commission which has the task of receiving and examining all the proposals as regards the election of the Executive Bureau and Committee and the General Council of the WFTU. This Commission is composed of 7 members. Are there any proposals on the composition of this Commission ?

L. SOLOVIEV (*USSR*). I propose the following countries : USSR, Italy, China, Bulgaria, France, State of Israel and Brazil.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). The Soviet delegation proposes that the Nominations Commission should be composed of one representative from the USSR, one from France, and one from each of the following countries : Italy, China, Bulgaria, the State of Israel and Brazil.

Is there any opposition ?

The proposal of the Soviet delegation was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN. The delegations named are requested to send in the names to the Congress Secretariat.

Comrades, we have now concluded the constitution of the Praesidium and the committees of our Congress. I now call on Comrade Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU to give the report of activity of our great world Organisation. (*Hearty applause.*)

(The Congress stood in greeting of the General Secretary.)

General Report of Activity

THE GENERAL SECRETARY.

Comrades,

At last we are meeting together in this World Trade Union Congress. Your national trade union delegations are here to give their opinion on the activity of our organisation since its foundation in Paris in October 1945. We also intend, during this Second Congress of the WFTU, to determine the future orientation and action of our world organisation. As our meeting-place, our choice has fallen on this city of Milan whose working men and women of all professions and trades are deeply attached to that spirit of international solidarity which we, by this Congress, are putting into concrete practice. Last year the Executive Committee of the WFTU met in Rome. By returning to Italy, we show our confidence in the CGIL and pay renewed homage to the fraternal hospitality which is one of the finest traditions of the Italian people.

The Congress will agree that the WFTU should send to all Italian workers—without distinction as to political or religious opinion—friendly greetings from the international working class movement. These greetings come from the millions of men and women who, all over the world, wish the working population of this country a future of social progress and security and of peace and happiness.

In our voluminous—perhaps too voluminous—written report, we have already given you a broad outline of the activity of the WFTU between 15th October 1945 and 30th April 1949, with a summary of the part played in each country by the Affiliated National Trade Union Centres.

This 600-page report covers all aspects of the work done. It can be considered as the report of a period of international trade union history which will be of use to trade union organisations long after the end of this Congress.

The discussions which will take place here on the report must further enrich the document we have prepared. Discussion from this platform, and about it, must be free. It *will* be free. Each delegation must contribute its observations, remarks, and criticisms in the full exercise of its right of control, in the fullest exercise of the sovereign powers of the Congress of a democratic organisation such as ours.

At the opening of this discussion, we must recall the mission entrusted to the WFTU by the London World Trade Union Congress of February 1945 and by the First World Trade Union Congress of Paris.

We are tempted to put immediately to this Congress the following question: *Has the WFTU in the 45 months of its existence respected the spirit and the letter of the decisions and resolutions adopted in 1945?* For this must be the central question to be answered if we are to judge seriously the Report of Activity.

Let us prepare ourselves to answer this essential question. Let me begin by presenting, within this Congress, some portions of the answer.

And to do so, let us go into the details of our Constituent Charter. At each point of this discussion, let us analyse our attitude with regard to the following ten statutory objectives :

1) *The WFTU was to assist, wherever necessary, the workers in countries socially or industrially less developed to set up their trade unions. Has this assistance been given ?*

—Yes, this assistance has been undertaken. Our missions to Iran, to South Africa, North Africa, the Dakar Trade Union Conference, our participation in the 3rd Trade Union Congress of Latin America, our relations with the trade union movements of the Asian countries support this affirmation. But it remains true that this assistance has been clearly insufficient, both materially and morally. We must recognise this openly. We know the causes and those responsible, but as it is a matter of our responsibility too, we can assure the workers of these countries that all available means for coming to their assistance were employed.

2) *The WFTU was to carry on the struggle for the extermination of all Fascist forms of government and every manifestation of Fascism, under whatever form it operates and by whatever name it might be known. Has this struggle been begun and carried on ?*

—The uncompromising attitude of the WFTU towards Fascism is well known. So are our activities since they have been public. Our opposition to the Fascist regime of Franco, for example, or against the policies of the Greek monarcho-fascists has been heard both within the General Assembly of the United Nations and among the masses of the people in all countries. Every time that Fascist methods of government were used against the workers, the voice of the WFTU has made itself heard. It is our resolute and consistent anti-Fascist action which has earned us the reproach of being an organisation more political than trade union. The finest tribute that can be paid to the WFTU is to criticise it for its anti-Fascism, since Fascism is the destroyer of trade unions. It suppresses the democratic rights of the workers. The WFTU cannot cease nor limit its fight against Fascism and its ideology.

3) *The WFTU was to combat war and the causes of war and work for a stable and lasting peace. Have we worked towards this end ?*

—The WFTU has always protested against the resort to force as a way of solving differences between States. We have affirmed our preference and our support for every policy of peaceful negotiation between governments, with the sovereign rights of each people respected. We have stressed that the struggle against war, as well as resistance to aggressive policies, are inseparable from a correct understanding of the causes of war. The idea of the inevitability of war has been fought against by the WFTU. It has called on all the workers of the world to take part in the Front of Defenders of Peace. The presence of the WFTU at the World Congress for Peace in Paris was an affirmation of the confidence of our organisation in the People's ability

to stop war. We have repeatedly called on the workers of all countries to be alert to the consequences of bellicose and war-like propaganda. The clear-sightedness of all peoples is the surest rampart of peace. The Executive Bureau, the Executive Committee and the General Council have not hesitated to brand as harmful and as a danger to peace the action of the international capitalist monopolies which aim at world hegemony and which, by their imperialist activities, could lead the peoples into a third World War. The world front of struggle for peace can forestall the imperialist actions and the aggressive policies of the capitalist monopolies. We have said that the people, united, can be and are the surest guarantee for the maintenance of Peace. Permanent action for a just and lasting peace is one of the "raisons d'être" of the WFTU. International reaction, the fomenters of war, the forces of international capitalism and those who bow to its dictates, recognise this when they direct their attacks against our world organisation. They redouble these attacks in proportion as the WFTU increases its activities for Peace by, in particular, putting forward a policy of friendship and agreement between the Peoples.

4) The WFTU was to give full support to the establishment of a powerful and effective international organisation armed with all necessary power to prevent aggression and maintain peace. Have we given our support to UNO in the spirit of this declaration ?

—We were the first, and for a long time, the only non-governmental organisation which publicised throughout the world, through our National Centres, and by our own propaganda, the principles on which UNO was founded. We have been and still are defenders of the United Nations Charter. Our many appeals to UNO—among others our message on the colonialist war of aggression carried on by the Dutch government against the Indonesian Republic—were on each occasion inspired by our desire to see the Security Council and the General Assembly of UNO play an effective part against military aggression and for the maintenance and restoration of Peace—respecting the rights of every people and their national independence.

5) The WFTU was to support the widest possible international cooperation in the social and economic spheres and measures for the industrial development and full utilization of the resources of the undeveloped countries. Have we carried out this recommendation of the First World Trade Union Congress ?

—In this domain, the activities of the WFTU have been continuous though limited. Our role in the Economic and Social Council has not had the breadth that we should have given it or would have liked to give it. Our Economic and Social Department, despite the importance of the work done has not developed enough to be able to face all its obligations. The National Trade Union Centres have not all collaborated with our Economic and Social Department. Our participation in the Economic Commission for Europe of the Economic and Social Council of the UN could have been more consistent and more active. We made the error of not linking the European National Centres more closely to the work of the WFTU on this subject. The same can be

said of our participation in the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Despite that, we must take note of the clearly positive aspects of our economic and social activity. Let us recall that the WFTU representative on the United Nations Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Trade and Employment in 1946 and 1947 was one of the first to unmask the policy of economic Malthusianism and monopolisation of capitalism and the American trusts, contrary to international economic cooperation. Delegates to this Congress will recall that in February 1949 the WFTU representative put before the Non Governmental Organisations Committee of the UN the point of view of our organisation and demonstrated that the basis of all international economic and social cooperation must rest on a progressive economic and social policy directed towards a continued expansion of internal markets and oriented by a long-term economic plan.

6) The WFTU was to carry on a struggle against reaction and for the full exercise of the democratic rights and liberties of all peoples. Have we followed this line of conduct, as laid down in the preamble to our Constitution ?

—The decisions of the Executive Bureau and Committee and the General Council of the WFTU offer a clear indication of the way in which our organisation has stood out against the reactionary policy in many countries. Our action on this point should have been more concrete, and, in certain cases, more positive, in particular in the sphere of solidarity and aid to victims of reaction. Our solicitude for maintaining unity in the WFTU led us in some cases, not to give the requisite breadth to the action and role of the WFTU in this matter.

7) The WFTU was to represent the interest of world labour in all international agencies whose responsibility would be to solve the problems of world organisation, resting upon agreements or conventions concluded between the United Nations, and in such other international bodies as might be decided upon by the World Federation of Trade Unions. Have we maintained this representation in the Economic and Social Council of UNO and in the Specialised Agencies, in particular the ILO ?

—We can assert that it is due to the stubborn action of the WFTU that improvements have been obtained in the rights of the non-governmental organisations within UNO in spite of the obstacles continually raised by the American and British Governments in order to make this representation ineffective. As for the ILO, which some have sought to make a subject of disagreement within the WFTU, you will recall that the WFTU, at its General Council at Prague, itself took the initiative of seeking official relations with that organisation.

8) The WFTU was to organise the common struggle of trade unions of all countries.

Against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties;

For the satisfaction of the need of the workers for security of full employment;

For the progressive improvement of wages, hours and working and living conditions of the workers;

For full and adequate social security to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accident and old age;

For the adoption of all other measures furthering the social and economic well-being of the workers.

Have we oriented and directed the action of all the Unions of the world for the application of these five decisions of the World Trade Union Congress of Paris ?

—The detailed recapitulation of the activities of the WFTU on this point, together with that of all our affiliated Trade Union Organisations, would speak for itself. This question comes under item 6 of our Congress Agenda. The Congress is fully aware of the activities of the WFTU in the defence of the exercise of trade union rights and against attempts on these rights. It was the WFTU which in February 1947 opened the great debate which is still going on both in the Economic and Social Council and the ILO on the respect of the rights of trade union organisations.

Let us add that large-scale movements in support of economic demands of the workers in many countries have been backed by the WFTU. Moreover, our Report of Activity details the special work accomplished by our organisation for the application of the principle of equal pay. The Report of Activity also contains a reminder of the precise proposals put by the WFTU to the 7th Session of the Economic and Social Council in July 1948 concerning the safeguarding of the purchasing power of wage-earners, standards of living and the principles of any clearing progressive social policy.

Concerning the question of the fight against unemployment in the world, the Congress should know officially that the WFTU has obtained its inclusion on the preliminary Agenda of the 9th Session of the Economic and Social Council which opens on 5th July 1949 at Geneva.

9) The WFTU was to organise and unite within its ranks the trade unions of the whole world, irrespective of considerations of race, nationality, religion, or political opinion. Has the WFTU failed at any time since its creation to follow this line of unity ?

—This is a question which will hold the full attention of Congress. You will note that in recent years new Trade Union Organisations have been admitted to the WFTU in accordance with this principle. It is in conformity with this recommendation that the Executive Bureau and Committee have admitted the trade unions of the following countries or regions which were not members of the WFTU in 1945 : Germany, Japan, Indonesia, Viet Nam, Northern Korea, Southern Korea, Mongolia, the Philippines, Tunisia, Trieste, Chile, Southern Rhodesia, and Siam, and that relationships have been established with the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions. Basing ourselves on these same recommen-

dations of the First World Trade Union Congress, we have fought every attempt at trade union scission or division, both on the level of the individual unions and on the international level. On the other hand, national trade union organisations have withdrawn from the WFTU during recent months with the object of restricting the world-wide character of our organisation. As a result we find before us not the problem of the world-wide character of our organisation, which character we shall preserve, but the problem of international trade union unity.

Congress will hear a special report on the question of international trade union unity as one of the essential future tasks of the WFTU.

10) *Finally, has not the WFTU sought, in accordance with this principle of unity, and always respecting the spirit and the letter of our Constitution, to plan and organise the education of trade union members on the questions of international labour unity and to awaken in them the consciousness of their individual responsibility for the realization of trade union purposes and aims?*

—On this question, the delegations present at this Congress could very usefully re-read the declarations, resolutions, messages, documents and brochures of the WFTU showing that we have entirely respected this recommendation of the First World Trade Union Congress.

It is within the limit and the framework of these 10 points that you, that we, must compare the facts and the events in which we have been concerned, with the objectives we set ourselves. It is in this way that we will arrive at an understanding of what has been done and what remains to be done. It is in this way that we will be able to estimate objectively the results achieved, the cases where we have shown weaknesses, and those where we have had successes or failures. When we speak of failures in this Congress, we must seek their causes.

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Our analysis of the facts must be frank and clear, we must not underestimate either our strength or the difficulties with which we were faced.

But at the very outset we can affirm that the WFTU has had no other policy than that unanimously laid down at the First World Trade Union Congress. We have imparted to our activities the direction and the character required by the resolutions and decisions of the Paris Congress. Our programme of work has been that set for us by the National Trade Union Centres in October 1945. Faced with these facts, nobody can assert the contrary without distorting the truth.

It must be borne in mind that the WFTU is nothing but the international association of the trade union organisations of all countries.

The scope of the activities of the WFTU therefore depends to a great extent on the activity of each national trade union movement. To the extent to which this particular activity is constructive, solid, continuous and fruitful, that of the WFTU will be more extensive and more effective.

One of the reasons for the existence of the WFTU is to coordinate the action of National Trade Union Organisations. We have not always achieved the necessary coordination which would give the WFTU all its force. During the debate on the Report of Activity we must seek out all the weak spots in the work of coordination in order rapidly to overcome them.

We do not think it necessary to adopt an attitude of complacent admiration of the WFTU and its rôle during the last few years. We are proud of our organisation, but this pride does not prevent us from criticising our own activities in the light of a just self-examination and a fair observation of events. The vanity of those who can do no wrong is a fault we leave to the splitters and dividers. (*Applause.*) Our tendency continually to seek the best attitude, the soundest position, the most correct decision—those which are the most useful and the most advantageous to the interests of the world of labour—leads us inevitably to not being full of admiration for everything we do or undertake. Our slogan is : always better today than yesterday, always more in the present than in the past. We do not retreat from criticism. We do not seek to avoid it. But we are experienced enough to be able to distinguish between criticism which is only systematic denigration, or the expression of a desire for the demoralisation and destruction of the WFTU, and the criticism which brings, in sincerity and good faith, positive solutions for the strengthening of the activity potential of our world trade union organisation.

In this Congress we are going to draw up the critical balance sheet of the positive work of the WFTU, to prepare the future of this organisation. We will have weaknesses to correct, for, like every living movement, we have weaknesses. To do that we will also have to utilise to the full our essential strength, which lies in our unshakable faith and confidence in the working men and women of the whole world (*Applause.*)

We have already heard or received some criticisms. These criticisms took the form of direct attacks against the existence of the WFTU. But we have never stayed on the defensive, nor will we ever do so.

Where have we been criticised and attacked, and by whom ?

We have been criticised and attacked in the international press right from the creation of the WFTU by those who have always been the enemies of the working class movement, those whose role is to maintain hatred among peoples and to exploit them.

We have been criticised and attacked at UNO by the Governments of the capitalist states.

We have been criticised and attacked within the WFTU by leaders of National Trade Union Centres, creating conditions ripe for the splitting of the international trade union movement and seeking to withdraw from the common action of international trade unionism.

Where have we been supported and aided and by whom ?

We have been supported and aided, in all countries, by the workers themselves, who understand the meaning of the community of interests among the workers of the world, and find no reason to justify animosity between them, whatever their race, nationality or religious or political opinions.

We have been supported and aided, at UNO, by the Governments of those countries where the working class is in power and whose policy is to practise constant and constructive cooperation with the workers' organisations.

We have been supported and aided, within the WFTU, by those National Centres which have kept their pledges to the international trade union movement and given full and loyal agreement to the elementary conceptions of international aid and solidarity.

Under what conditions have we been criticised and attacked and for what reasons ?

We have been criticised and attacked at UNO by the Governments of the capitalist countries when we sought to acquire the right to full and unrestricted representation of the workers' interests in the Economic and Social Council, together with the right to support the defence of their legitimate aspirations and claims.

We have been criticised and attacked by the governments of social and political reaction when we protested against the oppression of workers' organisations and of workers themselves.

We have been criticised and attacked by the leaders of the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) when we tried to realise the unity of the workers of the whole world within the International Trade Departments of the WFTU.

We have been criticised and attacked by the Commanders-in-Chief of the troops occupying Germany when we wanted to help the German unions of the four zones to create their Central Council of Trade Unions for the whole of Germany, and when we advocated, in Germany, a policy of total denazification up to and including the spheres of economic life.

The Commanders-in-Chief of the Western Zones of Germany have over the past two years refused all the WFTU's constructive proposals, while the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet occupying forces has on every occasion placed himself at our disposal to assist in the realisation of the WFTU's proposals.

I mention this as an omission in the report as it was distributed to you.

We have been criticised and attacked within the WFTU :

—by the representatives of the CIO on the Executive Committee as early as June 1946, because the WFTU gave its immediate and unconditional aid to the American Seamen's union of the Atlantic coast, which was fighting for increased wages.

—by the representatives of the TUC because in 1946 we approved the action of the Sailors and Dockers of Australia and New Zealand in boycotting the transport of goods destined for the Franco regime in Spain.

—by the representative of the NVV (one of the Dutch trade union organisations) on the Executive Bureau, because we condemned the military aggression of his government against the Indonesian Republic.

—by the leaders of the TUC because we denied their right to act by ultimatum in the discussions of the Executive, and because we reminded them that neither the TUC nor any other National Centre, can exercise hegemony in the WFTU, whose vitality rests on principles of fraternal cooperation between the National Trade Union Centres.

—by those members of the Executive Bureau who organised the split, when we refused to lend ourselves to the manoeuvre of the State Department, which hoped in 1947 and 1948 to make the Marshall Plan a source of discord on the Executive Bureau and of disintegration of the WFTU.

—by the representatives of the TUC on the Executive Bureau because we wished to come out clearly for the defence of Comrade Paparigas, General Secretary of the Greek General Confederation of Labour before he was assassinated in an Athens prison.

—by those who have split the international trade union movement because the WFTU would not give international backing to the splitting activity of the « Force Ouvrière » in France.

—by those who, at the time, completely sabotaged the sending of a WFTU mission to Palestine, the organisation of the Pan-Asiatic Trade Union Conference, the intervention of the WFTU when it sought a solution to the trade union dispute in Berlin between the FDGB and UGO, and the convening of a trade union conference to study the safety and health of the workers in industrial enterprises.

This list could be lengthened. It gives eloquent proof that every time we sought to apply concretely and to the letter the decisions of the Congress, of the General Council or of the Executive Committee; when we sought to remain faithful to the trade union principles admitted by the Constitution of the WFTU, we met with opposition even on the Executive Bureau.

Could we consider these criticisms, can we now consider them, as inspired by the wish to make our organisation something living, useful, directed only to the permanent defence of the interests of the workers and of their international unity? Certainly not.

What meaning can be given to these criticisms? Are they not in reality deliberate withdrawals in the face of the action which became necessary, whether in application of the decisions taken by our controlling bodies, or as a result of international political and social events?

In the end this could only lead to unrest, in spite of our concessions to avoid it. The airy manner in which the representatives of the TUC, the CIO and the NVV left the January 1949 session of the Executive Bureau is an edifying illustration of the attitude of those responsible for this unrest.

It was in the last three months of 1947 that the unrest showed itself openly and revealed its true origins.

The practice of international trade union unity presupposed the existence of a real desire for cooperation. An atmosphere of collab-

oration, within one and the same international organisation, between national trade union movements different in structure and even in ideology, can only be created by the sincere recognition of the validity of the rules and decisions reached in common. The first condition of the maintenance of unity is loyal and whole-hearted adhesion to the idea of unity itself. He who is not convinced of the necessity of unity quickly becomes a willing or unwilling instrument of disintegration of this international trade union unity. This work of disintegration begins by the refusal to apply agreements arrived at. It quickly spreads to attacking the organisation itself. This was the evolution of the acts of those who sought to destroy the common achievements of 1945. All we have ever asked of them is to carry out together that which we decided on together. Our only activities have been those in accordance with the limits of our responsibilities and means.

It was clearly apparent, less than six months after the General Council of the WFTU in June 1947, that intrigue had penetrated in to the executive bodies of the WFTU. It aimed at nothing less than the disruption, the disappearance of our organisation.

It was brought home to us that for certain people the truth was no longer the truth, once the aim was to break first the moral unity, and then the organic unity of the WFTU. On the Executive of the WFTU we beheld the penetration of the most blatant sectarianism, which aimed at making impossible any decision in common, in order to justify later the policy of the international splitters. A boundless intolerance, taking the most varied forms, became from month to month the main feature of the attitude of those members of the Executive who claimed to include tolerance in the arsenal of their democratic methods.

Here is one example among many. When the WFTU paid homage to the mortal remains of President Roosevelt, it was for all of us an act of high moral significance. But when we sent Comrade Di Vittorio a message asking him to pass on to Comrade Togliatti the best wishes of the WFTU after the attempt on his life, and when we condemned that attempt, we were accused of meddling in politics. Perhaps it was necessary for Comrade Togliatti to die before a telegram of sympathy from the WFTU could be justified, or before a gesture required by the merest humanitarian considerations could be performed. Those who criticised us openly or surreptitiously over this matter claim to be the champions of respect for the human person. It is likely that their political sectarianism will always prevent them from claiming this noblest of titles. (*Applause.*)

We were fully conscious in 1945, when the WFTU was set up, that if we were to unite the trade union organisations of workers of the most diverse races, nationalities, political and religious opinions, our organisation would have to live on the basis of a broad compromise. At that time we drew up a plan of action and a programme of trade union activity corresponding to that situation, corresponding to that compromise. The time came when the splitters themselves told us in explanation of their attitude that compromise was no longer possible. This was the most categorical rejection by them of solidarity, mutual aid, and trade union cooperation among the organised workers of the whole world. This was the explanation of their preference for and adhesion to a policy of discrimination between workers, nations and

ances. Along this road we could not follow them, nor will ever do so. This was the policy of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and one of the causes of its ineffectiveness and lamentable bankruptcy during the Second World War. It cannot be the policy of a World Trade Union Federation—of our Federation.

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The policy of the WFTU has been unambiguous. For there is an international trade union policy. Let me repeat, it is that whose content and limits we decided in 1945.

Our critics and adversaries, from the splitting trade union leaders to the government or professional representatives of capitalism and the owning classes, accused the WFTU of pursuing a Communist policy, and in moments of exasperated sectarianism they added: the policy of the WFTU is governed by that of the Soviet Government. What is behind these statements? For these people, a union is only a real union when it joins the stream of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism which we know has been, since 1917, the direction of every reactionary anti-democratic, anti-social and anti-working class policy. According to their ideas, a trade union organisation is a real organisation of workers when it joins the coalition of the enemies of a country like the USSR where 28,500,000 workers are free and voluntary members of trade unions. These trade union adversaries of the WFTU above all reproach our organisation with having the support of the 28,500,000 trade unionists of the USSR. We others are proud of the attachment of the Soviet trade unions for the WFTU (*Applause.*) Why are we proud of this attachment? This feeling is based on the fact that the Soviet trade unions play a role in their country such as no other trade union movement in other countries is capable of playing at the present time.

The Soviet trade unions have control of and responsibility for the operation of the most complete system of Social Insurance in the world. These trade unions manage the sanatoria, rest and holiday centres, childrens' colonies and they ensure the operation of tens of thousands of libraries for general culture and scientific, technical and trade training. These trade unions take part in the drawing up of wage scales and production targets. Not one "reformist" trade union in any capitalist country has the legal right and the powers of "reform" which the Soviet trade unions enjoy in the first Socialist State which the world has known. What can a trade union from one of the capitalist countries lose by maintaining permanent contact with the Soviet trade unions? Nothing. What can it gain? The fruit of the experience of collective management of social and trade institutions by the workers and for the workers. (*Applause.*)

It really needs a lot of blind sectarianism to deny these facts or to evade these correct statements. Only a narrow nationalism can turn a trade union leader away from a healthy understanding of trade union reality in the Soviet Union.

A real trade unionist is one who has his mind open to an understanding of this reality.

Will it be necessary tomorrow, in order to be a real trade unionist, to deny the growth of trade unionism in new China? On the ruins of

the Kuomintang regime of corruption under which millions of workers knew misery, unemployment and prison, a vast trade union organisation is being built within a new regime which is being created. There again we hear it said that it is not a real trade union movement because it will be grouped in its tens of millions under the flag of the WFTU to achieve its programme.

Are these motives which can justify the rupture of international trade union unity in the eyes of the workers of the world? With confidence we reply : No.

We do not believe that this split which has just taken place in the international trade union movement is complete and final. In origin it is foreign to the desire and feelings of the workers. The time will come when the absurdity of this break will appear to those who ordered it and they will have to admit their error. We do not believe that the trade union world as a whole can erect isolating compartments of wilful ignorance between one part of itself and another.

The trade union policy of the WFTU is not separated from social life. It is perfectly well understood by the workers who without needing to be asked or solicited, apply it instinctively and naturally. Take as an example the recent facts.

Nobody can accuse the British railway workers' unions of being under the domination either of the Communists or of the WFTU. But, in spite of that, their action is nothing but the application within their own country and trade of the WFTU's programme of trade union demands for the maintenance of the purchasing power of wages.

Nobody could in good faith assert that the Liverpool dockers and the Canadian seamen are under the orders of the WFTU. Yet when the first give a magnificent example of international workers' solidarity and mutual aid, on behalf of the second group, which is defending its wages and trade union organisation, this again is the WFTU programme applied by the workers themselves.

When, in France, the trade union organisations of the CGT unite, in each trade, with those of the Christian unions, for the defence of their members' demands: when this unity of action for the benefit of the workers spreads to the members of the "Force Ouvriere" unions, this again is the programme and trade union policy of the WFTU put into action by the broadest working masses.

What lesson can be learnt from all this? That the trade union policy of the WFTU is a correct and realistic policy, confirmed by daily experience. In its general principles and in its methods of application our international trade union movement must remain faithful to it.

The tactics of those who sought to destroy the WFTU is now to seek to isolate it. They will not succeed in doing so. Perhaps with the complicity of some governments they will attain the more modest objective of making difficulties for us, in certain international delegations at UNO or in the ILO, for example. We will overcome these difficulties with the backing and support of the immense majority of the organised workers of the entire world.

Perhaps also in certain countries, the leaders of the National Centres will forbid the trade unions to have contacts or relations with the WFTU and will threaten them with expulsion in order to support their anti-unity policies. We are aware of the existence of such intentions.

Do they think that the WFTU is isolated from the workers because a few Belgian trade union leaders, for example, have arbitrarily withdrawn 500,000 members from our organisation, representing the whole of Belgium, at the very moment when nearly 1,000,000 workers from Shanghai alone are preparing to enter it ?

It is a certain that we will keep up our relations with all Belgian workers as it is that we will be able to put the seamen and dockers of Shanghai in touch with those of Antwerp. London. Amsterdam, New York or San Francisco. (*Loud applause.*)

A great part of this role as a friendly link between the workers of the world must in the future be played by our Trade Departments. We have definitively entered on the constructive phase of these Trade Departments. We understand very well, now, why so many obstacles were put in our way, when for more than three years we strove to lay their statutory bases. The high-sounding phrases about trade autonomy, about trade action independent of the WFTU, which were used as an argument against our desire for the rapid building of the Trade Departments, were in reality the sign of a tactical manœuvre—that of maintaining the hegemony of a few national organisations over all international trade union activity. Today, that is quite clear. These tactics were the complement of a concerted policy—to prevent the WFTU at all costs from developing its activity on the trade level, in order the better to be able to accuse us of being nothing but an international political organisation. This manœuvre has been foiled. Today our Trade Departments are being formed in rapid succession. It is a matter of a clearly defined organisational task, for the achievement of which we will have to expend a good deal of effort. From month to month it will require of us more activity, more confidence, more ardour, more devotion. The objective to be reached is vast and complicated. We know it. We are fully aware of the difficulties we will meet. But we know also that we will succeed because we have all the elements of success, and among them our inflexible determination to build something solid.

At this Second World Trade Union Congress we have delegates from the majority of the countries of the world. Some are here only as observers. But together the delegates form a whole, of which it can be said that it represents all shades of the political horizon met with in the international trade union movement. There are present here workers belonging to no party, democrats, believers, Socialists Communists. There are some who are Marxists and other who are not. The Congress must be the reflection of the opinion of the workers we represent. Our democracy is based on respect for all opinions represented here and on taking into consideration everything that will be said here by the delegations.

We know that the word has already been passed round for our Congress to be called a Communist Congress. This does not scare us. It should not scare us. The Communists are not recruited from among

the bankers, the capitalists and industrialists. We are a Congress of working men and women, of workers by hand and brain. It is that which counts and nothing else. (*Loud applause.*)

Must the role of a workers' trade union organisation consist in combatting Communist workers? We do not think so. But this was not the opinion of some members of the Executive of the WFTU who have not come before the Congress to give an account of their mandate, as is usual. (*Applause.*)

After the Executive Committee meeting of the WFTU in Rome in May 1948, where he had agreed, like all the other members, to the unity resolution of that Committee on the policy and administration of the WFTU, James Carey, inflated by his own boastfulness, wrote this in the "New Leader", the social democratic paper of New York, on July 24 :

"The CIO has outstanding commitments with the British TUC, the Scandinavian unions, the unions of the Low Countries, the free union forces in the French CGT, the free union forces in the Italian CGIL, and a great many other free labour movements, all of which are affiliated with the WFTU. These folks have their coats off, and we have our coats off too. Sure, we'll get our faces and hands dirty. We are not prepared to write off as lost to real democracy, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and the people of the other nations that have fallen within the Communist orbit."

It is clear from reading this morsel of literature that the author imagined himself to be in the shoes of a Roman emperor and that, not being able to burn Rome itself, he contented himself with using the resolution he had agreed to at Rome as a torch to set fire to the WFTU.

It is certain that in such a state of mind and with such intentions, the person in question could have no other policy than a splitting one. We do not know as yet if the organised workers of France, Italy, the People's Democracies and the USSR are deeply grieved because Mr. Carey has abandoned them. But we do know that Congress will regret that the leader of a Trade Union Centre can forget himself to the extent of putting himself in a position so ridiculous that Don Quixote himself would hesitate to adopt it. (*Applause.*)

Thus, while written commitments had been made in the Executive Committee of the WFTU in May 1948 to ensure the functioning of the WFTU and its unity, we learned over the signature of one of the members of the Executive, only a few weeks after, that other promises had been made outside the WFTU which would have inevitably led to a fratricidal struggle against some of the Trade Union Centres affiliated to the WFTU.

The WFTU was created to stop or to render impossible any fratricidal fight both between the workers of different countries and within each country.

There is nothing in the decisions of the First World Trade Union Congress which could justify fratricidal campaigns against Communist workers. And nothing also was written or said which might give birth to the idea that the WFTU had as its objective the struggle against Socialist or democratic workers. Our common programme to which we

have remained faithful was, and still is, the programme of trade union action of the workers of the whole world.

The Second World Trade Union Congress, like the Constituent Congress of the WFTU, will take no decision to fight against the opinions of the Socialist workers of Great Britain or the Scandinavian countries, or against the religious faith of the Mohammedan workers, or against the organised workers of the United States of America, whether they be Catholic or Jew, Democrat or Republican, white or black.

If the WFTU were to adopt any other position, our organisation would exceed its role and abandon its mission. Its failure would be certain if it departed from its fundamental objective of uniting the workers. Because we have not abandoned this objective, we are still what we set out to be : a real *World Trade Union Federation*.

No international trade union Congress is in a better position than this one to express the common opinion of the workers of the colonial or semi-colonial countries, of the capitalist countries, the People's Democracies, and the Socialist Soviet Republics.

This Congress must be convinced that it represents a force for peace in the world. Nobody can ignore our deliberations. No-one will be able to divert the influence this Congress will have on the course of international events. The decisions we take here we will carry out in the light of our 45 months experience.

We must, at the end of this long period of activity of the WFTU, pay close attention to the economic, social and political situation in the world. Our place in the heart of international life must be the result of a correct appraisal of the present aspects of this international life. We can sum up these essential aspects by the following general appreciation.

At the present time the threat of economic crisis and war is weighing on the world. These are two manifestations of the same economic and social fact : the domination of monopoly capital. Economic crisis and the threat of war will inevitably lead to widespread social conflicts.

There are many indications of its arrival. We can detect symptoms of a decline in the workers' purchasing power. This fact implies that the workers' claims are by no means satisfied; famine and pauperism exist in the world at a time when there is talk of overproduction.

In place of the inflationist fever from which the workers have suffered so much there are violent oscillations of wholesale prices and sporadic slumps. We observe an increase in unemployment, which in some countries has become chronic. Everyone knows that capitalism cannot exist without unemployment. The apologists of capitalism do not hesitate to affirm that unemployment is even beneficial. The promises of full employment, solemnly proclaimed during the war and inscribed in the United Nations' Charter, have been shelved.

There is no doubt that the weight of this threatening crisis will fall on the workers if they do not prevent it by organising and uniting their efforts.

The responsibility for the large-scale social conflict which will inevitably arise as a result of the crisis—for the workers will defend themselves—must be wholly laid at the door of dominating monopoly capital.

It has refused to follow the policy of peaceful reconstruction, of cooperation and mutual aid, proclaimed during the war. Instead of following this policy, it has imposed a policy of speculative profiteering, of super-profits and of preparation for a new war. This is one of the fundamental causes of the present social conflicts.

Certain representatives of monopoly capital do not hesitate to declare that war would cost them less than the approaching economic crisis—and that is why they prefer war.

War is a terrible thing, but it is also a highly profitable thing to those who draw their profits from the blood and indescribable sufferings of millions of men and women.

The war-profiteers are already drawing colossal profits from the armaments race, from the war hysteria which they are stirring up by lying assertions about the defence of liberty and democracy.

For the workers war represents suffering, famine, death; the inconsolable grief of widows and orphans; for the capitalist monopolies it represents profits and the hope of asserting their uncontested domination over the whole world.

The war they are trying to put across with so much irresponsibility would inevitably develop into a general world-wide conflict; it could eliminate civilisation itself. If they do provoke a war, it will lead, no less inevitably, to the downfall and severe punishment of all war-mongers. (*Applause.*)

The Second Congress of the WFTU must take note that, faced with these two dangers (economic crisis and the threat of war) the organised workers of all lands must not remain inactive or indifferent. During recent years they have themselves had experience of the permanent struggle against reaction. This struggle has at times been a bloody one. The list of workers who have fallen victim to the reactionary policies of governments and employers has grown longer, and to the history of the working class struggle in the world has been added new pages, the names of new martyrs of the international proletariat. But we must also take note that the working class as a whole has given proof that nothing can destroy its growing power. In certain countries it has been able to take the Nation's destiny into its hands, and in others it has formed the most reliable and best element of advancing social progress and of the true democracy that tomorrow will triumph. Real trade union organisations are not and cannot be outside this immense liberating stream of humanity led by the workers.

The continual contradictions which arise within the economic system of the capitalist regimes will continue. The teaching of the masters of scientific socialism of the 19th Century, and that of the pioneers of the international working class movement, is enriched by the experience of the workers in the world today.

The greatest capitalist country, the United States of America, cannot, in spite of its Marshall or Clayton Plans, free the world from the social and economic contradictions which its own policy engenders.

We can see that those few trade union leaders who have hitched their wagon to this policy are hard put to it to produce results in their rôle as consultants to the Marshall Plan organisation. The growth of unemployment and the whittling down of real wages over

the past year in the countries governed by this policy is a confession of the ineffectiveness of their resources.

In a weekly published in Paris, which is far from being favourable to the WFTU.—“La Tribune Economique et Financière” we read in the number of 10th June last that it was sufficient to follow the work of the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (Marshall Plan) or of the International Conference on Trade and Tariffs which has just been held at Annecy (France) to be convinced that the capitalist states are more concerned to maintain their economic isolation than to break it down. This same journal asserts that the meetings of the OEEC and the Annecy Conference give *“the impression that the economic gulfs which separate the Nations are being deepened instead of being filled in.”*

When we pointed out the vast undertaking of economic and political discrimination which was at the bottom of the Marshall Plan and of American capitalism's general plan for world hegemony, we added that this policy was the opposite of true economic and social cooperation. If the economic gulf between the nations is being deepened, this is because the contradictions of the capitalist system are at the heart of the administration of the Marshall Plan. Its corollary, the Atlantic Pact, becomes a burden on the social policy of the nations concerned. The burden of military budgets, of the policy of arming, together with the unrest caused by the policy of economic enslavement for the benefit of the octopus trusts of the USA, are the causes of all the social conflicts apparent in Europe and other parts of the world.

The workers and their unions see more and more clearly that there is a direct link between the policy of their Governments, the big capitalist owners, and the big landowners—which is a policy of a continual no to their just claims—and the reiterated yes to the political, military, and financial demands of the American Government and monopolists.

This Congress must certainly proclaim forcefully the incompatibility on the one hand of social and human progress and the possibilities of satisfying the working population's normal aspirations for a better life, and on the other, large military budgets, the upkeep of costly armies, programmes for accelerating arms production, and the plans for a third World War. After affirming this incompatibility, this Congress, inspired by the international trade union experience of the past 45 months, must call upon all workers to unite closely and to act to check this policy of ruin and of threatening war. This policy must make way for one of Peace, continued social progress and well-being for the workers and their families, which will allow the trade union organisations to develop their activities and make them even more fruitful.

There thus appears as the conclusion to this analysis of the WFTU's statement of activity the immense need for UNITY OF ACTION of the workers and their trade unions. We are deeply convinced that the solution of the problem of this indispensable UNITY is to be found in the organisation of a methodical plan of propaganda, persuasion and information in the ranks of the working class. By inviting them to take *common action* for their demands we at the same time show the workers the best school of trade union unity.

From the very fact that the 2nd World Trade Union Congress has taken place, a great hope must arise in the world of labour. So many things have been done to stop this Congress from ever meeting. So many things have been tried to stop it from ever being called. This Congress will resound amongst the working men and women of the world.

The workers of Great Britain, the USA and other countries will find it hard to understand that the representatives of the four great powers can meet and confer among themselves, and reach common decisions on the problems arising from the Second World War, while the representatives of the trade unions of these same countries cannot come together, meet and deliberate in common within the WFTU.

The organised workers of the capitalist countries will not understand that trade union organisation appear to be further from international cooperation than their own Governments. They will not tolerate this weakening of working class internationalism.

The WFTU leads to the maintenance of solidarity and mutual aid and friendship between the workers of all countries.

The international UNITY of the workers will be achieved because the spirit of the WFTU is everywhere, all over the world; because the aims of the WFTU are intimately bound up with those of the workers whatever their race or nationality.

Millions of organised workers are represented within the WFTU. We were 65 millions in 1945. Despite the split, this Congress represents almost 70 millions organised workers. (*Applause.*) That means that the WFTU from the material point of view retains a solid position. Morally it has come out victorious from all the attacks made against it with the aim of destroying it.

We remain the WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. Nothing and nobody can deprive us of that title or that name which is already ineffaceable from the history of the International Trade Union Movement and from the thoughts of the working men and women of all countries.

To work, in order to show unquestionably by this Congress that the WFTU lives and will continue to live.

To work, in order to merit the confidence shown in the Second World Trade Union Congress by millions and millions of men and women in the world.

To work, in order to frustrate the adversaries of the WFTU.

To work, so that this Congress will consolidate our organisation.

To work, comrades for *unity* between the workers and *Peace* between the peoples.

(Congress rises and applauds vigorously)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, I have the honour to inform the Congress that the Italian General Confederation of Labour is presenting the World Federation of Trade Unions with its first banner. We are sure that under this banner, the World Federation of Trade Unions will always go forward, always more united, and will guide all the workers along the path of struggle and victory. (*Lively applause.*)

Comrades, the Praesidium proposes that the Congress should not sit this afternoon in order to allow the different delegations to meet and discuss among themselves the principal points of the Report of Activity, to exchange views and to appoint those of their members who are to contribute to the general discussion on the report.

I put this proposal to the vote.

The proposal was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

It is therefore agreed that the delegations will meet this afternoon; the work of the Congress will be resumed tomorrow morning at 9.30 a.m. precisely.

The Chairman then gave the floor to the delegate of the Textile workers of the Province of Milan.

TEXTILE WORKERS' TRADE UNIONS DELEGATE. In the name of the textile workers meeting in their third Provincial Trade Union Congress, I ask you to accept the greetings of 40,000 textile workers of the province of Milan and their best wishes for the success of the work of the second World Trade Union Congress. We wish to express our confidence in the ever greater strengthening of the unity of the workers of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). We thank the representatives of the Textile workers of the province of Milan. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, the session is adjourned.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 30th JUNE 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the Chairmanship of Lombardo Toledano.

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I would like to inform the Congress that telegrams of greeting have arrived, but I will not give information about them now in order not to lose any time.

Before opening the discussion on the Report of Activity made by the General Secretary of the Federation, I would like, in the name of the Congress, to greet the presence in our Assembly of the representative of the United Nations as well as delegates from the International Labour Organisation. (*Applause.*)

I call on Comrade Ziartides of Cyprus.

A. ZIARTIDES (*Cyprus*). Comrades, I am representing at this Congress the trade union movement of a very small country and I bring you the sincere greetings of the workers of Cyprus.

For three years the workers of Cyprus have been under attack from the united forces of reaction which are attempting to divide and thereby to weaken our movement. Anglo-American imperialists and capitalists who head all our industries, reactionary leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church and puppet trade unions have united to attack the free trade union movement.

Up to now, all the attacks of our enemies have led to nothing, since the working class has been able to defend itself. United in their trade unions, the workers have brought about the failure of all the attempts by the employers to cut down wages or to increase the number of working hours.

In spite of the reign of terror of the Government and the employers, in spite of the unemployment, etc., the working class has remained faithful to true trade unionism which is represented by our great organisation.

Our last trade union Congress, which met last May, unanimously decided to support the majority of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU which combated the attempts at division made by certain people.

The Cyprus Trades Union Congress suitably branded the activity of those who have played the game of the enemies of the working class. The workers of Cyprus declared themselves unanimously in favour of international unity and solidarity.

The resolution adopted at the completion of the work of our Congress concludes in the following way: "We ask the Executive Committee and Bureau of the WFTU to pay greater attention to the organisational questions and to the economic and political questions which face the working class in colonial countries.

"The WFTU must give both moral and material assistance to the young trade union movements in the colonial countries."

In the majority of these countries, in fact, these movements lack experience and it is essential to give them the necessary support.

The support which the WFTU could give us should take the form of more frequent and closer contact between the leadership of the latter and the trade union movements and the workers of the different colonial countries in the form of concrete assistance in the search for solutions to the organisational, economic and political problems.

If the WFTU does not fulfil its duty its influence will feel the effects among the workers of the colonies.

The enemies of the working class are, in the colonial countries, engaging in treacherous activity in order to divide and weaken the trade union movement.

You are certainly aware of what Irving Brown said at Geneva. He said "The immense territories of Asia, Africa, South America and the Middle East will be decisive factors in the future world economy and in the battle which will take place between democracy and dictatorship."

The trade union leaders of the Western world must develop to the maximum their activities in the countries where colonialism and imperialism have exercised their domination for many long years, if they wish to construct a really world organisation. Our duty, in the colonial countries, is to defend our unity and our rights. The WFTU, I repeat, must extend its assistance, material and moral, to the colonial countries and to the trade union movements of these countries if it wishes to preserve its influence.

As a delegate from one of the colonial countries, I express the wish, in the name of the workers of the colonial countries, to see the removal of all the difficulties which might still prevent the WFTU from coming to our assistance. Before leaving the rostrum, I would like to tell the Congress that Cyprus will always be faithful to the WFTU and that the workers of Cyprus will continue to fight against the enemies of the working class and against the enemies of peace and democracy. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). The discussion on the report of activity presented yesterday by the General Secretary continues.

I would request delegates to be good enough to hand their names in beforehand to the Praesidium when they wish to speak on any question.

I call on Comrade Fahrât Hached of Tunisia.

FAHRÂT HACHED (*Tunisia* UGTT). I represent here one of the small trade union organisations which has entered the WFTU since the last

session of the Executive Committee in February 1949 in Paris. The Tunisian General Union of Labour had asked for affiliation to the WFTU in February 1946. It is a trade union organisation of a country which does not enjoy full national sovereignty and it represents a working class exploited by capitalism on the economic plane and enslaved on the political and national plane.

Consequently I add my voice to that of the Comrade from Cyprus who preceded me on the rostrum, to draw the attention of the WFTU to the great problems which face the trade union movement in the colonial countries. Certainly, the report of activity presented by the General Secretary is a masterly report to which I bring the approbation of the Tunisian working class, and this report recognises that the WFTU has not given the aid and assistance to the workers in the colonial countries which they were entitled to expect.

In the first point which was made yesterday, it was a question of coming to the assistance in a very special manner of the workers of those industrially and socially, and I would add democratically, less developed countries.

The points 1, 2 and 6 of the report link up, because we are a backward country, we are subject as it were to a fascist Government and we do not enjoy our full democratic rights; and it is quite obvious that in these conditions, the political regime commands the economic and social evolution. These are some of the problems which face a trade union organisation which has the responsibility of looking after the social level of the workers and their standard of living.

In the colonial countries, in those countries which do not enjoy their national sovereignty and even in all the Arab countries which are more or less independent but where nevertheless, the reaction of feudalism, of the capitalists and of the imperialists is exercised, the trade unions are thus encountering serious difficulties as has already been indicated by the Cyprian comrade. In this connection, I would make the observation that there are not many delegates in this hall to represent the millions of Arab workers who are enslaved, who do not have the opportunity of freely organising their trade unions and who do not benefit from the right to strike.

One of the most urgent tasks of the WFTU will be to devote itself to developing the direction of trade union organisation in those distant countries and to assist them to develop the social rights which the European trade unions widely enjoy because the majority of them have a very large share in social and political affairs in their countries.

We are very much behind in comparison with the stage of evolution of our comrades in Europe. We want to attain the same level as they and we can only do so through the action of all the workers of the world grouped in the ranks of the WFTU.

When it asked to enter the WFTU, the Tunisian General Union of Labour was only a small organisation covering only some ten thousand workers. If it did not bring the WFTU a numerically important contribution, it nevertheless had an unshakeable will to fight against capitalism which, in Tunisia, takes a colonialist form. A small organisation like our own is in the van-guard of the combat in a country where the Government and the police force are in the service of the great colonial capitalists as they are everywhere else in Africa.

In the section of the report of activity concerning the Colonial Department we read that this Department did not play the rôle devolving on it. When trade union activity in the countries of Africa is discussed, we shall speak at greater length in order to give an account of the situation in this country. We shall also intervene in the question of the people's right to self-determination and the defence of the interests of the workers. For the moment I shall limit myself to drawing the attention of the Congress to the urgency and importance of the rôle which the WFTU must play in the colonial countries and remind it that it cannot be a truly world organisation unless it devotes special attention to the situation of the workers in the economically politically and socially exploited countries. It must face up to the threat of a split which is making an appearance in different forms in the African territories. It will find us always in the front rank of the struggle for the good of all. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Soloviev.

L. N. SOLOVIEV (*USSR*). Comrades! The activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, set out in the written report presented to the Congress and in the General Secretary's report shows with what immediate problems of vital importance to the workers of the whole world the Federation has concerned itself. They also show the Federation has strengthened and developed itself in spite of the sabotage and divisionist machinations of the enemies of working class unity, and in spite of the savage attacks of the imperialist forces and their valets, who attempted to achieve the liquidation of the WFTU.

The WFTU created by the will of millions of workers of the whole world, has become a fighting organisation, enjoying great authority, since it stands in the name of the overwhelming majority of the workers organised in trade unions.

Putting into practice the decisions adopted by the Conference of London and the Congress of Paris, the WFTU has waged a continuous struggle for the improvement of the lot of the working class, for the defence of liberties and trade union rights. It has more than once raised a protest against the persecution inflicted on the trade unions and trade union leaders in Franco Spain, in Kuomintang China, in India, in the countries of Latin America, in Iran, Jamaica, Cyprus, Africa, Egypt and in other colonial and capitalist countries.

The Federation fought stubbornly to obtain representation with full rights in UNO. After great efforts and thanks to the constant support of the Governments of the Soviet Union and of the People's Democracies, the WFTU succeeded in obtaining some, it is true still limited, rights in the United Nations.

Making use of these rights, the Federation defends the interests of the workers and trade union liberties at UNO. It seeks to obtain the implementation of the principle of "Equal pay for equal work", and fights against all types of discrimination.

In order to assist the workers in the colonial countries in their struggle for their fundamental rights, the WFTU organised in April 1947, the Pan African Trade Union Conference at Dakar, where more than 800,000 African trade unionists were represented. Following

this Conference, the General Council of the WFTU drew up a concrete programme of demands aimed at improving the lot of the workers on the African continent.

The WFTU supports the workers of the colonial countries in their just fight for liberty and national independence. It protests against the colonial wars of pillage in Indonesia, in Viet Nam, in Burma, in Malaya, etc.

It is unflinching in developing and strengthening international mutual cooperation and workers' solidarity by creating Trade Unions Internationals for the different branches of trade (Trade Departments). On the eve of the Congress, the International Conferences of Metal workers, Textile and Clothing workers, and Leather and Hides workers demonstrated the vital interest represented by the Trade Unions Internationals organised by branch of industry for the defence of the interests of the workers in the various trades.

One of the fundamental tasks inscribed in the Constitution of the WFTU is the fight for the most radical destruction of fascism, against war and its causes, for a firm and lasting peace.

Basing itself on the decisions of the London Conference and the Paris Congress, the WFTU firmly protests against the existence of the fascist regimes of Greece and Spain, it endeavours to obtain the most rapid and complete denazification and demilitarisation of Germany, the demilitarisation of Japan, and the creation of unified and democratic trade unions in those countries.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, which has on two occasions sent Commissions to enquire into the situation in Germany and to give assistance to the democratic German trade unions, submitted its recommendations to the occupation authorities of the four powers and to the Inter-Allied Control Commission for Germany.

It asked that the occupation authorities should encourage the development of a democratic trade union movement in Germany and give the trade unions the right to be represented in all organisations, particularly as regards denazification. In addition, it made representations to the occupation authorities to permit the creation of WFTU Liaison Bureau in Berlin to assist the German trade unions to create a unified Trade Union Centre. This would have been an important factor in the work of democratising the country and would have contributed to the economic and political unification of Germany.

However, the recommendations of the WFTU were applied only in the Soviet zone of occupation. The occupation authorities of the Western powers ignored the requests of the Federation and opposed the creation of a WFTU Liaison Bureau. At the same time, they gave this opportunity to the AF of L which exercises its undermining activity of division within the German trade union movement, just as in a series of other countries.

Comrades! We must recognise, in connection with the activity of the WFTU and the implementation of the decisions of the London Conference and the Paris Congress, that the Federation has encountered and still encounters many difficulties and obstacles placed in its path by imperialist groups and their valets within the ranks of the labour movement.

The activity of the WFTU is being carried on in a complex

international situation in which the imperialists are once more seeking to hurl the world into the abyss of a new war.

The activity of the Federation takes the form of a stubborn struggle against reaction which is endeavouring to crush the labour movement in the capitalist and colonial countries, and which is endeavouring to divide the working class and make organised resistance impossible to the plans of the exploiters and the imperialist war mongers.

In the capitalist and colonial countries, the standard of living of the working class has not ceased to decline, unemployment is rising, exploitation is being intensified and all the attempts by the workers to struggle for the improvement of their situation are brutally repressed. Strikes are forbidden, anti-labour laws are promulgated, and the free activity of the trade unions is hampered.

The Marshall Plan, imposed by the American imperialists on the peoples of Western Europe is a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working masses.

By opposing the development of the national industry of the countries of Western Europe, the Marshall Plan has led to new deterioration in the already bad enough living conditions of the workers, to new privations and large-scale unemployment.

In preparation for a new war the imperialists are assembling politico-military blocs such as Western Union and the North Atlantic Pact, intended to stifle the democratic and national liberation movements throughout the whole world and in order to unleash a war of aggression and pillage.

Against the plans of the aggressors and imperialists, against the pacts and against their blocs stand the ordinary peace and liberty loving people of all countries who desire to improve their conditions of existence.

Comrades, the fight between the forces of reaction and the forces of progress, between the forces of imperialism and those of democracy, between the war mongers and the partisans of peace, is reflected within the world trade union movement. Defenders of the imperialists and war mongers were found in the ranks of the WFTU.

The leaders of the British TUC and of the American CIO endeavoured to make use of the WFTU as a means of propaganda for the imperialist Marshall Plan. They attempted to transform the Federation into an arena of intrigues and political machinations. When their attempts ended in fiasco they decided to paralyse the activity of the WFTU and to achieve its liquidation—a policy which corresponded completely with the plan of the imperialists and with the plan of the war mongers.

In fact, the World Federation of Trade Unions is a serious obstacle to the realisation of the aggressive designs of the imperialist forces. It is precisely for this reason that it has suffered their violent attacks aimed at discrediting and dividing it and at forcing it to cease its activity.

Deakin, Carey and Kupers have revealed themselves as the faithful auxiliaries of imperialism.

Deakin, the former President of the WFTU, who had sworn that he would be loyal and faithful to the trade union organisation which had entrusted him with the important responsibility of the Presidency;

he later became a declared enemy of the WFTU. He took the lead of a reactionary bloc within the Federation. This bloc sabotaged its activity by every possible means and prevented the implementation of the essential decisions of the Paris World Trade Union Congress.

Thus the failure to send a Commission to the countries of Asia and to convene a Pan Asian Trade Union Conference was the fault of the leaders of the TUC and the CIO. The negotiations with the International Trade Secretariats on the conditions of their admission to the Trade Departments of the WFTU were purposely dragged out. They were led to refuse to cooperate with the WFTU just at the time when it was proposed that they themselves should elaborate the conditions acceptable for their entry into the WFTU.

As a result of the sabotage of the leaders of the TUC and the CIO, the WFTU was unable to achieve the unification of the German trade unions on a national plane. The leaders of the TUC and the CIO encouraged the split in the German trade union movement by recognising the breakaway so-called "independent trade union opposition". They did not seek to obtain the implementation of the WFTU recommendations concerning the denazification and democratisation of Germany from the American and British occupation authorities.

It is known the British TUC General Council, behind the backs of the workers, adopted in October 1948 the decision to propose to the WFTU that it should cease its activity, threatening to leave the ranks of the Federation should its proposal not be accepted.

This splitting proposal of the TUC General Council was supported by the leaders of the CIO and the heads of the reformist Centre of Holland; at the January session of the Executive Committee they demanded the liquidation of the WFTU.

The majority of the members of the Executive Bureau and later of the Executive Committee resolutely rejected the treacherous proposal to stop the activity of the Federation made by the splitters which would have had the effect of destroying the so dearly won world unity of the workers which is the principal weapon of the working class in its fight for its rights and its liberty.

The treacherous plans of the splitters who wanted to break world labour unity and liquidate the WFTU met with total failure.

The Federation remained a powerful organisation, ready for the struggle, prepared to undergo any test and to pursue the decisive fight for the vital interests of the workers.

In a relatively short time, the Federation did a great deal of work in preparation for the IInd World Trade Union Congress despite the constant sabotage carried on by the representatives of the TUC and CIO and their supporters who attempted by every possible means to cause the failure of this Congress which is of so great importance to the workers of the whole world.

The representatives of the majority of the Trade Union Centres belonging to the Federation have come to the World Trade Union Congress. This is the best proof that the WFTU enjoys the widest support and the greatest authority among the workers of the whole world, that it lives and shall continue to live, despite all the manoeuvres of the enemies of the working class. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet delegation, in the name of the Trade Unions of the

USSR proposes the approval of the activity of the WFTU which is devoted to the improvement of the situation of the working class, to the defence of its rights and its democratic liberties and to the fight for a stable and lasting peace.

The Soviet delegation considers it indispensable to lay stress on the efforts of the Executive bodies of the WFTU to preserve world trade union unity and proposes the endorsement of the activity which the Executive Bureau and Committee carried on against the splitters' attempts to liquidate the Federation.

There is no doubt that the Congress will severely condemn the splitting action of the leaders of the TUC, the CIO and the AF, of L aimed at removing from the WFTU the British, American, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian and Belgian trade unions, etc. This action of the TUC, the CIO and the AF of L is in fact the application of the directives issued in the social sphere by the imperialist circles of the USA and Great Britain, namely the division of the world trade union movement with the aim of strengthening the exploitation of the working masses and of preparing a new war of aggression.

The Congress must brand the new trade union International founded by the splitters, and must appeal to the workers and trade unions of all countries to boycott this organisation of strike breakers.

The Soviet delegation proposes that an appeal should be sent in the name of the Congress to the members of the trade unions of Britain, the United States, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and the other trade unions whose leaders have withdrawn from the WFTU, to ask them to re-establish cooperation and close links with the WFTU and its Trade Departments, in spite of the splitting action of the reactionary trade union bosses. An appeal must be made to the trade unionists, to the various branch organisations and to the local trades councils of those countries to set up Committees of Cooperation with the WFTU, in the towns and enterprises, and to carry on joint action with the trade unions belonging to the WFTU so as to defend the interests of the working class.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is the sole all-inclusive organisation of the working class which groups in its ranks the overwhelming majority of the trade unions of the whole world, without distinction as to race, nationality, religion or political convictions. It would be to the point to stress in the resolutions adopted by the Congress that the doors of the Federation remain open to all trade union organisations, including those whose leaders announced their withdrawal from the WFTU.

The Soviet delegation proposes that note should be taken of the efforts of the WFTU to obtain the recognition of its rights within the United Nations. It also considers it indispensable for the Congress to protest resolutely against the actions of UNO violating the legitimate rights of the WFTU and impeding the adjustment of questions vital to the workers of the whole world, questions submitted by the WFTU.

We cannot fail to protest against the fact that the Economic and Social Council of UNO, without having resolved the question of the defence of trade union liberties and rights, transmitted this question to the International Labour Organisation which, in order to satisfy

the desires of the employers, substituted it by discussions of a general order on freedom of association.

It is necessary to instruct the Executive Committee of the WFTU to make new representations to UNO to demand that the WFTU be represented there with full rights, in its capacity as the world organisation of the working class.

The Soviet delegation expresses the firm conviction that the World Federation of Trade Unions, thanks to the active support of all the affiliated National Centres, will greatly develop its activity so as to fulfil the great tasks inscribed in its Constitution as well as those which will be laid down by this World Trade Union Congress.

The Soviet delegation assures the Congress that the trade unions of the Soviet Unions will continue to fulfil their international obligations and will direct their efforts to assisting the Federation in all its activities.

May the World Federation of Trade Unions, created by the will of the workers of all countries, live and grow stronger. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions to speak on the subject of Japan.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Comrades, we have just received a message from the Secretary of the Japanese Trade Union Liaison Committee. This Committee, which was set up following the visit to Japan of a World Federation of Trade Unions delegation two years ago, contains a number of very important trade union organisations : two bodies of a national character and trade federations. The total number of trade unionists belonging, through the Japanese National Liaison Committee, to the World Federation of Trade Unions since the 1st of January of this year, is 6,700,000. Now, we have just been informed this morning that, in spite of all the applications made by our comrades leading the Japanese trade union organisations, in spite of repeated requests made to General MacArthur by our Paris headquarters, the latter and his services continue systematically to refuse exit visas from Japan so as to prevent the representatives of the largest trade union grouping in Japan to attend the second World Trade Union Congress while a few weeks ago every facility was provided for the representative of another Japanese trade union organisation which covers scarcely a tenth of the number of members of the Japanese National Trade Union Committee affiliated to the WFTU, to go to Geneva as a so-called representative of the Japanese workers at the ILO Conference, and from there, to the consultations which you know about between the splitters.

The Congress will take good note of the difficulties which our Japanese comrades are encountering in the normal fulfilment of their trade union rights. We think that the Congress should seize this opportunity in order to : 1. warmly and fraternally greet the 6,700,000 organised Japanese workers, members of the World Federation of Trade Unions; 2. send a protest to General MacArthur against the position he has adopted with regard to them; 3. send a protest to the Secretary General of the United Nations against this

clear violation of the exercise of trade union rights by a higher official occupying a territory in the name of a nation member of the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). After the statement of the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in reply to the attitude adopted towards the Japanese trade union movement, it is proposed that the Congress should :—

1) Send fraternal greetings to the 6,700,000 workers of Japan who belong to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

2) Send a protest to General MacArthur against his attitude towards the Japanese Trade Unions.

3) Send another protest to the General Secretary of the United Nations Organisation in connection with this question.

I put this proposal to the Congress.

The proposal was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.*

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade Monmousseau of France.

G. MONMOUSSEAU (*France*). The French delegation approves the Report of Activity presented by Comrade Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It expresses the desire to see the WFTU undertake more effective action at the close of this Congress in defence of the economic position of the workers subjected to capitalist or colonial exploitation.

We know that since the first Congress the activity of the WFTU has been purposely slowed down by those who were to organise the split. These elements only saw the WFTU as an organisation intended to give its support to the big capitalists against the will of the organised workers and not to fight against their anti-labour policy.

Since the first Congress we have witnessed a sharpening of the class struggle in all the capitalist countries where reaction has succeeded, as in France, in resuming control of affairs.

The situation of the working masses has deteriorated, their purchasing power has declined, unemployment has begun to spread dangerously.

The fight of the imperialists against the colonial peoples has begun again with renewed vigour: once more the threat of war hangs over us.

Faced with such a situation, the unity of the working class on the national and world scale is more necessary than ever. It is precisely in this situation that Jouhaux, Deakin and Murray organised the split, but it is an additional reason for the WFTU to expend its efforts to strengthen unity and the action of the world proletariat against the provocations of misery and war.

In France, the CGT applied the decisions of the first Congress of the WFTU; it undertook the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers against the forces of reaction.

It fought effectively for peace by contributing in particular to a large extent to the success of the World Congress for Peace.

Over the last two years, big strikes have taken place in France, among

* For text, see Appendix.

the railwaymen, the metal workers and the miners. The sharpening of the class struggle confirms the fact that the reactionary forces of the employers and the governments, encouraged and supported by the American imperialists, have employed methods such as were only used during the war of Liberation, in order to attempt to break the strike movements.

Every conceivable campaign of lies was undertaken, every measure of intimidation was adopted to break the action of the miners (use of tear gas). Militants were arrested in their thousands and thrown into prison, but it was not simply a matter of breaking the action of the miners, it was a question of breaking the CGT.

We are able to say that these attempts met with complete failure in spite of the opposition which the Jouhauxs provoked, in spite of the support which they received from the forces of regression. We received great assistance in undergoing this test; international solidarity was effectively extended and we warmly thank all those who gave us their aid.

It is necessary to stress the policy of despicable police measures practised in France and which virtually originated with the birth of the Marshall Plan of Aid for Europe.

The significance of Aid to Europe has become perfectly clear, and the French Government is aided to such an extent by the Americans that it has become the most docile of their servitors and that it has sold-out our national industry. It has even sold them the workers' skin but there is a proverb which says that you should never sell the skin of a bear before you have killed it. This proverb applies perfectly to Jouhaux, Deakin and several others.

The bear in question has a strong heart, nerves and jaws.

It is a fact that in France, the elections to the Works Committees gave 70 % of the votes to the candidates of the CGT in all the sectors of industry. The discontent of the masses is growing, unity of action is making remarkable progress and the greatest fear of the rulers is that there will not be a war. We will do everything to see that the decision does not rest with them. France has had the sorry privilege of being chosen as the field for experiment in division. International reaction could not have made a better choice than Jouhaux for this work. When Jouhaux went to Moscow with Benoit Frachon for the meeting of the Franco-Soviet Trade Union Committee in 1947, he made some sensational declarations to which we had not been accustomed.

He took part in the drafting of a statement in which it was said that : 1 : the USSR was truly the country of socialism and peace, 2 : it was the object of attacks from the imperialist states, 3 : it was the duty of the international proletariat to defend the country of socialism.

On leaving Moscow, he stopped in Poland where he made no less sensational declarations in which he denounced the intrigues against international unity, solemnly affirming that the CGT would always range itself against the attempts at division.

From Poland he went to the United States where he met Marshall. Returning to France he turned his coat. In his declarations he attempted to impose the Marshall Plan for the maintenance of unity. A few months later he left the CGT and gave the signal for the split on the international level. This sharp change of face by Jouhaux is also

an exceptional fact in the annals of betrayal. This is very important, for the position of Jouhaux confirms that the split was planned, organised and achieved on the order of the American billionaires with the aim of introducing the Atlantic Pact for a war against the Soviets. The trade union split in France ended in a failure. The number of workers who were temporarily deceived by the lies of Jouhaux and followed him can be estimated at 300,000.

In 18 months, however, unity of action has progressed in a satisfactory manner and unity of action is above all the fight against the breakaway leaders.

The split on the world scale will end in failure. We are certain of this and this defeat will mark the march of the world labour movement towards victory, democracy and peace.

The French delegation supports the proposal which the Soviet delegate just made to send an appeal to all the workers of the world, and in particular to those who have been deceived by the lies of the splitters. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now give the floor to Comrade Faustino Calcines of Cuba.

F. CALCINES (*Cuba*). Comrades, the Cuban delegation is in agreement with the report presented by Comrade Saillant.

In connection with this report and taking account of the time which is available to us for our contribution, I want to deal with three problems which we consider of very great importance at the present time.

a) The imperialist policy of throwing the consequences of the crisis on to the peoples and principally on to the workers.

b) The activity of the splitters in the world labour movement, and

c) The fight for peace and against war.

Our small country of Cuba, although in name an independent Republic, is in reality a country economically dependent on American imperialism which supports and conducts an economic policy in our country in favour of the trusts and monopolies and against the advance and well being of the workers and of all peoples; against their economic development and in opposition to the full economic and political liberation of Cuba.

More than 80 % of the sugar industry, which is the source of the basic wealth of the nation, is the property of big North American concerns.

400,000 industrial and agricultural workers are exploited in a barbarous and cruel manner in the sugar centres and the great sugar-cane plantations.

The sugar industry workers work only 4 to 5 months a year, suffering from unemployment, hunger and misery for the rest of the year.

40,000 peasants who cultivate sugar cane are also victims of the voraciousness of these huge enterprises.

During all this time, the sugar companies are each year declaring

millions of dollars of profits. In spite of this and supporting themselves with propaganda of crisis, over the last two years, the enterprises have made every endeavour to reduce the wages of the sugar workers so as to make their life still more terrible than it already is.

Up till now, however, the workers have successfully resisted and at the present time an active struggle is developing in our country to prevent this reduction.

The tobacco industry, the second in importance, has suffered a series of crises. As far as the workers are concerned, unemployment is rising daily; wages are subjected to continuous cuts, tens of thousands of men and women are suffering hunger and poverty because such important markets as those of Britain and Spain have been lost to Cuba as a result of the control which the American imperialists exercise on the economic activities of those countries.

The exports of tobacco to the United States have suffered such a pronounced reduction that 30,000 workers in the tobacco industry are finding their years work reduced to two or three months.

The railways are the property of the Americans and the British; telephones, electricity, the mines, etc., are the property of foreign monopolies as are the banks, and financial operations are under their control.

The North American economic oppression is expressed in addition in our country by the slowing down of all methods of economic development. This oppression goes as far as preventing the creation of the National Bank, of a Merchant Marine and the introduction of Agrarian reform, etc. The Americans also put obstacles in the way of all measures aimed at controlling the activity of their enterprises for the benefit of the public services.

National industry is stifled by imperialism. The Textile, Timber, Shoe, Glass, Preserves and other industries are practically ruined as a result of the invasion of American goods which in our country are being sold at such low prices that our industry cannot compete with them. This is expressed by unemployment for the workers, the reduction of working days, wage cuts, hunger and poverty.

This is the form taken in our country by the economic policy which is being pursued by the forces of world reaction, led by American imperialism, to reduce the workers of all the capitalist countries to slavery and to intensify the poverty and suffering in which the dependent peoples, colonial and semi-colonial are living in Europe, Asia, Africa and in America where the fabulous gains and the privileges of the great trusts and monopolies are increasing.

The criminal activity of the splitters for the destruction of the WFTU, exposed in the report made by Comrade Saillant, is in our opinion the culminating point, within the Executive of the WFTU, of the divisionist activity which is being carried on in the labour movement of all the capitalist countries by the most corrupt elements and the traitors to the workers and to the people, recruited by imperialism for such an ignoble task.

The division of the labour movement, the destruction of independent trade union organisations forms an indispensable part of the imperialist plans for achieving its work against the liberty and independence of the peoples.

A firmly united and organised labour movement represents the most serious obstacle encountered by imperialism and reaction in the attainment of these plans.

Half way through 1946, North American imperialism, through its agent in the trade union movement, the American Federation of Labour, began its activity to destroy the independent labour movement in the Latin American countries. With huge sums it recruited from the lower depths the most corrupt and unprincipled elements with which to divide the workers within each country and to create organisations which would facilitate their plans of oppression, and it is hardly two months since they succeeded in setting up the Inter-American Confederation of Labour, in opposition to the CTAL at a so-called Congress held in Lima (Peru); a meeting where the moral depths of those who took part in it was indicated in the description of it by the workers of Latin America as a meeting of the greatest brigands of the continental labour movement.

The work of trade union division carried on by imperialism received in Cuba, in addition to the servile support of Cofino, Mujaly and Co., the most active and complete support of the Government of the country, which becomes increasingly subordinated to imperialism and turns its back on the interests of the people.

Corruption, subordination, terror and barbarity have been the methods employed by imperialism, the Government and its agents to divide and destroy the trade union movement.

The appointment by decree of the leaders of the trade unions, the Federations and the CTC, the closing down of workers' centres by the army and the police; the formation of paid armed bands by the Government, such are the methods which the Cuban Government, allied with imperialism, is putting into practice in order to crush the resistance of the workers to its policy of oppression, to the reduction of wages which is ruining industry, against the unbounded exploitation of our people in the interests of the big foreign concerns.

When crime was necessary to impose these plans, the orders of the Americans were carried out.

Jesus Menendez, leader of the National Federation of Sugar Workers, one of the greatest and most valorous labour leaders of our continent, was brutally murdered at Manzanillo by an army captain while he was leading the struggle for better wages and living conditions for the workers in that industry and while he was defending the national honour against clause 202 of the Law on the Sugar Industry approved by the North American Congress which signified the subjugation of Cuban national sovereignty.

Aracelio Iglesias, leader of the National Maritime Federation, was murdered by Government armed bands in the trade unions while he was leading the struggle of the maritime workers and dockers for the Cuban Merchant Marine, against the annulment of the regulations of the Ferryboats and Sea Trains and to prevent unemployment in the ports and to defend wage-rates.

Fernandez Roig, leader of the Tobacco workers, Lezcano and Tebles of the Transport workers, Montoro and Cabrera of the Tramway workers, were also murdered at the time when they were leading the

struggle for the defence of the workers, against fascist intervention in the trade unions and in favour of civil liberties and national progress.

Comrades, it is in this situation that the working class of my country is fighting, and I can assure you that the imperialists will not win this battle. The Cuban working class has selflessly and heroically resisted this brutal offensive, and during these last few weeks we have won great victories with the 6th Congress of the CTC which took place in April, the May Day festival in the country and many other activities which are helping to rebuild labour unity in the achievement of a programme of struggle which concerns and unites the workers of all parties and of all religious beliefs.

Today our battle is being waged for the following aims :—

a) the fight against wage-cuts, against unemployment and for the defence of the rights and demands of the workers.

b) for the defence of the national industry against dumping and the American monopolists.

c) for agrarian reform, for the National Bank and a Merchant Marine.

d) against the Governmental fascist terror and the division of the trade unions.

e) for the respect of democratic rights and civil liberties.

f) for the defence of peace and against war.

As it was said in Comrade Saillant's report, the imperialists, who are afraid of the crisis which is engendered by their own capitalist regime and for which there is no peaceful solution, terrified by the courageous example of the workers in the capitalist countries and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and by the implications of the new People's Democracies and more still by the unquestionable triumph of socialism in the USSR, want to drag the world into a new war which, for them has no other end than the foolish aspiration of crushing the peoples of the new democracies and the Soviet Union so as to permanently assure their regime of slavery, famine, war and misery imposed on all peoples of the earth.

The Cuban working class is conscious that the great task of the workers and peoples of the world at the present time is to guarantee peace and to crush the instigators of war.

The defence of wages, and better living conditions for the workers, the defence of democracy, progress and national independence are today closely linked to the fight for peace.

It is for this reason that we gave our whole attention and collaboration to the Movement of Defenders of Peace: our CTC was represented at the World Congress for Peace in Paris.

Today we are giving all our support to the success of the National Congress for Peace which is to take place in Havana at the end of July.

We shall also support the Continental Congress for Peace which will be held in Mexico.

We, Cuban workers, just as those of the other countries of Latin America, affirm that in this great battle we cannot be and never shall

be on the side of the imperialists who are exploiting our country and reducing it to slavery.

Our place is on the side of the forces of human progress and happiness represented by the liberation movements in all the capitalist countries and among the colonial and semi-colonial countries, by the new People's Democracies, by the victorious People's Revolution in China and by the great bastion of socialism, the Soviet Union.

We said in addition that if the efforts of the Defenders of Peace did not prevent the imperialists from dragging the world into a new war, we, the workers of Cuba, would not fight for the slavery of our brothers, the workers of any country of the earth whatever. Our efforts in this struggle will, on the contrary, be directed against the imperialist forces who are exploiting our country and reducing it to slavery.

Finally, the Cuban delegation unites its voice with the delegations of Tunisia, Cyprus and Ceylon which have spoken today, to ask the WFTU to give its attention and its effective and active assistance to the labour movements of the colonial and semi-colonial countries so that the forces of these peoples, instead of serving as reserves for imperialism and world reaction against the other peoples, may become an effective and combative support for the cause of peace, progress and human happiness. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade El Ariss of the Lebanese Trade Unions.

M. EL ARISS (*Lebanon*). We have listened with great interest to the report made by Comrade Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU on the activity of the WFTU since 1945 and the orientation to be given to our action in the future.

As regards past action, we must recognise that the WFTU has greatly backed up the trade union movement in poor countries and in those which are insufficiently developed from the economic and industrial point of view.

The General Secretary specified that this assistance had consisted in the sending of delegations to Iran, South Africa and North Africa, and in participation in the Trade Union Conference of Dakar and in the 3rd Congress of the Trade Unions of Latin America.

But the General Secretary at the same time recognised the inadequacy of this assistance and promised to intensify it in the future.

Consequently, we felt it our duty to submit to the Congress on this occasion the following proposals concerning the Near and Middle East :—

- 1) The Organisation of a Congress bringing together all the trade unions of this region in order to elaborate a common programme for the defence of liberties and trade union rights and the fight against reactionary terror, imperialism and its designs.

- 2) The creation of a special service for the Near and Middle East within the WFTU and the publication of a bulletin in the Arab language. This is necessary in several connections and first of all to inform the Arab workers of the advance of the world trade union

movement. Then it is to make known to them the activities of the WFTU in view of the fact that the vast majority of the workers in that region know no foreign language and that as a result it is difficult for them to make use of the bulletins published by the WFTU in the four official languages.

In addition, we must point out that 90 % of the publications which exist in this area originate from reactionary and imperialist circles which are poisoning the workers thereby preventing them from learning the truth.

Finally, I would mention that the publication of a bulletin and of trade union pamphlets in Arabic and their distribution among the workers of that region is at least as important as the sending of delegations and the participation of the WFTU in Trade Union Congresses.

I shall content myself for the moment with these few words, holding over my principal contribution until later, namely until the opening of the discussion on item 9 relating to trade union activity in the Asian countries. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I am now, as representative of Latin America, going to reply to Comrade Saillant.

I want first of all to retrace the history of the creation of the WFTU, the conditions which existed at the end of hostilities at the time when the first World Trade Union Conference met in London.

Even at that time, it was possible to observe a tendency on the part of certain leaders to restrict the aspirations of the working class to a narrower field.

However, at the Constituent Congress of the WFTU in Paris in October 1945, its objectives were laid down. An agreement was reached on the ends to be achieved and solemn pledges were made by everyone for the fulfilment of the programme of action which the members of the Congress had unanimously drawn up.

Certain Governments, and in particular, those of the United States and Great Britain, were following a path opposed to that of the ideal of human progress for which the peoples of the United Nations had fought against fascism and Hitlerism. The policy of President Roosevelt was completely abandoned, the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter were thrown overboard and a policy aimed at the hegemony of the great monopoly interests in the world made its appearance with increased brutality.

Hitler had only just been defeated and had disappeared when these Governments and the interests which they represented took over for themselves his anti-communist campaign. Instruments of economic domination were created to back up this policy and these instruments were called : the Marshall Plan for the countries of Western Europe and the Clayton Plan for the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The Clayton Plan has the object of ensuring the economic domination of the United States in the countries of Latin America, of preventing the creation and expansion in those countries of a national industry and of limiting them to being simply suppliers of raw materials while making them dependent on the United States exclusively for manufactured products and consumers' goods.

Thus in order to support this policy of economic domination, the campaign aimed at dividing the trade union organisations of the working class is being undertaken. The split, comrades, was not due to the family of Jouhaux, Deakin, Tewson, Carey and Co. That order for the split was directly and cynically issued to the right-wing trade union leaders by the rulers of the United States and the politicians of other countries subjected to their tutelage.

Obedying these orders, the divisionist leaders sent an ultimatum to the Executive Bureau of the WFTU threatening to withdraw from the world organisation and form a rival organisation if the WFTU refused to submit to the orders which they claimed to dictate. It was possible to see on this occasion the extent of the complicity of the trade union leaders who had betrayed the working class with the Governments whose orders they followed.

But we should not forget that even in the countries where the trade union leaders undertook to create the division in the ranks of the working class, on the national and international scale, the contradictions are such and the situation of the working class is deteriorating in such a way that strikes are breaking out against the will of these leaders and despite their efforts. In the United States in particular, we are now seeing the first signs of a large-scale economic crisis. Unemployment is spreading daily. We are, in fact, witnessing the failure of the Clayton and Marshall Plans and the bankruptcy of all the promises which were made to get these plans accepted and according to which their sole object was the reconstruction of the war-devastated countries.

Thus faced with the bankruptcy of their promises to the working class, the Jouhauxs, the Deakins and the Careys announce their intention to set up a rival organisation which they claim to be "independent". Independent of what? Certainly not of the employing class and the Governments whose orders they accept and carry out! It is only the working class from whom they will be independent.

In fact, all the efforts consist at the present time in endeavouring to stop or slow down strike and protest movements and those in support of demands. Their treachery goes to the extent of changing themselves into policemen in the service of the owning classes. They are seeking to create a second Amsterdam Trade Union Federation which they dare to call "independent"!

Ranged against this betrayal is the WFTU, more vigorous, more active than it has ever been. Comrade Saillant's report has shown us not only its influence throughout the world but also its fighting spirit.

I would like now to trace out the tasks which fall to the WFTU at such a time.

The first task of the WFTU must be above all the strengthening of its internal unity.

The second task is the necessity, in order to achieve this internal unity, of strengthening and tightening not only the relations of the National Trade Union Centres with our world organisation, but also and simultaneously the direct relations between the National Centres, themselves, both on the continental and inter-continental level. This strengthening must be carried out by constant exchanges, frequent

visits, attendance of fraternal delegates at the respective Congresses, etc., in order to organise the fight for common objectives in a more coordinated manner.

In the third place—and I would like to thank our General Secretary Louis Saillant and the Secretariat for the valuable aid which they have given to the trade unions of Latin America and for their encouragement in the fight against internal reaction and American imperialism—I consider it necessary for the WFTU to assist the trade union organisations of our countries and particularly the colonial and dependent countries by sending skilled personnel to strengthen and improve our technical organisation.

The fourth task of the WFTU must be that of supporting, coordinating and leading to victory the demands of the working classes in our different countries.

The fifth task must be one of the systematic guidance of the working class. For three years it was impossible to achieve this task because those who were later to provoke the division in our ranks accused us then of engaging in politics as soon as we asked the WFTU to fulfil the valuable task of guiding the trade union organisations. We were forced at that time to repress our wishes and we did so with the sole aim of avoiding internal dissension and in the interests of unity.

It is in this way, comrades, that the WFTU will accomplish its great historic task. Finally, the sixth and last task which falls to it is that of continuing the struggle which it has already entered into for peace by taking the lead of the world movement for peace, to prevent a new war, to make possible the constructive tasks of the peoples and their advance towards progress and well-being—which things can only be accomplished in lasting peace.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE WFTU ! (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Bozicevic of Yugoslavia.

J. BOZICEVIC (*Yugoslavia*). Comrade delegates, the report which has been submitted to you by the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions proves in a documented fashion that the leading bodies of the World Federation of Trade Unions have, during the period between the two Congresses, achieved exactly the decisions of the first Congress and have fought for the application of the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions. All the activity of the WFTU in the field of the protection of the workers' economic and social rights, the defence of trade union rights and democratic liberties of the working class proves this fact as well as its activity in defence of peace and the independence of the peoples.

The delegation of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia endorses the activity of the WFTU and unreservedly accepts the report of the General Secretary, Comrade Saillant.

The Yugoslav trade unions took an active part in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions and have, right from the

outset, considered the World Federation of Trade Unions as a great victory for the international labour movement and as a solid support for the forces of peace and democracy in the world.

The Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation has taken a positive attitude to the sessions of the Executive Committee and the General Council and to all the actions which the World Federation of Trade Unions has undertaken with the aim of strengthening the international unity and solidarity of the workers of the whole world. The Yugoslav trade unions have profoundly aroused the mass of the working class of Yugoslavia for the achievement of the programme of action of the WFTU. The Yugoslav trade union movement rallies the whole of the working class and shows itself in close solidarity with the international trade union movement. This is why the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions for the strengthening of the international unity and solidarity of the workers receives the complete support of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation, the assistance which was given for instance to the victims of monarcho-fascist terror, assistance to the French strikers, etc.

In the fight against the splitters, the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation has always followed the genuine militants. Any attempt at weakening the WFTU or at splitting its ranks was energetically condemned by the Yugoslav trade unions and came up against their resistance.

The attempts by the imperialist agents Deakin, Carey and others, to split and destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions was energetically condemned by the trade union organisations and workers of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions clearly understood that one of the most important tasks which fell to the National Centres was the defence of the World Federation of Trade Unions which formed an integral part of the struggle waged by the international working class to bring about the triumph of democracy and peace in the world.

It was also during the period between the first and the second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions that the Yugoslav trade unions won important successes in the field of trade union activity.

Unity was achieved within the trade union movement before the end of the second world war. For the first time, a movement rallied both manual and intellectual workers in a unified organisation. The working class, which had taken part in the anti-Hitler coalition led by the Soviet Union, came out of the war stronger and capable of taking over the direction of the State.

The Yugoslav trade unions, re-formed in January 1945, were the expression of the new social reality in Yugoslavia; they were the expression of the changes brought about by the working class and the other workers of Yugoslavia leading the State.

Freed from capitalist exploitation, the Yugoslav working class organised in its trade unions, undertook a great deal of activity from the economic, social and cultural point of view. It was able to achieve its objectives, namely to construct a new economy and to proceed to the building of socialism.

The period between the two Congresses of the World Federation of Trade Unions was filled by struggle crowned with success waged by the Yugoslav working class and trade unions to reconstruct the industries destroyed by the war and to achieve the first and second sections of the five-year plan for the industrialisation and electrification of the country.

In order to attain these objectives, the trade unions have encouraged socialist emulation at work in which are participating today the immense majority of the Yugoslav working class which is endeavouring fully consciously to build socialism in its homeland.

Parallel with the struggle carried on to achieve the economic tasks, the Yugoslav trade union organisations have undertaken great activity to improve the living conditions of the workers.

The Yugoslav trade unions have given considerable assistance to the popular organs administering the country in the action which they are carrying on to raise the living standards of the workers.

It is particularly necessary to stress in this connection the great role played by the trade unions of Yugoslavia in the field of labour legislation, to gain adequate remuneration for the workers, holidays with pay, social insurance, etc.

The cultural improvement and socialist education of the working class figures among the most important tasks which fall to the trade union organisations of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions, has won great victories during the period which has just passed. The Yugoslav trade unions today possess more than 50 houses of culture, 400 workers' clubs, 2,500 recreational centres, more than 6,000 libraries, more than 1,500 reading rooms, 360 fixed or mobile film units, 275 broadcasting units, etc.

At the present time there are 1,500 cultural societies and groups in existence covering more than 50,000 workers. The Yugoslav trade union organisations at present publish more than 50 newspapers and periodicals in the Yugoslav language whereas only 6 trade union journals appeared in 1946. In addition to the newspapers printed in the Yugoslav language, the trade union organisations publish journals in Hungarian, Italian, German and Albanian for the ethnic minorities.

The great financial assistance from the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia and the other people's organisations in power takes the form of an allowance for cultural purposes of a sum of 800 million dinars for the Yugoslav Trade Unions. Such is the result of the correct policy which the People's State is conducting and the efforts made by the trade union organisations and the workers.

During the period 1945-1949, a constant improvement has been recorded in the living conditions of the Yugoslav workers from the economic, social and cultural points of view.

Parallel with the rise in the number of workers, the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation has increased in number; it has become the organisation which truly rallies all the workers and employees in Yugoslavia.

The numerical increase in members has been accompanied by a constant strengthening of the unity of the working class which today, is

stronger than ever. The most complete democracy has been introduced into the life of the trade union organisations both as regards trade union elections and in the day-to-day work. All the basic bodies were elected by secret ballot; which made possible the creation of the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions.

Since the latter's Constituent Conference in 1945, the number of its members has risen from 225,000 to 1,500,000.

The Trade Union Confederation of the Yugoslav working class continues to work in the same direction with the same resolve and the same spirit, to transform Yugoslavia, hitherto a backward and semi-colonial country in every respect whose natural wealth was in the hands of national and foreign capitalists, into an industrially developed country, into a socialist country.

Comrades, the World Federation of Trade Unions has taken a really important part in the fight against capitalist exploitation, reaction, the imperialists and the fomenters of a new war. Nobody today can deny that, in the interests of peace and the obtaining of a better life for all the workers of the world, the World Federation of Trade Unions must be preserved and strengthened.

The Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions will continue to assist the World Federation of Trade Unions with all its force to defend its unity against the splitters, and to work for the maintenance of the unity of the international labour movement.

The Yugoslav trade unions will continue, as they have done up till now, to carry out all the decisions and recommendations of the WFTU so as to bring the fight to strengthen the unity of the workers of the world to a successful conclusion, for the defence of the economic and social rights of the working class, for the defence of peace and democracy in the world.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS ! (*Applause.*)

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 30th JUNE 1949

2.30 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of Hassein Sadaoui (Tunisia USTT).

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*). I call on Comrade Antal Apro of the Hungarian delegation.

A. APRO (*Hungary*). Comrades, in the name of the working class and organised workers of Hungary, it is with great joy that we bring the IInd Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Italian trade unions our warm and fraternal greeting. We are happy to be able, through the European, Asian, African, American and Australian delegations, to send to the workers of the world, to the freedom loving peoples, the fraternal greeting of the Hungarian people, assuring them of their desire for peace and of their determination to build socialism in Hungary.

The Hungarian delegation has followed with great interest the speech made by Comrade Saillant in which he shows clearly the essential questions affecting the international trade union movement in the capitalist countries and in the People's Democracies. In this speech, Comrade Saillant has given full importance to the aims common to all the trade unions united in the great and powerful World Federation of Trade Unions.

Comrades, our country owes its liberty, its independence and the success of its reconstruction to our liberator, the great Soviet Union.

Before the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, our working class was subjected to unlimited oppression and exploitation. Low wages, a backward social situation, savage persecution—this was the lot of the Hungarian workers, while the Hungary of Horthy left the way free for the capitalists who were therefore able to exploit the workers, and for the landowners who reduced the peasants to a veritable state of serfdom.

Since the Liberation, our Country has undergone unprecedented development. Our working class is achieving all the reforms on which is being built our system of People's Democracy progressing along the road to socialism. The economic structure of our country has been entirely changed; our poor peasants, our agricultural workers

have been given the lands of the landowners. More than 2 million hectares of land was divided among 650,000 poor peasants.

The State has taken over the management of the mines, the banks, and enterprises employing more than 100 workers, and today, 85 % of our industry has passed out of the hands of the capitalists into those of the working people's State.

The enterprises and factories in the hands of the State are, for the most part, controlled by the workers. The financial situation of our country is now stable, our people's economy is being more and more developed. Production in the enterprises and factories is already 21 % higher than that of the last prewar year. The standard of living of our working class is 25 to 30 % higher than it was in 1938.

The Hungarian Worker's Party and the Government concentrate with particular care on providing access for the greatest possible number of workers to leading State positions, to key positions in the economy and to the higher grades of the army.

In our country, it is not only the economic situation which has changed. The political situation was also the object of fundamental changes. The electoral victory had the result of strengthening the Hungarian working class while constituting a serious defeat for reaction and the imperialist forces which are working to hinder the tranquil and peaceful development of our country. 401 deputies sit in the new Parliament, of whom 173 are workers, 114 are peasants, 92 are intellectuals and 22 are clerical workers.

Comrade Saillant stressed that the economic crisis which is raging in the capitalist and colonial countries results in ever increasing unemployment and misery.

Comrades, basing ourselves on the important economic and political successes which we have achieved this year—in two years and five months we have fulfilled our three-year economic plan—in 1950 we shall undertake the execution of our five year plan which will make Hungary into an industrial country with a developed agricultural economy; while in the capitalist countries, the number of unemployed continues to rise, we have a shortage of labour which is becoming more obvious ever day and manifests itself in all the most important trades. We need 300,000 workers for the fulfilment of our five year plan.

Our country has 9,200,000 inhabitants. The number of organised workers and employees equals 1,250,000 and the number of organised agricultural workers exceeds 400,000, that is, the total number of Hungarian trade unionists amounts to 1,650,000.

Our Government gives complete support to the trade unions so that they shall be able to carry out effective work in the building of socialism and the strengthening of the purchasing power of the working class.

The Hungarian working class and the Hungarian trade unions have important economic victories to their credit. The collective agreements approved by the trade unions define, for each trade, the rights and obligations of the workers. The working day is 8 hours. The collective agreement guarantees the workers, after a year's work, paid holidays varying between 12 and 25 days. It lays down the principle of equal pay for equal work for women and young workers.

It provides for special protection and assistance for mothers and young workers.

The trade unions also control the social insurance system. They organise the health protection and leisure of the workers. Thus 300,000 workers will spend their holidays in rest homes and sanatoria this year. We have succeeded in a very short time in setting up children's nurseries in nearly 300 enterprises. Agricultural workers also benefit from social insurance. One of the prime tasks of the trade unions consists in taking care of old and injured workers.

Our trade unions carry on vast activity in the field of education, culture and sports. They undertake the education of the working masses and thereby contribute effectively to the strengthening of our People's Democracy, and to the building of socialism.

Comrades, we consider that it is important to inform the World Congress on the trade union action of our people and its results, because the press in the imperialist countries publishes each day the most absurd news which then develops into slanders. The leaders of these imperialist countries are angry with us because they thought they would be able to succeed in stopping the development in Hungary. As they have been unable to put their plans into execution, they are filled with impotent rage which incites them to slander us.

We are certain that the workers of the whole world understand us and do not believe the insane lies which the imperialist press is spreading about our working class which is fighting for peace, the unity of the international labour movement and the building of a socialist Hungary.

Allow me now, comrades, to state the point of view of the Hungarian trade unions on the report presented by the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions. As members of the WFTU, the Hungarian trade unions are taking an increasingly active part in the execution of the resolutions of the Secretariat and the Executive Committee of the WFTU. We are accomplishing within the limits of our power, all the international obligations laid down by these resolutions. Our trade unions are always absolutely and firmly opposed to the powers restricting or hindering, in whatever part of the world, the exercise of the rights and liberties of the working classes of the different countries.

It is not only by the adoption of a position that the Hungarian trade union movement has declared itself in favour of the safeguarding of the unity of the WFTU and of its continuous reinforcement. In our own country, we have cast out from the trade union movement the enemies of trade union unity, the traitors to the working class, the right-wing social democrats. The fact that in our country the working class has emancipated itself, that we have beaten the capitalists, and the fact that we are building socialism involves, we know, obligations on our part. We must support, throughout the world, the workers fighting for their liberty, their independence and for the satisfaction of their just demands. Using these principles as our basis, we supported the heroic struggle of the French miners for better living conditions and for the independence of France, we supported and sustained the Greek workers fighting for their liberty and their human rights, by taking under our protection

the children of the Greek fighters for liberty persecuted by the Anglo-Saxon imperialists and their Greek valets.

The organised workers of Hungary and the Hungarian trade unions prepared with the greatest joy for the IInd World Congress of the WFTU. In hundreds of meetings organised in our factories and enterprises, the trade unions made known the work accomplished up till the present time by the World Federation of Trade Unions, its results, its fighting resistance to the attempts aimed at breaking the unity of the international labour movement, its fight for peace and democratic rights.

In the factories of our country, the workers are celebrating the IInd World Trade Union Congress by organising special competitions in its honour, and by doing more and better work.

The decisions adopted by the workers in organised meetings demonstrate the work accomplished up to now by our working class and our trade unions in favour of international proletarian solidarity, and express their fighting determination to continue to give their support to the work of the WFTU.

Comrades, we are certain that the IInd Congress of the WFTU will contribute in a large measure to the consolidation of the unity of the international working class. We are convinced that the resolutions which will be adopted by this Congress will strengthen in an important extent the struggle of the workers in imperialist capitalist countries for better living conditions, for their rights and for their emancipation.

We are certain that the workers of the countries which, as a result of the treachery of their leaders, cannot be present at this great meeting of the international labour movement, also approve of the work of the Congress and its resolutions. We are convinced that the Congress will accomplish effective work in the interest of the workers of the world who are everywhere fighting for peace and liberty. Truth is on our side, and the strength as well. This Congress also shows that hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world give their support to our Federation in its work the aim of which consists in grouping and uniting the workers of the world irrespective of race, nationality, religious or political convictions.

In the name of the Hungarian delegation, we accept the report of activity presented by the General Secretary and we warmly thank all the leaders of the WFTU who are safeguarding our great and powerful organisation against the attacks of the imperialists. We are convinced that the WFTU will fight in the days to come, with even greater strength and resolution for the safeguard of the rights of the workers, the institution of a lasting peace and the guarantee of human liberty.

As members of the WFTU, the Hungarian trade unions will continue to give all their support to this great organisation so that it may fulfil its programme and achieve its aims which are to ensure the well-being of humanity.

**LONG LIVE THE FIGHTING UNION OF ALL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD
FOR THE UNITY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND FOR LASTING PEACE.**

**LONG LIVE THE WFTU, POWERFUL CITADEL OF THE INTERNATIONAL
TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.**

LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION, THE VAN-GUARD OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PROGRESS, LIBERTY AND PEACE.

The Hungarian delegation presents to all delegates at the Congress and to the Praesidium of the WFTU a small gift from the organised workers of our country. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*). Comrades, I am now going to read a telegram which we have just received from the World Congress for Peace. (*Applause.*)

The World Congress for peace expresses its profound conviction to the IInd World Trade Union Congress that the delegates from fifty countries and territories will powerfully strengthen the Union and battle for peace of 70 million workers—stop—

For the Bureau, the President, JOLIOT-CURIE.

Comrades, we shall, on your behalf, send a telegram to the World Congress for Peace. Do you agree, Comrades?

The Chairman's proposal was adopted. (Applause.)

I now call on Comrade Rossi of the Women's International Democratic Federation (*Lively applause. The Congress rises.*)

M. Rossi (*Women's International Democratic Federation*). Dear friends, dear comrades, it is in the name of the Women's International Democratic Federation that I address my greetings to the Congress.

I greatly regret to announce that our General Secretary, Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, who was to have been present at this Congress, is unable to be here. The honour has therefore fallen to me to speak today to the IInd World Trade Union Congress.

Dear Friends, the Women's International Democratic Federation is happy to be able to bring more than simply fraternal greetings to the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We bring you the assurance of our will to work in still closer liaison with you toward the achievement of our common goals: the establishment of real democracy and lasting peace throughout the world.

These common goals have created an almost organic bond between us since among the 80 million women of 57 countries who form our Federation, there are many millions of women workers who are also members of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In some countries, trade union groups in their entirety are affiliated to our Federation, and even confederations of trade unions, as is the case in France and Italy.

The struggle for equal rights, without discrimination because of sex, one of the principal points in our programme, is also a part of yours. It is clear that there can be no real equality between men and women—therefore no true democracy—even in countries where, theoretically, equal political rights are accorded, unless it is economic equality. Defence of the principle, "equal work—equal pay", is, therefore, one of our common demands. In defending this principle, we defend at the same time the interests both of women and men, for all other

wage systems lead inevitably toward a lowering of the value of work, and therefore, to the lowering of the workers' standard of living.

We are pleased to have the opportunity provided by this Congress to thank the World Federation of Trade Unions for the spirit with which it has always defended this principle of equality, especially in the Economic and Social Council of UNO and in other UNO commissions, each time that this question has been on their agendas.

Last March, at the meeting of the UNO Commission on the Status of Women, our friend, Marie Couette—who is Secretary of the French Confederation of Labor as well as an Executive Committee member of our Federation—invited the Commission to pass a resolution urging the Economic and Social Council to propose to all of the member states of UNO the immediate passing of laws applying the principle of equal work—equal pay. Our own representative on the Commission on the Status of Women spoke in favour of the proposal of the WFTU which, however, was not adopted—even though delegates of different countries spoke in recognition of the correctness of this principle. Our action must, therefore, be continued through our national branches in co-operation with yours, until our common efforts are successful.

The participation of women in the struggles for workers' demands can be of considerable help—not only when the women defend their own rights but when they support the right of their husbands to a wage which allows them to provide for the family. It is no secret that the success of a strike depends greatly on the attitude that the wives of the strikers take toward the strike. Women's organizations which, like our national sections, are composed largely of housewives, can bring greatly needed co-operation to struggling workers, if they mobilize their forces to lend material and moral solidarity to the worker's families. The French Miners' Union recognized the great importance of the action of the Union of French Women during last winter's great strike. The women sustained the strikers not only by collecting food and sheltering the miners children, but by explaining to the working populations of city and country that the miners, by defending their own rights, were thereby defending the interests of all workers. Thanks to the action of the women, the solidarity took on breadth never before attained, especially among the peasants and small tradesmen.

In Italy, during the last strike of the agricultural workers, women again played a leading role. Not only were they among the most ardent supporters, but in some places, such as in Novaro, the striker's wives, after having taken into their homes the strike breakers sent from other provinces, managed to persuade them to return home and take their place beside the strikers in their own provinces. The women, like the men, did not retreat in the face of police brutality, as was proved by Maria Margotti, war widow, mother of two children, agricultural worker, who was killed by the police at the demonstration against the "scabs" during the strike.

Throughout Italy, the Union of Italian Women organized temporary baby care centres (*crèches*) which sprang up like mushrooms. It is clear that the aid given by women's organizations to the wives and children of the strikers carried great weight in the winning of the strike.

The political consciousness of women has developed greatly since

the war, and that is true for all countries. For example, an Algerian woman said to her husband during the strike of the iron miners, "Go on, if you didn't strike, you wouldn't be a good father."

In India, four of our members were killed during a demonstration in support of militant trade unionists who were carrying on a hunger strike in protest against the inhuman treatment to which they were being submittted in the prisons of Nehru's Government.

We are especially happy to note the evergrowing participation of women in trade unions, and we will make every effort to establish even closer bonds between our branches and the trade unions. That is why we urge you to send trade union delegates to all of our international meetings.

Some time ago, two militant American women trade unionists—one from the CIO and the other from the AF of L—told us how much their participation in our Congress in Budapest had helped them to see and understand more clearly their own work in their country, especially to comprehend better the responsibility of American workers in the struggle of all the workers of the world. They saw more clearly the need, on their return home, to develop closer contact with unorganized women in order to lead them in turn to a like conception of international solidarity for the defence of living conditions and the defence of peace.

If, with respect to the protection of children, the work of our two organisations has not always been co-ordinated, it has been parallel. During the past session of the UNO we denounced child labour before the Commission on Human Rights, as one of the most hateful forms of forced labour, and demanded that the Commission recognize the necessity for adult workers to have salaries which would permit them to provide for their children. All of the existing laws prohibiting child labour are nothing less than further hypocrisy, especially in the backward countries where today, children begin working at the age of 5 years because the miserable wage of their parents is not enough to buy even a bowl of millet or of manioc for each member of the family.

We are fighting, just as you are, in order that all men and women shall be able to eat as much as they need, to live a better life, to enjoy equally the riches of the soil which are the fruits of their labour—but it is evident that to acquire these things we must, first of all, have peace.

Since the end of the first world war—war has not ceased. After having fought against Italian and German fascism, the heroic Greek people have had to take up arms again to defend their independence against those whom they believed were their liberators. Fighting is going on in Indonesia, in Viet Nam, in Burma, in Malaya—everywhere, where the imperialists want to continue to amass monstrous profits by exploiting entire peoples to their death.

But the peoples, who had been told that they were fighting for freedom, have acquired a taste for that freedom. Up to the period of the war, they had known only the "freedom" to work like beasts of burden from the age of 5 years and to die under the yoke before the age of 30. Today, they want—and are fighting for—the freedom to live and to rear their children with a perspective other than one which would make slaves of them.

In sustaining these people who, by fighting for their freedom, are fighting also for ours, our efforts are co-ordinated. The women of Brest distribute leaflets to the parachutists who are being sent off to Viet Nam; the women of Holland form committees to work for the acquittal of the young soldiers who have refused to kill Indonesians; while the dockers of Algeria and Australia refuse to load boats carrying arms and munitions.

From these hot-beds of war, the imperialists would like to have a third world war burst forth. It is against this crime—more monstrous than any that mankind has yet known—that we must unite still more firmly.

Like you, we have denounced for more than a year the evils of the Marshall Plan which is bringing unemployment into the homes of the workers and new profits to the American trusts. Like you, we are fighting against the ratification of the Atlantic Pact, that instrument of war which some governments, having lost all national consciousness, would like to impose on the peoples.

In Norway, our Branch took the initiative in collecting signatures against the Atlantic Pact. Metal workers, who had been the first to sign, then asked our Branch to preside at a great protest demonstration at which more than 5,000 metal workers, building workers and tobacco workers assembled before the Parliament.

Together, our organisations participated in the inforgettable World Peace Congress, but that was only one step toward co-ordinating the world movement for the struggle against the war-mongers.

We have come to greet your Congress and to say that, together with you, we are against military alliances which weaken UNO and lead to war; together with you, we are against the heavy burden of military budgets which are taking the bread from the mouths of our children and preparing the total destruction of our cities by atomic bombing.

Along with you, we are fighting for the independence of peoples and for democracy, the only guarantees of peace and a better life.

We cordially invite you to send delegates from every country to our Asian Conference which will meet in Peiping from December 1st to 7th—in that New China which has just shown the American imperialists that even with billions of dollars, they cannot buy the independence of a people fighting to be free.

We who represent the riches of the earth : those who give life, are fighting along with you, our brothers, to make it more beautiful—by our union in action we will put a stop to war.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*). I now call on Comrade Jarblum of the Israeli Trade Unions.

M. JARBLUM (*Israel*). In the name of the working class of Israel I greet the Congress and pass on to it all our wishes for peace. We in Israel know what this word peace—"shalom" signifies. For the first time the General Federation of Jewish Labour, called Histadruth for short, is represented at an International Congress as an organisation belonging to a State and not a mandated territory, as it was formerly.

I take advantage of this occasion to express our warm thanks to

all the labour organisations of the whole world without any exception, only a part of which are represented here, and primarily to the Government of the Soviet Union for the valuable aid which they gave us on the international plane, and which first of all contributed to the creation of this State of Israel and then to its victory in a terrible war.

In Israel, The Histadruth, or the General Federation of Jewish Labour represents almost half of the population; this is a lot; this is a very great deal and gives a special aspect to the constitution of our State.

Over and above the problems of a general order which are part of its activity, such as the defence of the daily interests of the working class, the raising of the standard of living and the moral and cultural situation of the workers, the Histadruth controls nearly a quarter, or in any case more than 20 % of the country's economy, both in the field of agriculture and of industry.

The Histadruth is striving more and more to develop its activity in the economic sphere. Unfortunately, with the present system, it is difficult to arrive without stages at a socialist organisation; it is all the more difficult since our country is not yet developed. But, in any case, we are directing our efforts towards the increase of the working class's share in the economy of the country. Out of nearly 500 agricultural villages and farms more than half are collectives and are constructed on the basis of cooperative principles.

I would now like to say a few words about the elections. The first elections for the Israel National Assembly gave an absolute majority to the working class which enjoys very great importance in all fields, political, economic and cultural.

Where does the strength of the Histadruth come from? From its ideal of social justice; it wants first of all to see a State created which is based on the predominance of free and independent productive labour, and social justice, in short, a Socialist State.

But this strength also comes from something else; from unity. The Histadruth embraces workers of all ideologies. Don't think that unanimity reigns among us! No, all parties are represented without exception in our small country, like everywhere else; we have left-wing parties, extreme left-wing and centre parties; but all these groups have understood that unity was the basis of the defence of the interests of the working class. All ideologies, all groups, all parties were represented at the last Congress of the Federation of Labour and all are represented in the administrative bodies of the Federation.

I want here to say something in parenthesis. Is not the existence of this unity proof, and adequate proof, that the split is not inevitable? This co-existence of different groupings linked together by a common ideal, the defence of the interests of the working class, is a positive element and we hope moreover that this co-existence is not of a temporary character but that it will last.

A policy approved by the whole of the Histadruth and all the working class comes out from this liberty of discussion.

The split is, therefore not inevitable, I repeat, and the example of the Histadruth proves it.

One of the first acts of the Government of this young State, immediately after the proclamation of its independence, was the decla-

ration of complete equality between all citizens, whatever their race, religion or sex. Whether they be Arabs or Jews, the law which is applied is the same, equality as regards wages, as regards the right to work, etc. This never existed under the occupation or under the regime of the mandate. And if comparison is made between the present standard of living of the Arab workers and their standard of living under the occupation, one can measure the extent of the evolution accomplished, or rather the revolution carried out in this country.

Finally, as regards the problems of organisation, problems which in general are sufficiently difficult to solve, the Executive Committee was instructed to determine the most adequate and most favourable forms for the creation of an organisation common to all workers. Complete guarantees will be accorded to the Arab workers in the field of cultural education, propaganda, etc.

These are the first tasks which we have accomplished in this domain and we hope, by persevering, to achieve complete equality and lasting peace between these two parts of the population of Israel, for the good of the country and of all its inhabitants.

Another task falls to the young State, one of the most important, a task upon which the whole existence of that country depends: it is peace, complete peace, in one word peace; first of all with our Arab neighbours; then peace not only for the State of Israel but for the whole world and we believe we are able to collaborate with the other States for the establishment of this lasting peace throughout the world. The 6 million victims which Hitlerian barbarity caused among our people have filled us with a horror of all war; another war would lead to the total extermination of the Jewish survivors of the last war.

The war in Israel was not desired either by the Jewish masses or by the Arab masses; it was imposed on them by interests completely foreign to those of the Jewish and Arab working class.

But are we certain that the war will not begin again? Alas no. The interests of which I have spoken are still too strong and super-human endeavours will have to be made to fight against them. The Jewish working class and the entire State of Israel are ready to devote all their efforts to the aim of making peace final, within Israel and elsewhere. I promise you our entire collaboration in this labour for peace.

We have other very complicated tasks to fulfil: to ensure the construction of our State and its security. We do not want war, you may believe us, but we want security; we do not want again to be attacked by surprise; we want to be able to build our country in complete tranquility, to develop its agriculture, and its industry and in this way to make the country completely independent. We want also to achieve the maximum well-being of the working class and for that well-being to be of benefit to everyone, both to the citizens of the State and to the Jews of the whole world who wish to settle in Israel and to take part in this imposing labour of the construction of a socialist State based on justice. To collaborate in the construction and defence of the State of Israel is the sacred duty of each Jew. But I do not want to go further into this; one of our Comrades will deal with this problem when we examine the question of emigration.

Another no less important task for the Histadruth is the building of unity. I must tell you, my dear comrades, that personally I have not yet accepted the split and I do not think that it will be final. That is why I was very glad to hear Comrade Saillant say in his report "We do not believe that this split which has just taken place in the international trade union movement is complete and final. In origin it is foreign to the desire and feelings of the workers."

And again, "We do not believe that the trade union world as a whole can erect isolating compartments of wilful ignorance between one part of itself and another."

All this appears to me to be very correct. I am taking advantage of this opportunity moreover to tell our Comrade Saillant that his report is excellent not only because of its contents but also because of its tone: no exaggerated criticisms, no useless words; it is a report which can contribute to creating the atmosphere of confidence indispensable to the establishment of unity. It is difficult to establish this unity, but it is impossible to carry on the struggle against fascism without it: neither is it possible to fight for peace without it.

Is it possible to carry on the common struggle within the international organisations? I think so. And we shall be victorious; we shall lead humanity towards a better future as is affirmed in the report of the World Federation of Trade Unions, but I repeat, we cannot do so without complete unity, and I endorse the slogan launched by the speaker from the Soviet Union who said that we must appeal to everyone to reintegrate the family. And to achieve this our World Federation of Trade Unions and the Executive Committee must make very great efforts. It is, perhaps, a great deal to ask but it is worth it.

We cannot yet fully appreciate the harm which the split has done to the existence of the various organisations but we already know that the lack of unity is fatally damaging to us, and it is the task of the Executive to recreate a climate of confidence favourable to the return of unity. I am aware of all the difficulties which will arise, the questions of International Trade Secretariats, the Marshall Plan, the exaggerated interference in internal affairs of national organisations with too severe criticism. I was present at all the conversations which took place on these problems and I reached the conviction that, in spite of everything, in all conscience, the split was not inevitable. We could continue the negotiations and seek a solution.

The negotiations should have been continued and more concessions made, even if that was not to our taste, even if we found them exaggerated, because the very idea was worth the trouble. I beg you, comrades, not to accept this split yet as complete and final. Let us do everything possible to reconstruct this common household, this great family which is the World Federation of Trade Unions, to give additional guarantees to those who have left so that they may regain confidence in the family.

The Histadruth has given the example; it has sacrificed a lot itself to achieve unity because we understand that in our young State it is absolutely necessary and indispensable.

We have everything to win if we make concessions.

I promise you our entire collaboration in the struggle for peace,

in the fight against war, against fascism, in the battle to re-establish the unity of the working class, within our great family, the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*). I call on Comrade H. Warnke of Germany.

H. WARNKE (*Germany FDGB*). Comrades.

Allow me first of all to express the deep joy we feel in taking part for the first time in an assembly of the World Federation of Trade Unions, with rights equal to those of the other organisations.

We understand very well that after the terrible sufferings endured by the peoples of Europe under the German occupation, the workers of Germany must first of all furnish real proof of trade union activity justifying the mark of such great confidence as admission into the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We recognise our high obligation to justify, more than ever, the growing confidence which the world trade union movement is according us.

In the early days of its existence, the FDGB linked its activity to the programme and decisions of the WFTU and that even at the period when our trade union did not yet belong to the latter.

The German workers, more than anyone, are in a situation to learn profoundly from the mistakes of the past and to work for the existence and unity of an all-inclusive trade union international which will not show the same lamentable bankruptcy at the decisive hour as did the IFTU.

The Report of Activity of the WFTU very correctly stresses how artificial was the internationalism of the old IFTU and that it never had anything in common with the initiative which the workers took against war and fascism. This is why the workers of the whole world have put such great hopes in the WFTU.

Following the painful experiences which it has suffered, and the considerable errors which it has committed, the German working class feels profoundly the necessity for a strong trade union international in the struggle against reaction and the danger of war, for the defence of peace, for the conquest of social progress and for the defence and extension of the workers' rights.

The affiliation to the WFTU of the FDGB is certainly one of the most popular decisions which the Confederal Bureau of our organisation has taken, as is evidenced by the numerous trade union and works meetings in which a stand has been taken on this question. This is also demonstrated by the competitions between the nationalised enterprises in the Soviet Zone to obtain the banner which we have presented in honour of the World Congress.

On the eve of our departure for Milan, more than 2 million workingmen and women, employees and technicians in our Zone, charged me to bring their greetings to your Congress, greetings accompanied by a declaration of fidelity to the WFTU which will be handed to the Presidium of the Congress as soon as we know the exact number of signatures collected.

This declaration represents as it were the thanks of millions of German workers for the efforts devoted by the WFTU to the democra-

tisation of Germany and to the unification of the German Trade Unions. We know that so far these efforts have not achieved success as a result of the splitting activities of the AF of L and its friends in Germany.

Nevertheless, we have not abandoned the struggle. On the occasion of the opening of the Paris Conference, we sent a member of our Confederal Bureau to Western Germany to propose to the trade union leaders there the holding of a joint meeting during which would be formulated the demands of the German trade unions concerning the unity of Germany, demands which would have been transmitted to the Paris Conference.

We were given the reply that it was necessary to await the end of that Conference before being able to raise the question. It would be hard to give a clearer demonstration that there was dependence on the occupying powers.

Meanwhile, the Paris Diplomatic Conference came to an end. Its results could undoubtedly have been more positive if the German trade unions, in agreement with the parties, had been in a position to inform the Foreign Ministers' Conference of their resolute desire to see the re-establishment of German unity. Nevertheless, the results of the Conference leave the door open to certain hopes.

The decisions relating to the intensification of trade between the East and West of Germany could lead to a development of economic relations, which by becoming more and more close, could permit the achievement of unity. The FDGB places in the forefront of its tasks the encouragement of this development and the action to be undertaken for the re-establishment of trade union unity in Germany.

It is for this reason that we sent an open letter to all trade union officials and members in Western Germany stressing the significance of the WFTU, the necessity of understanding between all the German trade unions, and called on them to do everything to achieve understanding cutting across inter-zonal frontiers.

A heavy correspondence then followed between the staffs of basic enterprises and organisations in the different zones. It was in this way that many trade union officials of Western Germany were for the first time informed about the WFTU and learned of the decisions adopted by it relating to the admission of the German trade unions into its ranks. Until that time, in fact, the special nature of trade union democracy in Western Germany had not allowed the trade unionists of that region to be informed.

We were able to observe with lively satisfaction that thanks to our efforts, the invitation to participate in the Congress of the WFTU was also known in that part of Germany. In a series of enterprises at Hamburg, Stuttgart, etc., representatives were appointed to go to the Milan Conference, but they were refused the necessary visas.

When we act in favour of international trade union unity and of Germany unity, it is obviously in the interest of the German workers as a whole. The inter-zonal conferences of the German trade unions had in fact unanimously put forward their application for admission into the WFTU, an application which was abandoned without discussion by the trade union leaders of Western Germany.

Allow me now, Comrades, to give a few facts on the development

which is taking place in the Soviet Zone. During this Congress, one of our Western German friends will speak to you about the "reactionary evolution" which that part of Germany is undergoing.

We are establishing the basis for the policy to be followed from the trade union point of view taking account of experience and facts.

It was the trusts and the "Junkers", these two forces of darkness, closely united, which established the fascist dictatorship in Germany and provoked the attack of the neighbouring peoples by the German armies. But incontestably, the majority of the German people supported this venture, or at least did nothing to prevent the carrying out of a policy of aggression. Nevertheless, the truly democratic forces of Germany have always believed in the possibility, indeed the necessity of a democratic future for our people.

At the present time, this conviction is stronger than ever. But it must entail radical and decisive measures to conquer the reactionary forces and to allow the development of the forces of democracy.

In the Soviet Occupied Zone, we got to work immediately after the liberation by the Red Army. Thanks to the wide assistance given by the Soviet Military Administration, we were able to carry out the denazification of the economy and administration in our zone. The great landed proprietors were expropriated and their property divided up among the peasants formerly deprived of land and among displaced persons. A total of 6,800 land properties were expropriated without counting the property of other war criminals and militant Nazis; 3.1 million hectares were handed over to persons never having cultivated the land before; with the result that 475,000 new agricultural workings were created. In addition, collective farms were created; their present output equals 10 % of agricultural production.

Similarly, capitalist enterprises holding a monopoly were expropriated. At the present time there are some 3,000 socialised undertakings in our zone, and their output makes up 45 % of total production.

In our zone, a vast reform has been carried out; the trade unions have the right to joint-management in the enterprises.

At the present time, the trade unions of the Soviet Zone of Berlin have a membership of 5,100,000, that is to say, a greater trade union membership than that of the whole of pre-Facist Germany.

We are keeping all our attention and directing all our efforts to mass work in the factories, which is the source of all our trade union activity. We have taken decisions of a wide bearing in this connection. The workers are on an average 76.6 % organised; this proportion sometimes reaching and exceeding 90 % in the big enterprises. Since the trade union branches in the enterprises have become the basic administrative bodies, a sort of dualism resulted between them and the works committees. It was therefore decided to transfer the members of the works committee to the trade union branch of the enterprises; thus the trade union branch has become the sole trade union organisation on the level of the enterprise.

In the declarations made by the WFTU relating to the German problem, it stressed on several occasions that the working class must represent the determining force in the building of a truly democratic Germany. The development which is taking place in our zone demonstrates the correctness of this conception.

The working class must be the pioneer of the unity of the nation and of the unity of the world working class. It must work in the interest of democracy, to obtain the raising of the standard of living of the workers.

International reaction and German reaction hope for division. Democracy wants the unity of Germany. The present situation must dictate the line of conduct to be followed by the German labour movement, and by the international labour movement, the policy to be supported and encouraged, that is, a policy permitting the achievement of the democratic unity of Germany and the unity of the German working class.

We German trade unionists of the Soviet Zone of Berlin, and with us, hundreds of thousand of progressive trade unionists of Western Germany, affirm our fidelity to the aims of the WFTU. We will make every effort to bring about by our own means a historic reversal, to cause the birth of a true democracy in Germany which will guarantee our neighbours against a return of such crimes as those which were perpetrated by reaction.

This is the impassioned appeal which we are issuing to the workers, to the labour movement and to the progressive forces of the whole world.

Support us in our struggle for the democratic unity of Germany, against German and international reaction which is seeking to divide our country in order to attain its imperialist ends. Support the logical, rational and vigorous policy of the WFTU, which is a sure guarantee of world peace and which sees in the German working class and its progressive trade unions, one of the essential elements in the creation of a new and democratic Germany. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*). I call on Comrade Cwik. Vice President of the Polish Trade Unions.

S. CWIK (*Poland*). The report on the activity of the WFTU which was presented yesterday by the General Secretary, Comrade Saillant, and the printed report both give us an objective illustration of the efforts and the struggles of the WFTU as well as its achievements in the period between its first and second World Congresses. The Polish delegation fully approves this activity. The WFTU, this powerful instrument of struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the working masses organised in the ranks of trade unions, for peace and social progress, has the full support of the Polish trade union movement. We are in complete agreement with the analysis of the facts which were described yesterday by Comrade Saillant.

The WFTU has carried on great activity, following the decisions of the Trade Union Conference of London and the 1st Paris Congress. The majority of the leaders of the WFTU have taken concrete measures for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers in all countries for the extermination of all forms of Fascist Government and of all the manifestations of Fascism, and for the fight against war and the causes of war. They have waged the struggle for democratic rights and have supported the wars of liberation of the colonial peoples.

The majority of the leaders of the WFTU have certainly applied the decision of its Congress and Conferences. It was different with the ex-members of the Executive Bureau and Committee who attempted to undermine the WFTU, and who when they failed in their attempts, withdrew their National Centres from its ranks.

The Polish trade unions are filled with the same sentiment which animates the other National Centres responsible for the work of the WFTU. They took an active part in the fulfilment of the decisions of the WFTU. They have worked alongside the trade union masses of other countries to construct and maintain the unity of the workers of the whole world.

The Polish delegation is aware and appreciates the difficulties which the WFTU encountered and is still encountering in its activity. difficulties about which Comrade Soloviev and other delegates have spoken.

It goes without saying that the forces of reaction with American imperialism at their head, cannot reconcile themselves to the existence of a militant international trade union organization. In the period covered by the report, the class enemy has applied various methods in the fight against the WFTU : open terror against National Trade Union Centres in capitalist and colonial countries and the methods of undermining and splitting the trade union ranks on the national and international scale.

To the strengthening of the forces of peace and progress and to the entry of new millions of men and women into the active struggle against capitalist exploitation and the warmongers, there corresponds the heightened attack of the retrograde classes in decline against the offensive of the working masses.

The Polish trade unions are paying very special attention to the struggle for the maintenance of the unity of the WFTU. We have learned from our own experience, the experience of our pre-1939 development, what were the causes of the defeat inflicted on the Polish working class.

Our trade unions were divided because reaction had succeeded over a long period of time in paralysing the natural aspirations of the masses for unity.

The Polish trade unions had given their full support to the struggle against attempts at division against the campaign of slanders and provocation directed by the agents of imperialism, against the WFTU and certain National Centres.

The Polish trade unions unshakeably support the standpoint of unity of the world trade union movement. We are of the opinion that the General Council and the Executive Committees have done everything possible to maintain this unity.

We are fully convinced that our Congress will contribute in a large measure to demonstrating the truth to the trade union masses affiliated to the National Centres which have been withdrawn from the WFTU. We are convinced that we shall again find these trade unions in our own ranks in the common struggle for complete unity of the world trade union movement.

The effectiveness of the struggle for the maintenance and consolidation of the unity of the WFTU and for the subsequent realisation

of its programme in the sphere of the defence of the economic and social rights of the workers depends not only on the organisational capacity and energy of the WFTU's leaders. This effectiveness also depends to a large extent on the activity of the National Centres affiliated to the WFTU.

It seems to me that as far as the National Centres are concerned we have done everything possible to assist the leadership of the WFTU in the enlargement of its organisational apparatus. I think that the National Centres will have to make new efforts to give every material assistance—and particularly from the organisational point-of-view—to the Executive Bureau and the Executive Committee which we shall be electing during this Congress.

The Polish delegation appreciates the measures undertaken by the WFTU to create the Trade Departments. We attach great importance to them because we are of the opinion that the Trade Departments should constitute the basis of the activity of the WFTU.

The Polish trade unions will contribute in the most active fashion to the creation of new Departments and to the work of those which have already been set up.

The Polish delegation considers that educational work among the masses must be strengthened in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and fraternity among the peoples. Our last Congress of the Polish trade unions which took place a month ago was a great demonstration by the Polish workers in favour of the WFTU and solidarity with the working masses of the whole world. We have listened today with the greatest attention to the speeches of the comrades from Cyprus, Tunisia, Cuba and the Lebanon and we have felt a deepening sentiment of fraternal solidarity with their struggle against their own exploiters as well as against foreign imperialists. We know that such are the sentiments of the Polish working class as whole.

We assure our comrades in countries oppressed by the imperialists that we are with them with all our heart in their struggle full of sacrifices. We consider it our most elementary duty to give them all the assistance which will be asked of us by the WFTU.

The Polish delegation notes that we have done too little up to now to establish direct contacts between our trade unions and the respective trade unions of other countries and in particular with those whose National Centres have withdrawn from the WFTU. Not one of the trade unions whose National Centres left the WFTU must be considered as lost to the WFTU.

In carrying out their duty of international solidarity, the Polish trade unions have given considerable assistance, both material and moral to the struggle of trade unionists in capitalist and colonial countries.

We have not, however, supplied them with sufficient information on our trade union movement and we have not received enough information on their work and their struggle. We wish to establish living contact, not only sporadic as in the case of a concrete action but in a continuous and systematic fashion.

The Polish trade unions wish to draw from the experience of the international trade union movement as a whole and particularly from

the experience of the trade unions of those vanguard countries like the first Socialist State : The Soviet Union.

We realise particularly that the specially favourable situation in which the Polish trade unions work is due to these social, economic and political transformations which have taken place in Poland since the liberation of our country by the heroic and victorious Soviet Army.

We feel responsible for the work of the WFTU and we realise the duties which fall to us, particularly the duties of the strict and correct application of the resolutions and recommendations of the WFTU.

In our trade union work in Poland we have carried out and are continuing to carry out the recommendations of the WFTU by ensuring the labouring masses of a constant improvement in their material situation, by raising their cultural level, by developing their social consciousness, the workers' leisure, safety and hygiene at work. For this purpose the Polish trade unions enjoy the full support of our peoples' government.

The Polish working class which is the vanguard of our nation is convinced that the development of our national economy, the reinforcement of our People's State, and the strengthening of the links of international solidarity contribute to the cause of the working masses of the whole world, and the growing role of the WFTU and the heightened struggle of the workers of all countries strengthen the cause of peace and the security of our frontiers and make it possible to construct a new social system.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassain Sadaoui*). I call on Comrade Evzen Erban, Czechoslovakian delegate.

E. ERBAN (*Czechoslovakia*). Comrades, in the name of the Czech delegation I would like to express our agreement with the report made by Comrade Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, and to make one or two remarks relating to this report.

The military defeat of fascism has in no way diminished the importance of the efforts of the working class to establish unity of action in favour of the defence of peace, solidarity and the interests of the workers. The last war provoked by fascism and caused by those who fostered it, did not only have a customary imperialist character, but at the same time a clearly counter-revolutionary character. The efforts of the fomenters of war were not aiming solely at improving their position in relation to their economic competitors, but at the same time at the weakening of the working class and the wiping out of its most important successes. The Soviet Union, as the first socialist State, was to have been destroyed, or at least considerably weakened. The workers' organisations were to be liquidated and the colonialist regime strengthened.

The war mongers did not succeed in achieving these aims. Postwar developments show us that fascism was not only the affair of the German bourgeoisie and that it does not only represent a transitory and accidental regime in the most recent evolution of capitalist society.

The support for fascist and anti-labour governments still in existence, a new outburst of nationalist or racial hatred, brutal repression of the workers' unions and terror against its militants, and also the bloody "pacification" of the colonial peoples demanding their liberty, prove to us that, even after the military defeat of the first fascist regimes, the fascist methods and ideology still exist and serve the bourgeoisie in its endeavours for the maintenance and increase of its profits and for the enslavement and exploitation not only of the working class, but also of all the populations.

The World Federation of Trade Unions was created at a time of profound disturbance to the economic and ideological bases of monopoly capitalism, at a time when its two mainstays—namely fascism and the policy of cooperation with the bourgeoisie—had been weakened and compromised. International reaction, deprived of its mainstays, found itself faced with a working class which had become stronger in influence and in class consciousness. The influence of the imperialists on the labour movement was reduced to a minimum. In these conditions, the capitalists did not have the possibility of preventing the creation of the first world organisation of the workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Comrade Saillant has demonstrated in his report that the enemies of progress and peace have passed very quickly from intransigence to weakness and betrayal.

On the occasion of the London Conference in February 1945, one of the representatives of the TUC said that the rally of trade unionists must be stronger than the rumbling of thunder so that the interests of the workers might be defended as effectively as possible. In 1948, at a time of growing aggression of international capitalism, at a time when attempts were being made to re-establish fascism, at a time when capitalist profits were rising and the poverty of the workers increasing, other representatives of the same TUC proposed the suspension of the activities of the WFTU.

The Czech trade unionists have learned with satisfaction of the reply of the Executive Committee as regards the attempt to liquidate the activity of the WFTU a reply which demonstrates that our world organisation will strengthen its activities in order to put an end to the threats of war, fascism and the exploitation of the workers.

Let us therefore recall once more the tasks and activities of our world organisation, of which Comrade Saillant has spoken from this rostrum. All of the activity of our World Federation has been devoted to the interests of the workers, to unity and international solidarity, to the struggle against fascism, to assisting the workers in subject countries, to the general improvement of the living conditions and the rights of the workers of the whole world.

It has already been stressed, and we fully agree, that the basic tasks, mapped out on the occasion of the first Congress of the WFTU, will not be modified. There is no reason for there to be any modification whatsoever. On the contrary, the development of the world situation since our first Congress has proved to us that it is necessary to accentuate more than ever international unity and solidarity, to struggle for the maintenance of world peace and consequently to defend the interests of the workers against capitalist exploitation. Our tasks

are so broad and so fundamentally human that they express the aspirations of all workers, whatever the social regime in which they live and without discrimination as to their political, philosophic or religious opinions.

But there is one question of extraordinary importance which is raised in the Congress, namely how to associate in the fulfilment of this broad programme the workers of countries and organisations whose leaders have betrayed, not only the programme of the WFTU but the WFTU itself. Would it be correct to demand at all costs the affiliation to our organisation of all trade unions and trade union groups which proclaim support for international labour solidarity, without consideration of the internal situation in their own countries? In the opinion of the Czech delegation this attitude would not be correct.

The WFTU is the expression of the interests of the working class *at the period of upheaval* in the social evolution of the human species. Its principal task is to link workers' organisations together on a world plane to achieve the policy of peace, social progress and to inform trade unionists on the importance of international solidarity. However, it must not be forgotten that progress in the different countries depends above all on the activity of the national trade union organisations. Nor must it be forgotten that the attempts to break world trade union unity, inspired and directed by our class enemies, was to provoke a crisis in the different trade union organisations, and in this way to break their national unity.

One can truly observe that in several countries, the question of international unity is discussed among trade unionists, but that at the same time different tendencies manifest themselves in the various National Centres and in their affiliated Trade Unions. These differences could be useful but also extremely dangerous, if they succeeded in breaking the unity of the organisations of the countries which had succeeded in maintaining it.

And therefore, if the WFTU aims to develop its own organisational basis, it will be necessary in our opinion, for this to be in full agreement with the interests of the workers in the countries in question. If the affiliation of a certain National Centre or a trade union involves the division and isolation of the trade unionists who have the greatest class consciousness from the rank and file, this would only be an apparent strengthening of the international trade union movement.

Our influence will be much greater than our organisation itself, and it will grow all the time, although not immediately observable from the facts, by carrying on more and better than ever the fulfilment and propagation of the international policy for peaceful cooperation and the extension of the rights of the workers. It is in this way that we shall unmask in each international situation, and on every occasion, those who are abusing their functions in the labour movement, by being valets of the enemies of the working class.

Our activity has up till the present time been inadequate, and we shall do everything possible to perfect it. We must learn how to take advantage of every international platform to obtain results for and to propagate our point of view and the interest of the working class and at the same time to unmask the hypocrisy of those who are attempting to

drag the workers into new struggles, one against the other, while trying to subject one part of them to the imperialist interests of their class enemies.

We must therefore achieve a perfect specialisation of the technical apparatus, and possibly militant cadres of the WFTU. It is necessary always to prepare with great care the representation in international bodies and to send carefully-briefed delegates who give the assurance of fulfilling their functions both from the political and trade point of view. It will also be necessary in the future to popularise the activity of the WFTU by broader means than have been utilised up to the present. The evolution of these last few months shows us that these tasks will be achieved with success.

Another of our tasks consists in systematically informing all the trade unionists of the world of the activities of our enemies and the destroyers of labour unity. I would like to quote an example, that of the Conference of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. At this Conference, trade union representatives, present enemies of the WFTU took a stand during the discussion on trade union liberties stressing that the right to strike must not be counted among trade union liberties and they showed themselves to be of the same opinion as the employers' representatives on this question.

They voted with them for the granting to the employers' organisations of the same rights as labour organisations, and this at a time when in many countries, the employers' organisations, their associations and leading members are demanding terrorist intervention against the workers.

Our delegation is of the opinion that the Congress should adopt a clear position on this problem thereby preventing the harm which could be produced in many countries. The Czech workers possess rich experiences gained during the struggle for the establishment and maintenance of their unity, experience not only of the pre-Munich period, but also new experiences since the end of the war.

After study of these experiences, the working class finally drew its lessons in February of last year. At that time, its enemies tried to deprive it of all the gains won after the defeat of fascism and to thrust it back into the old state of disunity, subjection, humiliation and poverty.

The Czechoslovakian movement of February in which millions of trade unionists took part, grouped in their single organisation, is our contribution to international solidarity, progress and peace. It was through this unity that the Czech working class was sufficiently strong to rebuff the reactionary attacks which are also being manifested against the WFTU and which were encountered by trade unionists in most countries.

Our international evolution has convinced us that as long as there exists an exploiting class, there will also exist to a greater or lesser extent, its influence on the workers and on the trade union organisations.

From the outset, we have taken this into consideration without resigning ourselves to it. We have endeavoured to persuade every worker, by means of a practical policy, that he has a role to play within the single trade union organisation. We have revealed on each

occasion to the working class the valets of their enemies' interests in their own ranks.

Organisation has always been the indispensable means of achieving our aims. We succeeded in creating a firm unity of all the workers without distinction as to political or religious opinions in face of the attempts of the reactionary elements in certain political parties to break trade union unity along the lines of political affiliations.

At the Congress of February, trade union groups from enterprises, composed of thousands of delegates, unanimously and unreservedly declared themselves in favour of trade union unity and for the restoration of the National Front as the basis for cooperation between all progressive elements in our national life with the working class in the lead. It was in the same spirit of unity that the general strike took place in all the factories and administrations in Czechoslovakia, the strike which prepared the final defeat of the reactionary forces.

It was through this unity, under firm and progressive leadership, that we were able to achieve our victorious February. Without this unity, under firm and progressive leadership it would not have been possible to achieve the active rallying of the popular forces led by the workers, which succeeded in conquering in the shortest possible time and without losses, the forces which wished to re-establish the system of class exploitation in our country.

We thank you also—comrades representing the international working class—for our victory. In February 1948, we knew very well that the successes which you won throughout the world in the fight against capitalist reaction, assisted us in an effective way. It is for this reason that, on the occasion of the second Congress of the WFTU, we wish to inform you of this and to thank you for your solidarity, your resolution and your strength.

We thank the Soviet people and its trade unions for having established socialism in a great part of the world. The victory and the existence of socialism has greatly assisted our victorious struggle against internal and international capitalism, without making blood victims of our trade unionists and our people.

We also thank you comrades who represent trade unions in capitalist and subject countries for your loyal struggle for the workers. Thus, the results of your struggle constituted and constitute a support and reinforcement of the efforts with which we, in more favourable conditions, are pursuing the same ends as you, namely to defeat the regime of exploitation and to give all the working people the right to a peaceful life in ever better material and cultural conditions.

This is why, in the future as today, the Czech trade union will give their full support to our great World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*).

I now call on Mr. Crowther of the World Federation of Scientific Workers.

J. G. CROWTHER. The World Federation of Scientific Workers warmly thanks the WFTU for the invitation to its second Congress.

Our President, Professor Joliot-Curie has asked me to communicate the following message to your Congress :

"The World Federation of Scientific Workers sends its ardent wishes for success to the Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It affirms the desire of the scientists and technicians grouped in its organisation to give their wholehearted support to the attainment of its aims, notably well-being and peace, through the efforts of the peoples."

There has never been a time when unity between all the workers has been of such profound importance for social progress and for peace. Among all the directions in which unity is needed none is more important than that of unity between workers by hand and by brain, between manual workers and scientific workers.

Science is penetrating every human activity and trade in ever increasing degree. The work of the miner, agriculturalist, the textile operative, like that of the chemical worker, is in contact with science at many points.

For this reason, scientist and manual worker must work together.

And there is another reason. The discoveries of scientists are creating tremendous new possibilities for human progress, and also for human disaster. The implications of the release of atomic energy are impressive enough, but we can expect in the future biological discoveries of still greater implications, for these may be concerned not with the invention of mere machines, but with the possibility of directly changing the nature of living things, including man himself. When we remember what Nazi scientists have already done in their extermination camps, we are utterly horrified by what would happen if these future discoveries fell into the wrong hands.

The peculiar characteristics of scientific work have always exposed the scientific worker to special social dangers. His needs for long training and concentration have tended to separate him from other workers, and he has always been under heavy social pressure to throw in his lot with his employers, and not with other workers.

As scientific discoveries increase in importance, the pressure on the scientist to separate himself from other workers rapidly increases, until today, we see the representatives of monopoly capitalism descending to the worst forms of intimidation to force the scientists away from trade union organisation and collaboration with the working masses. Laws have been passed in many countries which turn normal scientific work into treason. The atomic scientist who asks for or publishes certain information about the atom, is liable to years of imprisonment, or worse.

We are witnessing a most determined attempt to separate the scientist from the working masses, and make him the intellectual slave of monopoly capitalism, so that all of the power that comes from his discoveries shall be in the possession of the few.

The World Federation of Scientific Workers is utterly opposed to this sinister development. It believes that the unity of the scientist with the working masses is absolutely essential for social progress and for the progress of science and the scientist.

In his greatly appreciated message to our first General Assembly in 1948, your General Secretary M. Louis Saillant said that "more than

ever, the intellectual and manual workers fight side by side to eliminate the dangers of war and to found the conditions for a stable peace by a more coherent and rational organisation of the world. We must, therefore, study together the solutions that can be brought to bear in the interests of peace, on problems such as the application of science with a view to the raising of the standard of life of the peoples, the development of colonial and backward regions, the utilization of atomic energy, etc."

We profoundly agree with these views, and have already begun work on certain technical questions of interest to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We hope that systematic collaboration on concrete problems by our two Federations will be extended and become permanent, so that we can bring our resources of scientific and technical knowledge to the service of the workers and assist in the solution of all scientific and technical questions which affect them.

The World Federation of Scientific Workers is a young organisation founded in 1946. It contains eighteen associations of scientific workers drawn from fifteen countries, spread over the five continents. Our membership consists of 25,000 qualified scientists. We are as yet small, but we are already world-wide, and we have had the honour of being one of the sponsoring bodies of the World Congress for Peace held in Paris last April.

We believe that scientific workers and manual workers must work together on concrete tasks, so that the bonds of understanding and comradeship between them become indissoluble.

When all the scientists, and all the other workers, work together as one, exploitation and war will become impossible and the human race can devote all its energies to continuous human development in a peaceful world. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*Hassein Sadaoui*). I call on Comrade Borissov, member of the Auditing Committee.

V. BORISSOV (*USSR*). Comrades, great tasks await the World Federation of Trade Unions. It has already achieved important ones; it fights against all infringements of the economic and social rights of the workers and their democratic liberties; it fights for the improvement of the working conditions of the workers, for the introduction of a complete system of social insurance providing guarantees against unemployment, illness, accidents, and old age; it still fights to unite the trade unions of the whole world in its ranks; it also fights against wars and their causes and for the establishment of a fraternal union between all workers.

In order to achieve such missions a material basis is indispensable. This material basis is represented by the trade union affiliation fees which, according to the Constitution, must be paid by the Centres belonging to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This is why the success of the activity of the WFTU depends in part on the way in which the affiliation fees are paid by the affiliated Trade Union Centres.

Now the Auditing Committee has established that a series of

Trade Union Centres do not pay their ~~affiliation fees~~ regularly; certain of these Centres are considerably in arrears with their fees.

The causes of these arrears can be summarised as follows :—

1. Certain Trade Union Centres have not been in a position to fulfil their statutory obligations in the previous years as the result of a difficult economic situation in the countries to which they belong; colonial war, economic crisis, etc.

Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, etc. are in this position.

2. Certain Centres have had arrears as a result of currency exchange difficulties; they have not been able to obtain pounds sterling to meet their debts with the Federation in good time.

3. Certain Trade Union Centres, like the British TUC, the American CIO and the Canadian Trade Union Centre have not paid because they were preparing to leave the Federation and because they wished to undermine the financial situation of the WFTU. The incorrect attitude of these Trade Union Centres, which possess extensive financial resources, towards the organisation to which they belonged, cannot be explained in any other way.

Thus the CIO was one year in arrears in its payments. It would seem that the leaders of the CIO wished to put pressure on the WFTU with their dollars to force it to take decisions in conformity with their interests and their designs. But they met with total failure.

The Executive Bureau granted certain payment facilities to Trade Union Centres which were meeting with extreme financial difficulties; for example, it granted remissions to the Centres of Syria, Uruguay and Cuba, which have to pay an affiliation fee amounting to 50 % of the normal fee. A reduction of 75 % was granted to the organisations of Burma, India, Iraq and Jamaica.

At the present time, the total arrears in affiliation fees amounts, for all the Trade Union Centres, including the Centres which have already left the WFTU, to £29,083, sterling.

For the period included between October 1st 1945 and March 31st 1949, the receipts of the WFTU stand at £273,945, the affiliation fees of the Centres amount to £255,017. For the same period, the Federation spent £240,499.

The Federation spent £116,275 for propaganda and organisation; £66,445 for the wages of the personnel; £40,003 for materials.

Let me now give you a few details on certain items. The WFTU spent £24,733 on publications. The publications of the Federation have made an effective contribution to the defence of our common cause. The Bulletin which the WFTU publishes deals with all the important problems concerning the world trade union movement; it gives information to all the trade union organisations on the experiences encountered in the different countries. Thus, it allows the various Centres to carry out propaganda.

It is important to stress the utility of the brochure edited for the Congress, "Free Trade Unions Remain in the WFTU", a brochure printed in several languages and which reveals to the whole world the treacherous work of the British TUC and the American CIO which attempted to undermine and destroy the WFTU.

The present situation will certainly demand an extension of the work undertaken to reveal the splitters still more completely, to mobilise the working masses around the slogan of the struggle for peace and for the increasing of the peoples' well-being.

Let us now examine the item relating to delegation expenses. These expenses stand at £46,957. As you know, the WFTU sent several delegations to Germany. The aim was to pursue the important objectives of the creation and unification of free German trade unions which would be capable of working for the democratisation, denazification and demilitarisation of Germany.

The visits of the delegations to Germany have certainly contributed to the resolution of certain problems and to the establishment of the bases of a free trade union movement in Germany.

The WFTU also sent delegations to Northern Korea and to Japan, and this has permitted the consolidation of the position of the WFTU in Japan and the constitution of a free trade union movement in that country.

Although the American Occupation Administration, represented by General MacArthur, placed every kind of obstacle in the way of the work of these delegations, the Japanese workers, the progressive militants of the trade unions, responded to the appeal of the WFTU.

The Japanese trade unions admitted by the Executive Committee into the ranks of the Federation have carried out considerable work for the defence of the interests of the workers and of democratic rights.

The dispatch of two WFTU delegations to Iran also proved itself important. In that country in fact, democratic rights are trampled underfoot and trade union liberties are subject to outrageous infringements. Indeed, free trade unions have been made illegal.

The WFTU also sent a delegation to South Africa to assist the trade union movement in its work.

Naturally there are expenses involved in the maintenance of the apparatus of the WFTU, which carries out considerable work of liaison between the various Trade Union Centres belonging to the WFTU; for the publication of a quantity of literature, bulletins, pamphlets, etc., all indispensable expenditure.

An analysis of the financial report of the WFTU shows that the financial situation is quite satisfactory. In March 1949, the WFTU's cash balance stood at £33,446.

Comrade Saillant has taken all the necessary measures to consolidate the financial situation of the Federation and to make the maximum economies. The Auditing Committee has confirmed that the accounts of the WFTU are in order and proposes the approval of the financial report which it is submitting to you.

We shall be obliged, particularly as a result of the creation of Trade Departments, to call on new resources. The results of the first Trade Conferences (Metal workers, Textile, Leather and Hides), give us an idea of the considerable importance which the Trade Departments will assume. They are capable in fact of bringing together millions of workers belonging to one branch of industry for the defence of their rights, the rights of the peoples, peace and world unity. Assistance should be given to the Trade Departments by the National Centres.

Consequently, the WFTU General Council, meeting before the Congress, decided to ask henceforth for the whole of the affiliation fees provided for in the Constitution, namely £4 (sterling) per 1,000 members up to 5 million members.

In order to allow the WFTU and its Trade Departments to work normally, it is indispensable for all the National Trade Union Centres to pay their subscriptions in good time and to allow no arrears; the effectiveness of our work depends on this.

It is indispensable to take account of the difficulties encountered in the payment of subscriptions by Centres in countries whose currency is blocked. In effect, in spite of all their good will, these Centres cannot succeed in sending their funds to the WFTU in pounds sterling.

The Bureau of the Federation must find means which will allow us to make use of the subscriptions of these Centres. I think, for example, that measures could be taken to recover the money owed. Literature could be published in the countries in which the currency is blocked. We could also hold sessions of the Executive Committee and Bureau in these countries. These countries could be got to pay for delegations which are sent there; trade conferences could be held there, etc.

I feel that the second World Trade Union Congress must instruct its new Executive Committee to draw up strict rules concerning the payment of trade union affiliation fees, which must be carried out regularly. Moreover, it is necessary to examine methods of making economies in the various grades of the WFTU. All this is necessary if we wish to give effect to the important decisions which our Congress will take. (*Applause.*)

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 1st JULY 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of A. Le Léap.

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call on Comrade Misha of Albania.

K. MISHA (*Albania*). Comrades, Comrade Saillant's report gives a clear picture of the activity of the WFTU. He has exposed the infringements of democratic liberties and trade union rights, described the struggle for the improvement of the workers' living and working conditions and the continuous efforts which are being made for labour unity and the safeguarding of peace.

The Albanian workers, who have always appreciated the importance and value of united action on the part of all the workers in the WFTU, have been very active in all solidarity campaigns for the victims of reaction. They condemn the splitters who, by placing themselves at the service of the worst enemies of the working class and of peace, have done their utmost to destroy the WFTU.

But the WFTU will live and grow stronger, because it represents the desires and interests of millions of workers throughout the world, and because it unites the most convinced defenders and the most consistent partisans of labour unity, for example the Soviet Trade Unions.

This is the firm conviction of the Albanian UGS, which represents 90 % of Albanian workers and is resolved to give all its strength to consolidating and developing the WFTU, for in this way it will be interpreting its members' determination to defend peace and the interests of all workers.

Comrades, under the anti-people, feudal-bourgeois regime of Zog, the Albanian working class knew abject poverty and the most inhuman exploitation. During the nazi-fascist occupation, it was subjected to the blackest barbarism and terror. But today it is free, liberated from exploitation, thanks to the heroic Soviet Army's crushing defeat of fascism, to the firm and correct leadership of the Albanian Communist Party, and to our thousands of martyred workers and sons of the people.

With the establishment of popular power and the nationalisation of the mines and industry, the working class now has every opportunity for development. It already directs the country's economy. 80 % of the workers take part in socialist emulation, and, acting on the principle

“ from each according to his capacities ” keep production figures rising above those envisaged by the State economic plans. In doing so they are preparing a better life and laying the foundations of socialism.

In fact, labour has become for us an honourable and patriotic duty. The curse of unemployment no longer exists. At the end of the war industrial production had fallen to 78.03 % of 1938, and mining output to 52.56 %, but both returned to pre-war level by 1946, and by 1948 had risen to 322.60 % of 1938 for industrial production and 234.39 % for the mines. For this we must thank the heroic work and self-sacrifice of our workers, and the fraternal, disinterested help with our Two-Year Plan from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. We have set up cooperatives for textiles, sugar, leather, and so on, to consolidate the economy of the country and to safeguard its independence. Towns have also been built with comfortable homes for the workers.

In the mountain regions roads and railways are being mapped out and constructed, and there is great all-round improvement throughout the country.

Alongside the economic advances, the working class and its trade union organisation is growing stronger. Since the first WFTU Congress in 1945, the membership of our organisation has roughly tripled and is constantly rising. Our trade union organisation is assisted in its work by the People's Government, which has particular consideration for the working class.

On the request of the trade unions, the People's Government passed a social insurance law, the labour code, and a series of orders whose application is under trade union control.

The adult working day is 8 hours, 6 hours for those engaged on heavy or unhealthy work. Most workers get 2 to 4 weeks' paid holiday, which they spend free of charge by the sea, in the mountains or in the trade union rest-homes.

Equal pay for equal work and a series of provisions which protect young mothers and other women workers have made it possible for them to take a large part in production; similar measures for the young worker enable him to develop his technical skill, culture and physique.

In addition, a series of measures guarantees free clothes and extra food to workers on heavy or unhealthy work. Canteens and kitchen-gardens supply the workers with food at reasonable prices.

Social Insurance has just passed under the control of the General Union of Trade Unions. It provides free accident insurance to all workers and their families.

Before the liberation of the country there were only 643 primary schools and 83 % of the population was illiterate. At the end of 1948 the number of schools rose to 1,893, of which 590 are primary and seven-year schools and 4 evening high-schools. The majority of the students at the latter schools are workers. In 400 courses organised by the trade unions during 1947-1948, 5,416 illiterates learned how to read and write.

In addition, 35 trade union clubs and cinemas, 135 recreational centres, 235 libraries, 91 choirs, 121 theatrical circles, 29 music circles and 867 discussion groups have contributed to the education of thousands of workers.

Special attention is paid by our organisation to the vocational training of workers, with the cooperation of the nationalised enterprises. The trade unions direct more than 550 theoretical and practical courses in which more than 9,000 workers take part. In this way it has been possible to train a great number of skilled workers indispensable to the new industries.

Finally, our organisation, profiting from the rich experience of the Soviet trade unions, is continually increasingly strengthening that democracy, criticism and self-criticism which make our trade unions democratic mass organisations of the workers.

But the enemies of our working class and of our country, the Anglo-American imperialists and their lackeys, are continually endeavouring to hinder this peaceful and constructive work. They have organised sabotage, they slander us, they are against our country, which contributed so much to the war against fascism, being represented in the United Nations. Finally, their lackeys the Greek monarcho-fascists, the hangmen of the Greek people and the murderers of Paparigas, continually provoke incidents at our frontiers.

Our workers are firmly resolved to continue, shoulder to shoulder with all the workers united in the WFTU, their struggle against all the enemies of the working class, for Peace and the united action of the workers. They send fraternal greetings to this Congress and to the workers represented here, and condemn and brand the work of the splitters.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU, FAITHFUL DEFENDER OF THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD !

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I now call on Comrade Apostol of the Rumanian trade unions.

G. APOSTOL (*Rumania*). Comrades,

The report presented by Comrade Louis Saillant, our General Secretary, reflects the WFTU's great activity in all spheres in its 45 months of existence.

We all know,—and Comrade Saillant has strongly emphasised—that it was due to the reactionary leaders of the National Trade Union Centres of Britain, the United States of America, Holland and others, who did not desire long life for the WFTU, that this Congress could not take place within the period of time laid down in the Constitution of the WFTU.

Right-wing elements at the head of the British and American trade unions have carried on uninterrupted activity to weaken and divide the unity of the WFTU. Against the will of their own trade union organisations, they drew up a treacherous and despicable plan to liquidate the WFTU.

They have probably forgotten that the WFTU exists not because they willed it but on the contrary because of the ardent desire of the international working class to have an international organisation to

help them improve the working and living conditions of the workers and ensure peace and understanding between the peoples.

The second Congress of the WFTU must represent a vigorous reply by the international trade union forces to the dividing elements who are attempting to prevent the strengthening of the working class and its struggle for the right to life and liberty.

I am going to try and show what has been the contribution of the trade union movement of our country to the WFTU up to the present.

Since the first Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions the trade union movement in our country has come a long way; the popular forces of our country, representing the immense majority of the people, have wrested the State power from the hands of the exploiting class.

Political power is no longer in the hands of the representatives of parasitic big capital, but of the working class, which is closely linked to the agricultural workers and to the small peasants. Our working class, allied with the poor peasants, has become the leading political force of the working people as a whole. It has set to work with enthusiasm to construct a socialist society.

From the organisational point of view, our trade union movement has recorded important successes. In our Republic there are no longer any manual or intellectual wage-earners who do not belong to the General Confederation of Labour, which now contains 21 trade unions with a membership of 1,716,279, whereas at the first Congress of the WFTU we had 16 unions with a total of 1,276,200 members. This represents an increase of 40 % in the number of members in comparison with 1945.

With the removal of the last bourgeois representatives from the government set up on 5 March 1945, the abolition of the monarchy and the introduction of the Rumanian People's Republic, new and bright prospects were opened up, the ending of mass poverty and the economic prosperity of our country.

The Constitution adopted on April 6th 1948 proclaims that citizens have the right to work and that the State would gradually ensure the exercise of this right by the planned development of the national economy. The Constitution guaranteed women equal rights with men in all fields, economic, social and political.

The principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women is embodied in the Constitution. Mothers, and children up to the age of sixteen enjoy special protection established by law.

As regards health, the State guarantees social and medical assistance in case of sickness, accident and disability.

The trade unions of our country give extensive support to all the measures of our democratic government; the trade unions have provided thousands of trained administrators for the nationalised enterprises, for the various State functions, for the Peoples Councils, etc.

Thanks to the educational activity carried on by the trade unions among the wage-earners, the latter have adopted a new attitude towards work. This attitude is manifested in the continual development of socialist emulation, which is becoming increasingly widespread.

This energy and initiative of the working masses, stifled under capitalist exploitation, now has constantly greater opportunities for development. Among the workers there appears a growing number of inventors, innovators, and initiators, in the movement for the rationalisation of production processes. The number of skilled workers increases daily.

The changeover to a planned economy has opened the way to economic development on a scale hitherto unknown in our country, and thus created ever wider opportunities to improve the standard of living of the wage-earners. The new wages system introduced at the beginning of the year guarantees everyone a wage calculated according to the quality and quantity of his work, and constitutes a powerful incentive in this direction.

Within a few months of the application of this system the workers were able to increase their earnings. Those who distinguished themselves in various branches of production received weekly incomes 180 % to 200 % above their basic scale. The new situation created in the nationalised enterprises rendered necessary new collective agreements. The old collective agreements constituted a weapon of struggle against exploitation, but today they rest on the principle of cooperation between the workers and the management of the enterprise, in their common aim of fulfilling and exceeding our first State Plan. This Plan is closely linked to the improvement of the living conditions of the working population.

The collective agreements concluded in the socialised enterprises which were drawn up with the active, mass participation of the workers defend the interests of the State as well as those of the workers. In addition to the obligations for the workers, the collective agreement contains obligations for the management to provide crèches centres, canteens, measures for the protection of labour, for the raising of the cultural level of the workers, workers' dwellings, vocational schools, and so on.

Major contributions to raising the purchasing power of the wage-earner have been made by successive price reductions on essential articles, and by repeated cuts in workers income-tax.

One of our trade unions' most important gains in the fight for better living conditions is the new Social Insurance, organisation which is now under trade union control.

Under the new insurance law the contribution, representing 10 % of wages, is entirely borne by the employer, and benefits are paid at the place of work itself. For the first time State employees and agricultural labourers have been included in a single system of social insurance. The Social Insurance system pays very special attention to pregnant women. In addition to paid leave of 6 weeks both before and after child-birth, the woman receives a special allowance for the layette and a 50 % wage-increase during nine months' nursing period.

The right to rest guaranteed by the Constitution is regulated by a new law which provides the machinery for sending workers to spas and health resorts. For this purpose, all the villas of these resorts, formerly beyond the worker's pocket, have been placed by the State at the disposal of the trade union organisations. They have been

transformed into rest homes where the workers can build up their health and strength.

In 1948, 80,000 workers were sent to these rest homes, and this year number rose to 180,000.

To realise the extent of these gains, it is sufficient to remember that, under the reactionary governments, although the funds of the Social Insurance scheme were supplied by the starvation wages of the workers, it sent only 3,000 workers away for rest each year.

The trade union movement carries on intensive activity to raise the cultural level of the masses. The Government has given considerable material support to the trade unions for their cultural and athletic activities. For 1949 our trade unions have received 800,000,000 lei from the State for this purpose.

These achievements and these victories would not have been possible without the existence of the great country of socialism and without its constant and fraternal support in all fields. The Soviet Union, by its economic and political support, has been an important factor for the national independence of our country, for its economic reconstruction and its progress along the road to socialism.

Comrades, the trade union movement in our country has fought and is still fighting tirelessly to destroy fascism under whatever form it may appear, particularly since, in our country, the more we advance along the road to socialism, the more intense grows the class struggle. We are carrying on uninterrupted work among the masses of the people to encourage and deepen feelings of international solidarity with all freedom-loving peoples of the world, and particularly with the oppressed working classes in countries under fascist and reactionary régimes.

In support of the workers and people of Spain, we have held more than 4,000 meetings of all sizes in which hundreds and thousands of workers took part. The workers have worked during their spare time and sent the wages earned to their Spanish brothers.

In co-operation with other democratic organisations the General Confederation of Labour set up a Committee for aid to the Greek people. At more than 6,000 meetings our workers protested against the régime of terror to which the Greek people are subject. In their spare time, again, our workers earned forty million lei in 1948 and 1949 for the Greek people's just fight for liberation.

The trade unions of our country supported the French miners' strike and demonstrated their solidarity with their heroic struggle. 2,000 meetings were organised and four million lei sent to aid them.

1,500 meetings were organised to condemn the outrageous murder of comrade Paparigas, secretary of the Greek TUC, by the criminal monarcho-fascist government.

Comrades, the working class of our country is deeply attached to the cause of peace, which we must have if we are to work and build socialism. The attempts to provoke a new imperialist war arouse the indignation of the working class of our country. Thousands upon thousands of workers' resolutions have been sent to the United Nations Organisation in condemnation of the war-mongers and, support of the proposals made by the USSR for the guarantee of peace.

The trade unions of the Rumanian Peoples' Republic enthusiastically

declared their support for the World Peace Congress. On this occasion 2,000 meetings were organised and 1,800 resolutions and telegrams were sent to the Congress. The Confederation sent one representative to Paris and seven to Prague as delegates from the Rumanian People's Republic to the World Peace Congress.

But all the activity of our workers is directed towards the struggle for peace.

They are endeavouring to build in our country a society without exploitation in which all citizens, irrespective of nationality, race or sex, may enjoy the same rights. They are thereby making a contribution to the world front of Peace and Democracy.

Comrades, international reaction is well aware of the importance of unity of the workers and this is why it is doing everything possible to divide them. Monopoly capital, aided by all its lackeys, is organising and financing the reactionary and fascist forces throughout the world. Monopolistic groups have done and are doing everything in their power to provoke splits in the trade union ranks.

In certain countries, with the assistance of the Government authorities and certain trade union leaders in the pay of the capitalists, the workers' organisations have been destroyed, their headquarters shut down by the police, their funds blocked and their leaders thrown into prison and even murdered. At the same time, the governments and employers of these countries are sponsoring their own trade unions.

This is why, today more than ever before, it is necessary to rally the forces of the working class of the whole world to ensure unity in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and for the defence of peace.

Comrades, we know that one of the things which facilitated the preparation of the Second World War by international imperialistic circles was precisely absence of unity among the workers of the world.

History thus teaches us that unshakeable unity of the international working class can and must prevent the fulfilment of the capitalists' plans for the savage exploitation of the workers and can and must also prevent the fulfilment of the war-mongers' intentions.

The WFTU personifies the unity of action of the international working class and represents a serious obstacle in the way of the imperialists' war-plans. The WFTU will never be a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie as was the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

After this Second Congress the WFTU will greatly enlarge its field of activity by fully utilising the Trade Departments which are being organised, with the aim of mobilising all categories of workers in the struggle for the defence and guarantee of their right to organise for wage increases and for a higher standard of living.

The leaders of the WFTU to be elected at this Congress, together with the affiliated Trade Union centres, should do their utmost, utilising all propaganda facilities, to assist the re-establishment of contact with the WFTU by the workers of Britain, the United States, Holland and other countries torn from the great brotherhood of the working class by reactionary trade union leaders.

We must do everything in our power to bring the workers of the

whole world into the WFTU and to develop and consolidate world-wide trade union unity.

The trade union delegation of the Rumanian People's Republic entirely approves the report presented by comrade Saillant and supports the proposals made to Congress by comrade Soloviev in the name of the Soviet trade union delegation.

The unity and consolidation of the democratic forces is top priority today for all humanity. The working class must be the corner-stone of those forces which are resolved to fight against the war-mongers.

The forces of peace and democracy fighting American imperialism and its satellites with such firmness and unity will be victorious, because at their head stands that invincible bastion, the force which unceasingly defends the interests of the liberty—and peace-loving peoples—the Soviet Union.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS ! (*Long applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call upon Comrade Franceschi of the Italian delegation.

E. DE FRANCESCHI (*Italy*). I have listened with the greatest attention to comrade Saillant's report. I particularly appreciated its realistic account of the substantial work accomplished by the WFTU. I also appreciated the polemic against splitters of all kinds and countries.

The Italian delegation approves the work carried out by the WFTU and is perfectly well aware of the innumerable difficulties which it has encountered in the accomplishment of its work. We hope that the future will see the reaping of the abundant harvests so widely sown by the WFTU, and that it may increase not only its numerical strength but above all its moral strength through closer solidarity between the workers of the whole world.

The splitters' tactic were no surprise to any of the Italian trade union leaders. When, after twenty years of fascist martyrdom, the Italian working-class finally won trade union unity, all the forces of reaction joined forces to break this unity. After libelling our glorious CGIL in every possible manner by saying that it is not possible to freely express ideas or to develop trade union action there and after having accused it of being subject to a single party, the Communist Party, they thought they were able to unleash the splitting offensive.

And, last year, after the General Strike which followed the attempt on the life of Comrade Togliatti, they considered the moment favourable to bring about the split. Its results were very small and it is certainly for this reason that today other politicians, who were trade union leaders but have now been rejected by the working-class, are attempting to bring about a new split. This attempt will have the same results as the first: the Italian workers will react vigorously and will maintain their trade union unity.

A similar attempt is being made today against the WFTU by those same capitalists of the plutocratic countries, who are unable to go back on their imperialist plans and wish to break the monolithic

unity of the workers of the whole world who are capable of opposing the realisation of their schemes.

A desperate press campaign has been organised in our country and throughout the world to slander the WFTU the really free trade union organisation of the workers in every way possible, and also to attempt to minimise the importance of our great Congress. Who is inspiring, who is organising, who is financing this campaign? We know very well, and there is no need here to recall an old Latin proverb which says that the instigator of an act must be sought among those who benefit from it. Who can benefit from the weakening of the working-class if not the capitalists, the warmongers and the imperialists?

Comrade delegates, I speak to you as an old socialist and an old trade union militant, as a life-long supporter of labour unity. It is with sorrow that I have seen a fraction—even though a very small fraction—of the Italian workers move away from the CGIL. I must say to you, with all the solemnity of the occasion, before representatives of the workers of the whole world, that although I belongs to a minority group in the CGIL. I have never at any time felt that my opportunities for examination, action and criticism were diminished. In my capacity as secretary of the great trades council of Genoa, I have never found that attempts have been made to limit my freedom of action. Together with comrades of the same out-look I have had the opportunity of discussing, criticising and of winning approval for our point of view. Never, as first the breakaway Christian Democrats, then the pseudo-Socialist or Republican splitters of today would have liked, have we agreed to be blacklegs or traitors to the working class. We know very well who is fomenting the split: in Italy it is the great industrialists and the big landowners: in the world as a whole it is the imperialist warmongers.

Well, comrade delegates, we Italian workers are rising in a single mass against the enemies. We reaffirm our determination to maintain the unity of the whole working class. Our class organisation rises as an insurmountable rampart against all reactionary and bellicose aspirations. We declare in all conscience and before the representatives of the workers of the whole world, that the Italian workers will not betray the mandate with which history and their destiny have invested them. The Italian workers, as they have always done, will form a single bloc animated by the will to fight side by side with the workers of the whole world for the emancipation of the working class, for progress and for peace.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS ! (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I now call on Comrade Iscaro, of the Argentine Delegation.

R. ISCARO (*Argentine*). In spite of the present situation in the Argentine labour movement, the organised workers of the Argentine wish to be represented at this Congress. The impossibility of being represented here officially by their National Centre—which is at present in the hands of leaders divested of all ideological independence—has

led those forces which are fighting for trade union democracy and independence, both within and without the *General Confederation of Argentine Labour*, to send a representative to this *World Trade Union Congress*. These forces wanted to make known the true feelings of proletarian internationalism which animate the Argentine working class, and express here its solidarity with the WFTU.

The present political situation in our country is characterised by the fact that the leading Peronist circles, after approving the reforms of the national Constitution, are proposing to bring to an end in 1949 the so-called "revolutionary cycle" begun in 1943, and in this way to consolidate an economic, political, social and cultural system of a reactionary type. They propose, that is, to continue the policy of the preceding oligarchic and pro-imperialist governments which were responsible for the economic backwardness of our country and which Peron had promised to fight on his first appearance in the political arena. These and similar reactionary plans are being supported by the present leaders of the Argentine CGT within the trade union movement. This is due to the fact that for years the Argentine trade union movement has been suffering continuous pressure and interference by the government, which has suppressed the liberty and independence of the workers' organisations.

By decree number 23552 of 1945 trade unions were placed under the control of the State. It is the Ministry of Labour which grants or refuses at its pleasure the title of "trade union" to our corporative organisations. And any union which has not obtained this official title is refused authorisation to represent the workers and to act in their name. Moreover the Ministry of Labour annuls authorisations already granted whenever a trade union resists the "suggestions" and pressure of the various government organisations, declares all strikes illegal, organises strike-breakers and incites the police to severe repression of the workers' struggle.

Moreover, through the intermediary of leaders imposed from above, those trade unions whose leadership has not earned the government's complete confidence are placed under the control of its agents. In this way the unions of the printers, telephone workers, dockers, builders, municipal workers and bank employees and many others are "controlled", that is, run by the State. In other trade unions, like the *Metalworkers'*, no elections are called to appoint the Executive, whose present members have expressed a curious theory: according to them "they are placed in the leadership of the union by virtue of the rights of the Revolution of June 4th, and in consequence they will call trade union elections when they see fit."

Finally, in a few unions, such as the building workers', certain democratic forms are apparently applied, by calling a delegate meeting to elect the leadership; but to prevent the participation and risk of election of militants who fight for trade union independence, the police, in agreement with the leaders, arrests them before the meeting.

The recent struggles of the workers for their daily bread has thrown still more light on the absence of trade union liberty in the country. The repeated declarations of the government on its "non-interference in the life of the trade unions" and on its "respect for trade union liberty" cannot hide the truth about what goes on.

The aim of the reactionary groups is to reach complete corporatism in the working class movement. To this end the trade union leaders propose to amend the Constitutions of the Centre and of the unions, so as to replace the class principles which naturally arise from the working class movement by principles of "fraternisation", class collaboration, and submission to the will of the state. Moreover they plan to establish hierarchies in the leadership of the trade unions, concentrating all power in the hands of a minority who, after suppressing the deliberative Assemblies, will lead them without consulting the will of the majority of the working class.

To attain their ends against the opposition of the workers, the most militant workers, those who fight to win economic improvements and trade union independence, are expelled wholesale from the trade unions. The election of communists to the leading posts is prevented; and under this pretext of anti-communism, even the honest Peronist militants are excluded.

At the present moment the consequences of the economic crisis which is developing in our country are beginning to become apparent, and the results of the government's policy of submission to Anglo-American imperialism and the national oligarchy are more and more evident.

In such conditions, the shameless demagogy of these leaders is in flagrant contradiction to the reactionary measures applied against the working class.

The working masses are feeling the consequences of the imperialist policy imposed by the oligarchy and the big industrialists, who are trying to solve the economic crisis by throwing the burden on the workers, by wage-cuts and wholesale dismissals.

The continuous propaganda campaigns of the government organs, supported by the trade union leaders both inside the country and at international Conferences, in which they assert that the "Revolution" has satisfied the living needs of the workers, are daily given the lie by the facts in the most varied trades. With today's high cost of living a family with two children needs a minimum of 756 pesos a month. The actual average wage is 450 pesos for skilled workers and 400 for unskilled. In the rural regions there are even wages of 5.45 pesos a day.

Moreover unemployment is making itself severely felt. Its first victims are the maritime workers, 5,500 bakers, thousands of workers in the sugar industry and the tanneries, 80 % of the wool industries, workers in the cold-storage plants, and in the shoe and textile industries, who have been forced by the cut in hours to demand a guaranteed minimum number of hours a week.

This shortage in the workers' homes proclaims for all to hear that the present wage-rate is insufficient to meet the cost of living, and that the workers cannot satisfy their essential needs. This deficit also shows clearly that the only groups that can be satisfied by the "new justice" proclaimed by government-corrupted trade union leaders are the profiteers, the big industrialists and the imperialist monopolies, who daily increase their already fabulous profits.

We are therefore entering on a period when the social demagogy of the reactionary groups inside and outside the government clashes

with the desire for social justice that inspires the working class, and its determination to make this desire a reality. For this reason, the truth is beginning to dawn even on those sections of the workers still under the influence of Peronism, their hopes disappointed at seeing the government oppose their just demands.

An eloquent symptom of this awakening and this determination is provided by the recent important strikes of the printing workers, bakers, sugar and chemical industries' workers, railwaymen, dockers, petrol workers, commercial employees, builders, cold-storage plant workers, and others. More than a million workers took part in strikes in the last twelve months, strikes which were declared and fought against opposition from the government and its trade union leaders. The working class has thus forcibly won the right to strike refused it by the government.

Parallel with all this, resistance is developing within the unions against the false leaders, their methods and their treachery. A few examples will prove the point. : In the trade union elections for Beriso meat-workers, only 4,200 out of 13,000 members took part in the vote. At the elections of the Railwaymen's Union, at Remedios de Escalada, only 150 of the 4,500 members voted. In the Building Unions 1,800 members out of 30,000 took part in the trade union elections.

There is continually rising discontent with the trade union bureaucrats who systematically come out on the employers' side, as a buffer against the demands of the workers; who control the unions, and gag free speech at the general meetings; who drag out the discussions on collective agreements and prevent free elections to the union leadership; who use political discrimination while passing in silence over the arbitrary arrests and torture of workers.

It is clear that this policy aims at sowing discouragement and scepticism among the workers towards the trade union organisation, in order to facilitate their plan to split the trade union movement. In this way they are trying to emasculate the CGT and prevent it from carrying out its mission and taking up its responsibilities in the struggle at this period of crisis menacing the workers homes, and prevent it too from playing an effective rôle in the national front for the country's independence, the workers' rights, and peace.

Despite the lack of liberty and trade union independence the workers' organisations are expressing their determination to act independently for their immediate demands and in this way to develop working-class militancy. It is important to stress that in these campaigns for their demands the Peronist workers are beginning to understand that to win what they ask they must re-establish trade union independence both in regard to the state and the bosses.

Those workers' groups who are sympathisers of the WFTU and the CTAL have pursued a consistent policy of trade union unity, the struggle for economic demands and trade union independence. This common work with the Peronist workers, by helping them towards independent understanding, has led to greater unity between the Peronist and non-Peronist workers.

The struggle for unity in the face of the union bureaucrats' splitting tactics has brought the forces which defend trade union independence

up against the need to regroup and orient the workers who are expelled from the unions in campaign Committees in each trade and each place of work. The Committees demand the reinstatement of the expelled men and give impetus to the unitary struggle for economic demands.

Today more than ever, to make effective the promises of social justice and to win success for their strike movements the workers need organisation and unity of the rank-and-file, by developing the spirit of solidarity and class independence.

As far as international unity is concerned, the present leadership of the CGT, while pretending to maintain a "third force" position, has always fought international unity within the WFTU. And when the breakaway agents in the hire of imperialism tried to carry out their splinter plans by organising a so-called international organisation, the leadership of the CGT, without consulting the opinion of the working class, decided to support these plans and put themselves at their disposal.

To deceive the workers, these leaders claim to hold a position equidistant from the two opposed forces; but while they reject the invitation from the millions of workers united in the WFTU to join them in the fight for peace, against imperialism and for social justice, they compromise the Argentine trade union movement in shady intrigues with agents of the imperialist monopolies to defend the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, that is, economic submission and war.

Those people who claim to hold a middle position proclaim themselves at the same time fervid anti-communists. They thus reveal that their "third force" is based on anti-communist principles which coincide with those of the imperialist bloc they pretend to be fighting. This demonstrates that these leaders belong to no "third force" but are well and truly enrolled in the ranks of imperialism which is today waving the sordid banner of anti-communism that was torn down by the peoples in their victory over Hitlerism.

They claim to occupy a middle position, but they echo the same arguments as those used against the WFTU by the agents of international divisionism. In particular they say that the WFTU "serves the ends of Soviet policy". And here we should ask ourselves the question—What is the policy of the WFTU?

By fighting for peace, by denouncing the warmongers, by demanding the observance of international pacts to help the Socialist and capitalist régimes live peacefully side by side—pacts which are violated by Anglo-American imperialism, which is seeking to drag the world into another war; by refusing to support the Marshall Plan, which destroys the economic independence of the countries it "aids" and puts them at the service of the economy of American imperialism; by fighting for the well-being of the workers, by demanding agrarian reform and the nationalisation of industry; by denouncing those forces which are trying to suppress liberty and democracy and destroy the trade union movement; by doing all these things, has not the WFTU interpreted the patriotic feelings of the working class and of the progressive sections which are defending peace, the economic independence of their countries, and the happiness of the workers?

So that if this policy coincides with that followed by the Soviet

Union, this shows that it is the only country, with the peoples' democracies, whose policy is not in contradiction with the workers' interests nor with the interests of the other peoples of the world who fight for peace, economic independence, democracy and social justice. In these circumstances, nothing else could be expected from the working class than the passionate defence of the land of Socialism.

The anti-oligarchic and anti-imperialist feelings of the Argentine workers will find a warm welcome and fraternal solidarity from their class brothers, united around the WFTU. It is for this reason that we are working to lead the Argentine working-class movement to give its support to international trade union unity and thus strengthen the front of the world proletariat. We are conscious that our struggle is only a part of the great struggle of the world proletariat to crush the plans of imperialism and the reactionary national groups, who are seeking to destroy or tame the international trade union movement—this movement which today, alongside the democratic and progressive forces, is taking up a decisive rôle in the fight for national independence, democracy and peace.

Our line of conduct in the trade union movement of our country has therefore the objective of reinforcing the common front of struggle for the immediate demands of the working class and the peasant masses, to gain trade union independence, to fight for the creation of the democratic, anti-imperialist front, to increase the well-being of the people, and to ensure independence for our country, and peace. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call on Comrade Wickremasinghe representing the delegation from India and Ceylon.

S. A. WICKREMASINGHE (*Ceylon*). The British imperialists submitting to the dictates of American imperialists decided to have another stooge at the UNO and they sponsored the application of Ceylon for membership as an independent state with full sovereign rights. The Soviet delegates requested more concrete evidence regarding the sovereignty of the dominion of Ceylon. This evidence was not forthcoming. It has not been supplied up to this day so I can without fear of contradiction claim to be a delegate at this Congress from a colonial country suffering from oppression by Anglo-American imperialism.

The great imperialist countries are no longer represented in the WFTU and as result of this a great number of trade unions from the countries have been unable to participate in this WFTU Congress, even though they represent the majority of the workers. They are nevertheless fighting for the same ideal as we are, but it is not possible for them to send representatives because of the obstacles put in their way by the imperialists. At the last Indian Trade Union Congress, delegates were elected to take part in this Congress, but three of them have since been imprisoned; one of these has been awaiting trial for more than a year.

The Indian Government, which is a puppet in the hands of American imperialism, has not facilitated the task of those who were to attend this Congress. They were forced to elect substitute delegates;

these, however, could not leave India either. Even those who were granted passports received visits from the police and steps were taken to prevent them leaving India. We elected as substitute one of our comrades who left India two years ago and is now staying in Prague. He too was unable to come to Milan because of difficulties in obtaining an entry visa into Italy.

Nor have the delegates of Malaya and Indonesia been able to come to this Congress, although the organisations which they were to represent are active and militant. But they are illegal organisations and cannot send delegates.

In his report comrade Saillant gives an account of the difficulties experienced by the WFTU in the past through obstruction by countries which today have left it. We must examine this question carefully and from the point of view of the colonial countries for whom this departure had great significance and great importance.

Even before the split took place, it was clearly felt that the trade union representatives of the imperialist countries were attempting to make use of the WFTU as an instrument to permit their respective governments to oppress the working class of the colonial countries. They attempted to sabotage unity of the workers' action throughout the world, so as to prevent the working class from supporting the struggle which the colonial peoples were waging. When they found that the WFTU could not be utilised as an instrument of oppression, they left it.

The split was inevitable insofar as the trade union movement in the imperialist countries was not and is not yet capable of overcoming the bureaucratic machine and of expressing the deeper feelings of the workers of those countries. But the day will come when the working masses of those countries will be solid with the working masses of the other countries. As long as this evolution in their feelings has not taken place, we cannot hope for complete unity of the workers of the whole world.

Many delegates are not aware of the conditions under which the trade unions of the colonial countries are working. There is in practice no freedom, no democratic rights and no trade union rights. In Ceylon, for example, where the principal industry is the rubber industry, employing 750,000 workers, half the workers live in frightful conditions. The houses are the property of the employers and if a worker is dismissed he must leave his home within 24 hours.

In India, today, most of the trade union organisations have been suppressed and the leaders imprisoned by the Government.

More than 25,000 trade unionists are awaiting trial. Thousands and thousands of other workers have been prosecuted. This gives you some idea of the degree of oppression which exists. Not a day passes without the police or the army making use of its weapons to break up trade union meetings.

Such are the methods which are employed today in India to hamper the labour movement. The employers are attempting to form rival trade union organisations in which the subscriptions are collected by them. An employers' Trade Union Congress was recently held to consider the creation of a labour union rival to our own. This

Congress was held under the chairmanship of a representative of the American labour movement, Irving Brown.

These are the measures which are being taken to break trade union activity in our country. Recently, representatives of this employers' trade union organisation were also present at Geneva in an attempt to found a breakaway organisation.

Perhaps an official report on the subject of this conference will be submitted to this Congress in a few days. For the moment it is impossible for me to say anything about it, but I can assure you that in Ceylon, in India, in Sumatra, in Malaya and in Indonesia and in the majority of the African colonies, however severe the repression of the leaders, the workers will always remain faithful to the great traditions of the WFTU. They will fight together with the working class of the whole world for the emancipation of humanity. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call upon Comrade Salvador Ocampo of the Chilean delegation.

S. OCAMPO (*Chile*). The Chilean delegation is in entire agreement with the report of the General Secretary of the WFTU. This report was a magnificent summary of the work achieved by the WFTU throughout the world.

In fact, the WFTU has placed itself at the head of all peoples fighting for independence and unity. These peoples are convinced that unity of the labour movement will permit them to achieve the WFTU's ideal, namely the liberation of all peoples oppressed by capitalism.

The WFTU has demonstrated its determination to fight to ensure that the workers live in a world of peace and liberty. We shall fight to maintain our unity, to keep our living standards from falling below that in the colonial and dependent countries. We shall fight to avert unemployment and poverty and we shall fight to break the bonds which tie the peoples of Latin America to the Truman plan, which wants to turn our countries into colonies in the service of American imperialism in its preparations for war against the USSR. and the New Democracies.

The WFTU, by its activity, is defending the peoples of Latin America from becoming a reserve of labour and raw materials. It wishes to liberate them from the economic dependence in which they are placed by the Clayton and Marshall Plans, whose sole consequence is to limit our social independence and the activity of our factories. In addition, these pacts put our armies under the rigid military control of the American General Staff.

The WFTU has assisted our countries, particularly in UNO : we know how the delegates of our WFTU unmasked the dictatorship in Brazil, Cuba and the wretched situation of the Bolivian workers. It protested against the brutal repression of our comrades in Paraguay. It denounced the bitter fight which the Governments of the Argentine, San Salvador and Venezuela are waging against democratic trends in these countries.

The Confederation of Workers of Chile thanks the WFTU for its demonstrations of solidarity; for as soon as a people is subjected to oppression, the WFTU protests to UNO against this dictatorship.

It is in this way, comrades, that our WFTU has accomplished and is accomplishing the mission with which it was entrusted by the workers. We are proud that our WFTU promises once again to an International Congress of Workers to continue to struggle for its ideal, the ideal of the working masses of the whole world.

There is perhaps something new to be added to Comrade Saillant's report: in the United States the forces of the workers who are in agreement with the WFTU are growing to an ever-increasing extent. We must also say that we energetically protest against the persecution of our pro-WFTU American comrades.

In fact, the American Government is applying police measures against the honest workers of the United States. This is what is happening in the United States.

I think that this Congress should send fraternal greetings to the American workers, who are today victims of the political activity of trade union traitors and of the American Government.

We would like to reply to the question which Comrade Saillant raised in his report. We agree in considering that the WFTU has been equal to the historical events through which we are living at the present time.

The line of trade union policy indicated in the report is accepted by us in its entirety since we believe that this world trade union activity, at the present time, represents precisely the trade union movement, independent of the employers, of the Government and of all forms contrary to our interests.

I shall not speak to you today of the problems of my country. There is a special item on the Agenda relating to this question. That will be the time to dwell on the great struggles of the proletariat of my country against the exploiters. I shall then speak to you of the struggle of these few men faithful to the WFTU, who are continuing the fight against the capitalist exploitation which exists in my country.

I would like to conclude by thanking the delegates who have spoken from this rostrum for the information which they have given us, and I would also like to thank the representatives of the Soviet delegation as well as the French delegation and Comrade Saillant who have done their duty so well. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). Before calling on the next speaker, I ask Comrade Thornton to come to the rostrum to make a short statement.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). Comrades, Mr. Chairman and Delegates. The Congress has received a great number of telegrams from all parts of the world. It is impossible to read all these messages; nevertheless the Standing Orders Committee feels it necessary to read today from the rostrum two telegrams which have been received, one sent by the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union of the United States and Canada:

"Heartiest greetings Convention World Federation of Trade Unions. On behalf organised Fur and Leather Workers United States and Canada regret exceedingly failure CIO and AFL to realize historic fundamental

world changes and role of Labour movement and new democracies. American people share your great desire for peace and don't support war-breeding North Atlantic Pact, Marshall Plan, Truman doctrine of American imperialist despite demagogy. Enslavement of American labour under Taft-Hartley, union-busting law. Persecution, witch-hunts against communists, left-wingers, progressives, liberals expose real aims of American imperialists at home and abroad. Slanderous propaganda against World Federation of Trade Unions and New Democracies cannot disguise role of labour bureaucracy and splitting tactics which help fascist reaction, hurt workers and don't represent wishes and desires of American labour. Wholeheartedly with you in struggle for world peace, democracy and security.

"Signed : Ben GOLD, President, Pietro LUCCHI, Secretary-Treasurer, International Fur and Leather Worker's Union of the United States and Canada."

(Hearty applause.)

The second telegram was sent us by office and professional workers belonging to the CIO.

"American workers faced with growing unemployment and developing depression look to united action and solidarity by workers in all countries to maintain and improve living standards and security. Our members and other Americans are deeply devoted to the cause of peace and understand that organised workers in other countries also aspire to peace and security. We greet Milan Conference and all measures to help unity and cooperation of workers of all countries to protect living standards and preserve peace. Particular greetings to delegates of office, professional and technical workers unions at the Congress.

"Signed : James H. DURKIN, President of the United Office and Professional Workers of America."

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). At the request of the Credentials Committee, all members of the Committee are requested to meet immediately in room 22.

I call on Comrade Mun'em Jarjura, of the Arab Trade Unions in the State of Israel.

MUN'EM JARJURA (*Israel*). Comrades, the second Congress of the WFTU is to be hailed as a great victory of the world working masses, a victory for their sacred aims of peace, democracy and social progress.

It is a great victory because the attempts of the splitters of world trade union unity to wreck the bastion of world working class have dashed against high rocks.

We have heard in the report of Comrade Saillant how the WFTU has worked for the fulfilment of its objectives in organising the common struggle of the world workers for their economic and social

rights, for democratic liberties; for secure employment, for higher wages, for social security, for peace and freedom for the peoples. We have seen that the WFTU has been faithful to the objectives for which the world working class brought it into existence.

It is no accident therefore that the Arab workers in Palestine as all the workers of the world have greatly condemned the damaging proposals of representatives of the TUC and the CIO to suspend the activities of the WFTU. It was with great joy that we received the declaration of January 22nd 1949 condemning the splitters of world trade union unity. We feel therefore duty bound to express our gratitude to the Executive Bureau for rebutting the manoeuvres of the splitters.

One thing of particular significance is the allegations of these splitters that the WFTU is dominated by the Soviet trade unions. These splitters aim by this at frightening some workers' organisations from keeping within the WFTU. But we would like to tell these masters of antisoviet propaganda to rest assured that workers all over the world and especially those who are still fighting the evils of capitalist society will not give way to such baiting, for we shall continue to consolidate our ranks within the WFTU and continue to march, proud of the fact that in our caravan also march the Soviet trade unions, the first builders of socialism.

And we the Arab workers in Palestine look upon this Second World Congress of Trade Unions with great expectations. Arab reaction, obeying the commands of Anglo-American imperialists, violated the UNO decision of November 27, 1947, with regard to Palestine and unleashed a war of aggression against both the Jewish and Arab peoples. Having failed to prevent the establishment of the State of Israel, they prevented the formation of an Arab state and brought untold misery to the Arab population. Hundreds of thousands of working peoples were uprooted from their homes and places of work and turned into hungry, unsheltered destitutes.

In order to pave the way for the furtherance of its dastardly objectives, Arab reaction has unleashed since November 1947 a concentrated attack on Arab democratic forces and amongst them the Arab Trade Union Congress in Palestine. It was natural, because the Congress stood against imperialist intrigues in Palestine, for Arab-Jewish cooperation and for the formation of two independent states. Many branches were closed down, even when the British Mandate still existed, many branches were looted and destroyed as in Gaza, Jaffa, Jerusalem and many villages. Many activists of our organisation have been imprisoned. But activities for defending the interests of the working masses continue illegally in areas occupied by the Arab Armies, under conditions of terror and persecution. Many of our comrades are leading the struggle of the Arab people there for national liberation, for the formation of an independent Arab State and for cooperation between the Arab and Jewish peoples.

That is why these workers there look with great expectations upon the WFTU, through which they are sure to receive the support of the world working class.

In Israel and Israeli-occupied territory, where we are now a national organisation of that new State, we have managed to reorganise the

movement of Arab workers through cooperation with the Jewish democratic workers' forces. But nevertheless our organisation is working under difficult conditions.

Only at the beginning of April of this year were we able to hold the fourth Congress of our organisation in order to centralise the activities of the various branches in the country. The limitations imposed on the free movement of Arab nationals in Israel territory, who are restricted in their free movement to their villages, towns and even quarters, have prevented us from convening this Congress before and from extending the activities of our organisation by reaching workers in many parts of the country.

But we have not only faced the general difficulties which the Arab people in Israel territory, numbering about 100,000, have to face as a result of a reactionary policy of discrimination on the part of the present Government, but more than that, our organisation was also specially discriminated against in favour of the Palestine Labour League which is now more or less a Government-sponsored organisation for the Arab workers. Although this organisation does not enjoy the confidence of Arab workers yet it is imposed on them in many ways, assisted financially, and given all facilities and assistance, not for the benefit of Arab workers, but in order to split the Arab trade-union movement, rob it of its progressive character and bring the Arab workers under the influence of reactionary reformist leadership.

In spite of these difficulties our organisation was able to organise more than sixty percent of the Arab workers in Israeli territory and achieved certain successes for their interests. Like raising their wages, improving conditions of employment and forming sick and unemployment funds. The most important problems that face our organisation are also problems affecting the Arab population generally. These difficulties are distinguished by the bitter fact that the equal rights of the Arab population guaranteed by the law of the state have not gone beyond the limits of the statute book. Unemployment is the lot of the majority of the Arab workers, who in many cases are prevented from returning to their original places of work. Many working peasants, compelled to move out of their villages during the military operations and still residing within Israel territory, have up till now not been allowed to return to their land and work it. Arab workers are still being in various ways discriminated against with regard to wages, conditions of work and possibilities of employment. It is significant that a number of our trade union leaders, amongst them Salem El-Qasem, our delegate to the General Council session in Prague, are in a concentration camp in Israel since the Israeli Army occupied the place where the Egyptian Army had imprisoned them because they resisted the invading Arab Armies and called for cooperation between Arabs and Jews.

In our struggle to solve all these problems and for the full rights of the Arab workers, we are sure that our aims could be achieved only by the common struggle of Jewish and Arab workers for their common aims. In order that this common struggle should be promoted and strengthened, we have been calling upon the Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Workers, to accept the principle of the formation of one international trade union in our country. Our organisation has

officially proposed the formation of such a trade union on many occasions; the last was during the seventh Conference of the Histadruth last May when we appealed to it for the realisation of this aim. We regret the fact that the Histadruth Conference did not decide to form one international trade union organisation.

We shall continue however to fight for this, fully aware of the fact that the unity of the working class, beside serving the interests and aims of the workers, is also a bulwark against imperialist intrigues, a strong base for Jewish-Arab cooperation in the Middle East, and a safeguard for the independence of Israel, which we are interested in as ardently as our Jewish comrades.

In this connection, we ask the assistance of the WFTU in realising this unity, and we hope that the decision of the General Council's last meeting in Prague to send representatives to Palestine to help achieve this unity, will now be put into effect.

We wish at the same time to stress the importance of opening a Middle East WFTU office to assist the workers of the Middle East to intensify their struggle and defend themselves against the attacks of imperialism and reaction.

Faithful to international unity of the working class, to the struggle for peace and democracy, our organisation and the Arab workers in our country shall continue to be part and parcel of WFTU, this great international workers' organisation.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

LONG LIVE JEWISH-ARAB WORKERS UNITY !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call on Comrade Blagoev of Bulgaria.

B. BLAGOEV (*Bulgaria*). Comrade Congress members. I feel particularly happy to be able to transmit to the representatives of the working class, the élite of the world trade union movement, the most fraternal and cordial greetings from the workers of Bulgaria organised in the Workers General Trades Union in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian delegation approves the activity of the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions as set out in the written and verbal report by Comrade Louis Saillant.

We salute the leadership of the Federation for the stubborn fight it has waged against the breakaway elements in the Federation and for the preservation of the unity of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Trade Unions Internationals.

At the many meetings of all sizes which have taken place the Bulgarian workers openly expressed their indignation at those who, out of touch with the interests of the working class, tried to break the unity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, to bring about its dissolution, and to weaken the peace front.

The working class stands firm on the positions of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and will continue in the future to work with tenacity for the complete unity of the working class of the whole world.

The Bulgarian delegation is in entire agreement with the proposals put forward by Comrade Soloviev in the name of the Soviet delegation.

Between the Constituent Conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the present time, profound social, political, economic and cultural reforms have been carried out to the benefit of the working class and of the working masses in general. The trade unions have contributed most actively to the achievement of these reforms.

Having taken power into its own hands, abolished the monarchy, and set up the People's Republic, the working class, under a democratic government, passed to the fulfilment of the nationalisation of industry and the banks.

Foreign trade and wholesale home trade have been completely transferred to the State, that is to the hands of the people themselves. Moreover the capitalist exploiters have been finally evicted from control of the economy, the country has been delivered from the exploitation of foreign capital, which for scores of years has plundered the working people. The agrarian reform was carried out, and as a result the vast capitalist holdings were liquidated.

With all these reforms, the rôle and tasks of the working class underwent a complete change. The working class and its trade union organisations are not only not persecuted, but on the contrary they enjoy complete freedom and are taking an active part in the building of the socialist fatherland. Among the 366 deputies in Parliament, 130 are organised workers, employees and civil servants, and at the head of the government is the most faithful son of the working class, the creator and organiser of the trade union movement in Bulgaria, the devoted guide and teacher of the Bulgarian people, President Georgi Dimitrov.

From the working class and its trade union organisations have sprung ministers, secretaries of state, heads of state institutions and of private undertakings. Similarly, to recently-formed People's Councils thousands of organised workers, employees and civil servants were elected. In the new constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, labour is proclaimed the fundamental social and economic basis of the State. The working masses of our country do not work for exploiters but for themselves and their fatherland.

Following the example of their brothers in the Soviet Union, they are working with an enthusiasm never before known, using creative initiative in applying new socialist methods in the factories for the restoration and development of the national economy.

In our country emulation is in full swing and giving excellent results. More than 85 % of the workers and employees in the main factories and places of work take part.

During the period 1947-8, the working class and the working masses of our country successfully completed the Two Year Economic Plan, under which industrial production outstrips 1939 by 71 %. Today the working class and the working masses in our country are working to fulfil the Five Year Economic Plan for the development of the economy and the laying of the economic and cultural foundations of socialist society. Exploitation no longer exists in Bulgaria. That problem is solved.

During the period of the Two Year Plan, the number of workers

and employees was increased by 22 %. By the completion of the Five Year Plan, a further increase of 22 % is expected. The people's government and the Workers' Trade Union are closely studying the expansion of social, cultural and health measures. During this period retail prices were cut and the income of worker's and employees' families raised by 110 %. The purchasing power of the working masses in our country has been increased. What with wage increases for the working classes and price cuts, cotton cloth is now four times cheaper, wool cloth now twice as cheap, shoes and leather goods five times cheaper, dairy products four times cheaper, and so on. Canteens have been set up in the factories where the workers get a good meal at low prices.

Notable improvements have been made in our labour legislation. Labour hygiene and safety measures have been tightened up: workers now have the right to free work-clothes, and the right to elect their own factory-inspector. Paid holidays are longer. In the big factories the workers have between 18 and 30 days holiday a year, according to the heaviness of their work. The trade unions of our country have taken an active part in the organisation of social insurance, which covers all workers without exception.

The rights of the workers and their families have been extended as regards maternity benefits and pensions. The workers no longer have to subscribe to the social insurance fund which is paid for by the factories employing them. Workers engaged on particularly unhealthy work, miners for example, have the right to a pension after 15 years' work at the age of 50. Old age pensions are sometimes as much as 80 % of the working wage. Accident pensions amount to 90 % of the working wage. Workers and employees have the right to free medical and dental care and free spa treatment.

The authorities have placed at the disposal of the working class through their trade unions the best spas for those in need of recuperation. During 1948 one worker in 16 had the opportunity of taking a cure.

The rights of the mother-to-be have also been progressively extended, with three months' off work on full pay for the birth of a child, maternity grant of 8,000 levas and a round sum amounting to 10 months' wages to meet the initial expenses for the child. Under the Five Year Plan the number of nurseries, which in 1948 was 250, will be tripled. Peoples' benefits now represent about 32 % of their wages.

Modern workers' dwellings are being built near the factories and large industrial centres. The Five Year Plan envisages 1,300,000 square metres for the building of homes for workers.

The General Union, which is a member of the WFTU, has seen its membership increase from 350,000 to 800,000 members at the present moment, which represents 94 % of the total number of workers and employees.

At the same time there has been enormous activity in the educational field: central trade schools have been set up in the biggest industrial centres, and courses are organised by the trade unions. The trade unions and the administration are paying great attention to setting up libraries and reading-rooms wherever possible.

The Bulgarian trade unions have their own press. The Central Council of the General Trade Union publishes its daily newspaper "Trud". It also has its own printing works where it prints its

newspapers and other publications and reviews. Cultural facilities are offered to the working class by over 15,000 artistic circles containing about 27,000 artists.

All these successes were not won without difficulties, but we have overcome them. Working with ever increasing determination to inaugurate the reign of socialism, the working class and the trade unions know that they are contributing to the consolidation of peace and democracy and to the unity of the World Federation.

We welcome the WFTU's energetic campaign against defeatists inside our organisation.

Bulgarian workers in meetings of all sizes have expressed their indignation against those who pursue activities harmful to the interests of the working class, who try to split and thus destroy the WFTU and weaken the peace front.

The entire working class stands firm on the decisions of the WFTU. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). There are still four names down to speak. I ask Congress' opinion. Do you think we should now bring to an end the contributions from the floor? Is there any objection to this proposal? No objection? The list is closed.

I now call on comrade Henri Raynaud, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, who has an announcement to make.

H. RAYNAUD (*France*). Comrades, the Credentials Committee is continuing its work. It would like, however, to give Congress a preliminary report on the attendance at this Congress.

Without being absolutely final, the figures that I am going to give and which are likely to be only very slightly modified are sufficiently eloquent, and we thought it would be interesting to inform Congress of them.

These figures show that 40 countries or trade union organisations are supporting this Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

These 40 organisations total 71,520,890 members. (*Loud applause.*) They are represented by 240 full or substitute delegates. To these figures we must add 10 countries or national organisations which have sent 23 observers.

The Credentials Committee is continuing its labours and it hopes to give the detailed results within 48 hours.

(*Henri Raynaud gave details of the meeting of the Credentials Committee for the next morning at 9 a.m.*.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). The right-wing press has been wondering what the Second World Congress represented. Today, we know what this Second World Trade Union Congress represents. It represents more than 71 million working men and women of all countries of the world, and we can assert without contradiction that the total membership of the WFTU is higher still, since certain affiliated organisations are not represented here. I declare the session adjourned.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 1st JULY 1949

2.30 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of S. A. Wickremasinghe.

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). I call on Comrade Rossi of the General Confederation of Labour of Italy.

F. ROSSI (*Italy*). Comrades, we, the united Catholic Christian workers, faithful to the teachings of the Gospel and to its declaration of universal brotherhood, have come here to reaffirm the necessity of safeguarding trade union unity.

We endorse the report submitted by the General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, comrade Saillant.

The new and important historic fact of our epoch is the unity of all the living forces of labour, both on the national and international scale, for the purpose of permanent control of State power. Against the establishment of this unity, gained after so much effort and struggle, stands capitalism, both industrial and agricultural, national and international, seeking to break this unity by every possible means, moral or material, religious or political. The ERP Plan is a convincing example of this.

In Italy, all the conservative and reactionary forces have always sought to make use of religion to mask their selfish interests. This was the case after the first World War; it is still the case today, after the second. Our Government protects the landlords and attempts to break land workers' struggle for the legitimate right to own the soil they work; it is pursuing a policy openly subordinated to the great trusts and to the interests of foreign capitalists—a policy of surrender to the manoeuvres of American imperialism, a policy, finally, which throws onto the workers the burden and cost of reconstruction.

But this state of subservience is not confined to Italy. It is the same in all countries where a capitalist régime uncontrolled by the forces of labour still holds sway.

We can confidently affirm, however, that the efforts of reaction will prove vain, and that the unity of the workers will triumph. It is a mystery to no-one that in Italy, the vanguard of the splitters is made up of elements claiming to be Catholics and democrats, and it would be, to say the least, naive not to see a link between the recent

attempts to split the CGIL and the intrigues of international reaction; it is impossible not to reveal the stratagem of the foreign businessmen who are attempting to divide all the workers of the world. It is for this reason that I affirm that the attempts at division being made in Italy are linked to the attempts at division within the WFTU.

But the workers, the true Catholic Christian workers, who have suffered and are suffering from the blasphemous and hypocritical interpretation of their doctrine of love and peace, justice and brotherhood, are all in favour of unity. They will not fall into the trap laid for their conscience. They will not lend themselves to the attempts which are being made to confuse religion and politics. They will refuse to allow themselves to be taken in by the stratagems—artfully laid, it must be admitted—aimed at exaggerating ideological differences, and they will bear in mind one essential consideration, the solidarity of interests which binds the workers of all shades of opinion. This community of interests is the very basis of trade union unity.

In this connection, we, the united Catholic Christian workers, affirm that never more than today have the virtues of Christianity reached such heights, both historically and morally. Never have they fought with so much energy against the darkness which threatens once more to extinguish the conscience of the workers and to divide the great human family into antagonistic blocs in order to drag them into a new war—a war which would lead to the complete annihilation of humanity. (*Applause.*)

Achille Grandi is with us in spirit; he preached unity in deeds as well as in words. There is thus no reason why that which was possible a few years ago should not be once more possible today. He taught us that where unity does not prevail, it is impossible to victoriously oppose capitalism's will to dominate. The division of the working masses may already involve tragic consequences similar to those which have already caused so much suffering to us in Italy, Germany, Spain, France and many other countries.

World capitalism desires division in order to revive the spectre of international fascism and thereby to enslave once more the proletariat of the whole world.

But corruption and threats of all kinds will be powerless to conquer the united Catholic Christian workers, who are in the vanguard of the fight to win peace, social justice and to raise up the lowly and the disinherited.

We are and want to be Christians both in name and in action; we shall collaborate in all concrete work not only in words but in deeds. We shall fight against the "divide and rule" of international capitalism, faithful to the need for the unity of the workers of all countries of the world for the march towards a future of freedom. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). I now call on Comrade Wolfson of the Union of South Africa.

J. WOLFSON (*Union of South Africa*). Comrades, I bring the greetings of the trade unions of the Union of South Africa to the trade unions of the whole world.

Comrade Saillant's report gives a correct idea of the world situation of the trade union movement. We, whose trade union rights are being slashed by a reactionary government, feel that it is necessary to give effective assistance to the workers in colonial and semi-colonial countries. The section of Comrade Saillant's report dealing with this question concerned us particularly. I would therefore like to pay special attention to this question. We want the WFTU to act in favour of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the whole world.

Delegates will note that one of the short-comings of this Congress is the small representation of the countries of Africa. Why is the African representation so small? It is because the trade unions in Africa are not so well organised as they are in other parts of the world.

But is this the only reason? There is another one: it is that the reactionary governments are creating all sorts of difficulties for trade union delegates who leave the continent of Africa to go to other parts of the world.

It is my duty to inform you of what happened in this connection a short while ago in South Africa. The Clothing Workers' Union, which belongs to the South African Trade Union Centre and which is an important union, elected two delegates to take part in the London Conference. One of them was the General Secretary of the union. Well, the passports of these delegates were withdrawn by the government and our representatives were unable to leave South Africa.

Another organisation which groups non-European workers and which also belongs to the WFTU had elected two delegates to take part in the Milan Congress. One of them was a coloured woman worker. They were not granted passports, to prevent them attending this Congress. The Government declared that every South African who criticised government policy abroad would no longer be permitted to leave the territory. That is why passports were refused to negro Africans. Meanwhile the reactionaries can get as many as they want. Only those who do not agree with government policy cannot obtain them.

The Government of South Africa therefore follows a policy which it wishes to conceal from the rest of the world; that is quite clear.

I will not enlarge upon the fact that human rights do not exist in South Africa. The whole world is aware of the way in which the workers are treated in our country. I shall describe, if you will allow me, some of the problems which face our trade unions.

We have recently had a change of government. It was a change towards greater hostility towards the working class, and you know how hostile the Smuts government already was to the workers.

Right from the outset the new nationalist government started out to destroy free trade unionism. I will give you a few examples to illustrate the point. The government appointed a Commission to study the situation of workers in the Clothing industry, in order, it was said, to uncover the fascists. In actual fact, it was the Commission which introduced fascists into the organisation with the aim of breaking one of the strongest unions in South Africa.

The Government has in addition set up a commission to examine the situation in all the trade unions, but this commission has carried

on activity of such a type that the free trade ~~Unions~~ have opposed its work; it is regarded by the African trade unions as a weapon of destruction. Its aim, in the last analysis, is to make any trade union activity impossible, to deprive us in practice, of the right to strike, to destroy the collective agreements and all trade union liberties, to prevent the coloured workers from becoming union members, to split the existing trade unions into white, black and Indian sections, thus introducing racial discrimination into the trade union movement to facilitate more profitable exploitation of the workers, and in a word, to transform the trade unions of South Africa into fascist unions in accordance with the methods utilised in nazi Germany.

The Government has taken a certain number of measures in Parliament and even outside Parliament. The communists are being attacked in the unions and certain people are saying that if the trade unions do not eliminate the communists, the Government will do it itself.

What is understood by the word "communism" in South Africa? To tell the truth it is not very clear: whoever is against the government is a communist; even General Smuts...

Trade union rights are under attack, but this is not an isolated event peculiar to our country. It is only one phase of the fight against those democratic liberties which still exist in South Africa. They are the preparatory measures for the great offensive which has already begun and which is aimed at making the workers bear the entire burden of the sacrifices.

The attacks on the trade unions are intended to prevent the unity of the black and white workers of South Africa. The whites and the blacks today belong to many trade unions, but black workers are not allowed to belong to the same unions as the whites, for the unity of the South African working class represents a danger to the policy of a government devoted to the interests of the mining trusts, whose enormous profits are derived from the exploitation of hundreds of thousands of black workers. But capitalism can preserve these profits only by continuing to practise a policy of low wages and division. It is for this reason that the government is attempting, by means of racial distinctions, to introduce division into the ranks of the trade union movement.

Nevertheless, whatever might be the repressive measures taken against them, the workers of South Africa will find a common ground of understanding and they will build powerful trade unions capable of ensuring the defence of their economic interests and their democratic rights.

We have a difficult task to fulfil but we are fortified by this great international Congress for we know that we have your solidarity in the struggle.

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS ! (*Applauded*)

THE CHAIRMAN (S. A. Wickremasinghe). I call on Comrade Blokzijl of the Netherlands.

B. BLOKZIJL (*Netherlands*). Two points in the report of the General Secretary of the WFTU have special significance for us, the workers of the Netherlands. They are, firstly, the fight of the colonial peoples for their liberty and independence, and secondly, the many infringements of our trade union, economic and social rights. I shall not deal with this second problem until after the report which is to be made on this subject.

The Indonesian people are playing an important rôle in the fight of the colonial peoples. Dutch reaction, guided by American imperialism, has, since the proclamation of the Indonesian Republic in August 1949, done everything possible to restore the former colonial régime.

What are the results? In Indonesia the villages weep for the thousands of innocent victims, women, children and old people.

The Indonesian trade union movement, which was represented at the Prague meeting, has been practically forced underground.

But this is not all. More than 120,000 Dutch soldiers are daily risking their lives for a cause which is not their own. The official publications on the subject of the number killed in Indonesia—already 2,000 dead—clearly prove this fact.

This colonial adventure involves an expenditure of about 2 million dollars per day.

I would like here to recall the words of comrade Saillant, that economic and social progress and the possibility of satisfying the normal aspirations of the workers for a better life are incompatible with the large military budgets needed to support extremely costly armies preparing for a third world war.

All the sufferings and material privations borne by the workers serve the interests of a small clique who are attempting to enrich themselves and maintain their rights at the expense of the peoples, who desire only peace.

It is against this policy that the Dutch trade unions are fighting. We are here speaking not only for tens of thousands of our members but also for many other partisans of peace and, among them, thousands of members of the Dutch trade union organisation which, a few months ago, broke away from the WFTU under pressure from its leader Kupers.

At a time when the principle of the respect of the human being is violated almost daily, Kupers and his friends approve of the violence in Indonesia.

Nor do they limit their activity to Holland. In January of this year, during the second military expedition in Indonesia, a Secretary of the organisation went to the United States to carry out a mission. In Washington, he made contact with a certain number of American trade unions. Conversations took place on the military expedition. The result of these conversations was the dispatch of a message in the name of the trade union approving this expedition. The Secretary in question was rewarded for this mission by a medal bestowed on him by the Dutch Government on the suggestion of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

I considered it necessary to bring these facts to the knowledge of the Congress, and more particularly to the attention of those who,

up till now, still thought that the WFTU did not do everything possible to maintain unity with Kupers, Deakin and others. People like Kupers do not want the WFTU to concern itself with what is happening in Indonesia. They say that it does not come within the province of the WFTU, since the problem of Indonesia is a political problem; but those who issue such statements are in the service of imperialism and travel round the world as advocates in its cause. In fact it is they who are indulging in politics. The sole difference is that the politics of the WFTU are the politics of the workers and the politics of Kupers and others are the politics of oppression in the service of imperialism, the permanent threat of war.

As for myself, I would be in favour of a special WFTU Congress or Conference which would bring together the Indonesian trade unions as soon as possible.

These are the few remarks I wanted to make on the subject of comrade Saillant's report. I am here, I repeat, as the spokesman of tens of thousands of Dutch workers. I assure you that the split carried out by Kupers has changed nothing in our line and that we are aiming more than ever at the strengthening of trade union unity. The WFTU is a reality in Holland. It must grow and we must make ever greater efforts in the mines, on the docks, everywhere in fact, to encourage the workers to take increasingly effective action. It is in this way that we can bring back to the World Federation of Trade Unions the workers who were dragged out of it by Kupers and his friends. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). I call on Comrade Radich of Trieste.

E. RADICH (*Trieste*). I bring to all comrades at this assembly of the forces of labour the most fraternal greetings of the United Trade Union Confederation of Trieste which, since its constitution, has been in full agreement with the spirit and the letter of the principles of the World Federation of Trade Unions as illustrated here by Comrade Saillant.

We are working and fighting in a territory which although geographically very small, represents a certain importance in the evolution of the European situation in view of the aggressive policy of the imperialists, a policy symbolised by the permanent presence of an allied military government.

For four years we have been subject to the Anglo-American military occupation in zone A (Trieste and its neighbourhood) and Yugoslav occupation in zone B (Istria). Now we are under the thumb of the White House which is seeking to preserve the old division in spite of the guarantees of the peace treaties.

American imperialism wants in particular to make Trieste one of its advanced bases, a centre of intrigue, a bastion for its cold war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and finally a strategic point in the fight against the healthy democratic forces of the peoples of Italy and Yugoslavia.

In Trieste the imperialists have encouraged Italian and Slav chauvinism and ranged one against the other, making use of provocateurs

for this purpose, tolerating the existence of armed fascist groups, persecuting progressive democrats and politically conscious workers who are often sentenced under fascist laws which, in our country, have not yet been rescinded. They organised and encouraged the trade union split in every way and this split in fact took place in Trieste two years before those in Italy and France. Now the breakaway trade union of Trieste aligns itself with the so-called free trade unions: it is quoted as an example by the North American Centres, who give it moral and material support.

The representatives of this breakaway union went to Geneva for the setting-up of the anti-WFTU organisation.

Naturally this trade union was founded on nationalist and "love-your-boss" lines. It is a direct and open offshoot of the chauvinist bourgeois parties and it is subsidised by the Christian-democrat Government of Italy. I would point out that we have published detailed information on this subject.

But it is not only a divided trade union movement which we are suffering at Trieste. We learned the reality of the Marshall Plan even before its consequences became quite clear to the other countries which American imperialism is aiming to enslave. The effects of American economic policy made themselves felt as early as 1945-1946. Trade with Eastern Europe, which is of vital importance for Trieste, was interrupted. Reconstruction was delayed. The famous "aid" has been imposed upon us and is ruining our economy and depriving us of our independence. Industry has been slowed down to a snail's pace. That is why poverty prevails in Trieste, accompanied by corruption, prostitution, smuggling, etc. Trieste, which was once one of the busiest cities in the world now has more than 23,000 unemployed, against 85,000 employed workers, and those who are still able to find work receive wages considerably below the subsistence level. There are also 35,000 pensioners, who can scarcely feed themselves for four or five days with the allowance they receive from the State for one month. In short, according to statistics, for every 9 occupied workers in Trieste, there are about 7 unemployed dependent on them.

But the working class in the free territory, although divided as a result of the existence of the two zones of occupation and unable in either of them to express themselves freely or improve their living conditions, are stubbornly fighting against both nationalisms and against imperialism, which keeps occupation troops there for purposes of domination. Against the attempts to divide the trade unions they are also fighting to see the long-delayed dawn of the reign of fraternity between the peoples, the complete unity of the working class and peace.

The struggle is hard and demands great sacrifices. Recently there have been many prosecutions of anti-fascist and labour elements. A member of the Executive Committee of our trade unions is among the accused. But despite all this, comrades, we can assure you that the working class of Trieste and their trade unions, always conscious of their responsibilities, will fight with energy in the sector of the front of labour, progress and peace which is entrusted to them.

LONG LIVE TRADE UNION UNITY ! LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, SYMBOL OF PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ! (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). I now give the floor to comrade Saillant, who will reply to these speakers.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Comrades, all the speakers who have come up to the rostrum have very freely expressed the opinion of the Trade Union Centre or organisation they represent. We said that this rostrum would be free; proof has been given that everyone could put forward his point of view.

We realise already, from the number and importance of the messages which we are receiving, that the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions is attracting the attention of tens of millions of workers throughout the world who, knowing that we are meeting in this city of Milan, are sending the Congress messages of confidence, recommendations, and greetings.

What do these messages signify ? That our Congress, by meeting, is replying to one of the essential concerns of the working class, that of seeing the World Federation of Trade Unions continue its work, and it is to this task that we are all applying ourselves.

Among the messages which have reached us there is one of which we should inform you immediately. You are aware that the Chinese trade union delegation is waiting in Prague for visas to enter Italy. It is for this reason that the thirty delegates of the Chinese trade unions are not present at our Congress. Comrade Liu has sent us the following message :—

“The obstruction of the Italian Government to the Chinese delegation will not prevent the unity of the world working class. We are great demonstration of workers throughout the world for peace, democracy and unity.

“The obstructions of the Italian Government to the Chinese delegation will not prevent the unity of the world working class. We are confident that this Congress will be a Congress of unity and victory.

“On behalf of the Chinese working class we solemnly express our solidarity with the workers of the whole world and our full support of the WFTU.”

It is indeed very regrettable that our comrades of the All-China Federation of Labour are unable to be present at this Congress. You will probably, in these circumstances, be in agreement with the following proposal, namely to instruct the Praesidium of the Congress to communicate officially with the Italian Government and ask it, in the name of the Congress, to take into consideration what the Chinese delegation represents. It is a question of a trade union delegation representing a country whose present conduct proves beyond doubt that it is far from moving in the direction of decadence but that, on the contrary, it is in full evolution and in complete possession of its faculties. (*Applause.*)

Perhaps the Congress could also instruct the Praesidium to express to the Italian Government our attachment to peace, and our desire

for collaboration between the peoples; and we shall express our profound feeling that it is necessary for these visas to be accorded in the interest of the Italian workers themselves—which is one thing—as well as in the interest of all the Italian people and the Italian State itself. (*Applause.*)

If the Congress is in agreement with this proposal, the Praesidium will make the necessary approaches to the Italian Government through the intermediary, once more, of our comrade Di Vittorio, who is beginning to be accustomed to this procedure.

The proposal was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. There were several remarks and proposals made in speeches from this rostrum concerning the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions which I wish to enlarge upon.

Our Comrade Fahrat Hached, Secretary of the General Union of Tunisian Workers, while taking note of the work accomplished by the Federation, raised the following question: Why are there so few trade union delegates representing the Arab peoples? Obviously, we may regret that this representation is not larger, but I feel that we must consider ourselves satisfied to see one at this Congress. It is necessary to realise the obstacles with which the WFTU was faced and which have prevented it from materially and morally assisting the workers in the Arab countries to develop their trade union organisation.

Why are there no representatives from Egypt? Because these representatives have been prohibited from leaving their country to come to a World Trade Union Congress. When Comrade El Medarrek, member of the General Council, returned from the Prague meeting in June 1947, he was arrested immediately on arriving in Cairo simply for having taken part in the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In spite of all our protests, in spite of our representations to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in spite of all the arguments which we have raised, we are meeting and will continue to meet with opposition from the Governments of the countries in the Near and Middle East, opposition which goes as far as employing the most severe and arbitrary measures against our trade union organisations, and even against our active members.

There is no representative of the trade union organisations of Iran here. Nevertheless, the World Federation of Trade Unions gave assistance to the Iranian workers. Their national trade union organisation has acquired a strength and authority which it greatly needed in order defend itself against the attacks made on it.

The Iranian Government has strengthened still more its apparatus of repression. Trade union leaders are arrested on the most futile pretexts. Thus six weeks ago five of them were sentenced to death by a Teheran court martial. Only one of the accused appeared before the court, the other four escaped. One of them was our comrade Reza Roustá who, after being in prison for nearly a year, had, as a result of the many interventions of the Federation and the General Council in June 1947, won restricted liberty. I say restricted because although no longer in prison he did not have the right to exercise his trade union functions.

We had been without news of him for six weeks, when we received a telegram this morning signed by him. He succeeded in avoiding certain death by slipping through the fingers of the police. He is now in Warsaw, free, safe and sound and he sends our Congress his most fraternal greetings. (*Applause.*)

This is what awaits the active members of the WFTU who do their normal work in the countries of the Near and Middle East.

Comrade Mustapha El Ariss knows all about these difficulties : he has already been to prison twice in three years for trade union activity.

But nothing will succeed in putting a brake on our activities, and Governments, whoever they may be, should make up their minds that the threat of prison or even death will not prevent the supporters of the WFTU from continuing to work for the liberation of the workers. (*Applause.*) Our activity may of course be hindered, or held up but we shall always carry on our work.

Our Comrade Mustapha El Ariss has proposed from this rostrum that in order to remove one of the weaknesses of the Federation's work, the publication of an Information Bulletin in the Arab language should be considered. I ask the Congress not to declare itself in favour of this proposal immediately, but to take into consideration the suggestion to refer it to the future Executive Bureau and Committee of the Federation who could examine it seriously, to see if the proposal is materially possible, in particular from the editing point of view, and consider the financial implications.

Comrade Warnke, in the speech which he made in the name of the German Trade Union Federation, recognised the work which the World Federation has carried out since its creation in favour of the development of the trade union movement.

The role of the World Federation of Trade Unions has been understood by our comrades from the German trade unions present at this Congress, who have recognised the way in which the World Federation of Trade Unions has implemented the recommendations made by the Congress of October 1945. Our German comrades have been able to observe that the Federation has assisted them without ever seeking to exercise any kind of pressure over them, that it has constantly drawn their attention to the fundamentally democratic and internationalist character and to the spirit of fraternal solidarity which were at the very basis of the decisions which it adopted and of its programme of assistance and aid to the German workers.

We have not employed the same methods as the American Federation of Labour which, aided by the capitalists, has carried on its propaganda by distributing food (condensed milk, biscuits, etc.) and thinks that this is sufficient to prove that it is the only one in a position to organise really free and democratic trade unions in Germany.

This is our opinion in this matter : the German trade union organisations have been in existence now for nearly five years, and need to participate in international trade union life, to integrate themselves into the international trade union movement. This is why the Executive Committee decided to admit them into the ranks of

the WFTU as from January 1st 1949 with the same rights as the other National Centres.

We all know the difficulties encountered over the last eighteen months as regards the German problem and the Berlin problem. We are certain that the presence at this Congress of our German comrades, the integration of their organisation in to the WFTU alongside the National Centres of other countries, will contribute to giving the WFTU the necessary authority to speak in favour of peace and the development of the German trade union organisations in the various zones of Germany.

Our comrade Jarblum has just come into the hall. I shall therefore reply to certain points in his speech of yesterday afternoon.

Our comrade made a speech in favour of unity. None of us have the habit of hiding our opinions from each other; we always say precisely what we think. We know the trade union and political tendencies of Comrade Jarblum. We know that he is a socialist; he himself calls himself a social-democrat.

Comrade Jarblum made a speech in favour of unity from this rostrum. We would have liked his words to be heard not only by the members of this Congress, but also by all social-democrats in the trade unions throughout the world, and particularly by the social-democrats who did not wish to come to this Congress. (*Applause.*)

Proof has been given that one can speak freely from the rostrum of a trade union Congress like that of the WFTU. Comrade Jarblum spoke in the name of an organisation in which three tendencies are represented and which is glad to preserve its unity. The WFTU thinks that in all the countries where trade union unity can be safeguarded, this should be done.

Pointing out that different trends of opinion were represented in the ranks of the Histadruth, our Comrade Jarblum concluded that the same thing could hold good within the WFTU and he therefore preached conciliation. I even understood him to be speaking not simply of the past but also for the future and to say that the WFTU should make efforts for conciliation in the matter.

Alluding to the events of last January, he said—and this is the very word he employed—that it was still necessary to seek a compromise. The facts are there to prove that it was not we who on 19th January 1949 walked out of the session of the Executive Bureau, nor who broke off the conversations. In fact, Comrade Kuznetsov, who had put the following question : " On what bases do you think a compromise might be established ? " received the following answer " The only proposal acceptable is the immediate cessation of the activities of the WFTU. " You will understand as I did, comrades, that a compromise of this type could not be agreed to without the authorisation of Congress. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Burstein who accompanies Comrade Jarblum at this Congress, met the Secretariat of the Federation in Paris a year ago. He asked the WFTU, after the constitution of the new State of Israel, to send the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretaries to Tel-Aviv so that the WFTU might show, by its presence, that it recognised the new State.

During the meeting of the WFTU Secretariat, to which he was invited, comrade Burstein was able to come into contact with the members of the WFTU Secretariat; and the General Secretary asked him not to insist too much on sending this delegation, so that those who have left the WFTU might not reproach us with making a political gesture or accuse us of wishing, by replying to the Histadruth's invitation, to displease the General Council of the TUC.

The concessions which we have constantly had to make in the interest of unity, if account is taken of our outlook as internationalist militant workers, sometimes cost us dear, but we did not want to be accused of sectarianism. We wanted to show that international trade union unity was something very important for us. Thus we were reduced to asking certain Centres, like the Histadruth, to withdraw perfectly reasonable requests.

I spoke of sectarianism in my introductory report to this discussion. We could say that this manifests itself in various forms. I have just received this morning from one of our comrades who was in Brussels, a copy of the circular letter sent out by the General Federation of Belgian Workers to the industrial federations affiliated to that organisation.

In that letter, the organisations in question were asked not to send observers to our Congress. Does this give proof of a democratic spirit, and how can it be accepted that the hostility towards the Federation should be pushed as far forbidding—under the threat of expulsion—the sending of observers to our Congress?

As you know, it was at the Prague Congress that the decision was taken to create the Trade Departments. Regulations were adopted at that time by the General Council and, in particular, by the representative of the Belgian Trade Union Centres. But a few months later, the Belgian National Centre informed us that its industrial federations had not accepted the regulations adopted by the General Council of the WFTU as regards the Trade Departments. "Since our national industrial federations are autonomous" they added "we cannot force them to apply the WFTU regulations and to take part in the Constituent Conferences of the Trade Departments".

Now everything is changed. As a certain number of Belgian industrial federations are discontented with the decision adopted by the General Federation of Belgian Workers, an article of its Constitution is being brandished to prohibit the industrial federations from sending observers to the Trade Conferences of the WFTU and to the World Trade Union Congress, and to indicate that discipline must be observed. Thus discipline for these "pure trade unionists" only operates in certain circumstances, when it is a question of saying "amen" to the policy pursued by certain people, but does not count when it is a question of applying the decision of the WFTU. (*Applause.*)

During a conversation which Di Vittorio and I had yesterday, the former reminded me of an even more significant fact. 18 months ago, when I was in Berlin with our comrades of the Federation of Trade Unions of Greater Berlin, we were officially informed that the organisations belonging to the Benelux countries, namely the Belgian Trade Union Centre, the Trade Union Federation of Luxembourg and the NVV (the Dutch trade union organisation) had decided to propose

the convening of an International Trade Union Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan.

Thus a conference was called at which the TUC, the CIO and the AF of L were represented. Well, what happened at this Conference? The Belgian Trade Union Centre sent an invitation to the trade union minority of the General Confederation of Labour of Italy, which includes among others the Christian Democrats, led by Pastore, and some social democrats, asking them to take part in the said Conference. In other words, this Centre and its leaders invited last year the minority representatives of the Italian Trade Union Centre to sit as representatives of the Italian workers in a Conference convened by themselves. Comrade Di Vittorio did not propose the expulsion of Pastore of the Italian Confederation of Labour, as Renard, Finet and Major wish to do as regards the two Belgian comrades who have come here as observers.

Tell me, comrades, where are the democrats? Where are the tolerant people? Where do you find those who attempt to give the greatest information to the workers so as to allow them to make decisions in full knowledge of the facts? Are they on the side of the WFTU or among those who have left it? I think, comrades, that the answer is easy to find, particularly after the statements made to you by the two comrades from the Italian trade unions, who said *that they, representing moreover, two different out-looks belonged to the minority in the Italian Confederation of Labour.* Is this not, as Jarblum said, proof of the existence of true trade union democracy? We thus have the opportunity of giving full weight to our opinions, and of trying to make our ideas prevail. We feel that no honest person can attack our position. It is for this reason that I, for my part, am prepared to accept the proposal made yesterday from the rostrum by Comrade Soloviev. He asked, at the conclusion of the discussion on the report of activity of the WFTU for a declaration to be made to the trade union organisations which are not represented, to those who have withdrawn from the WFTU, to inform them of the feeling of Congress and to invite them to resume their place in our great international trade union brotherhood.

In the contributions which arose out of the report on activity, the comrades have perhaps not sufficiently stressed what was and what should be the role of the World Federation of Trade Unions within the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council of the latter, and within the Specialised Agencies which have relations with UNO, such as the ILO, the FAO, UNESCO.

I am nevertheless able to inform Congress that we learned this morning of the granting of the World Federation of Trade Unions' request for the placing of an item concerning the fight against unemployment and the problem of full employment on the Agenda of the meeting of UNO'S Economic and Social Council which is to open on July 5th next in Geneva.

Perhaps it would be a good thing, since this is an important question and one which admits of no delay, if a dossier were prepared by the technical services of the WFTU and if the Congress were to instruct its Praesidium to put the finishing touches to the draft resolution on the fight against unemployment, the text of which must be

officially communicated by the Federation to the Economic and Social Council.

If we had accepted the proposal made in January, what organisation other than the WFTU could today have raised, before so important an international body as the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the question of unemployment—unemployment which means misery for millions of men and women?

This is yet another reason to justify the existence of the WFTU, and to confirm the correctness of our decision to maintain its activities.

An agency dispatch informed us yesterday that the leaders of the United States have just been considering this important question of unemployment and that the CIO is going to take certain measures.

Don't you think, comrades, that the leaders of the CIO have changed their ideas and that in certain spheres, they are following the path mapped out by the World Federation of Trade Unions, which has asked that the question of the fight against unemployment be placed on the Agenda of the next meeting of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations?

The social reasons are so imperative and the evolution of events is so rapid throughout the world that the CIO, while being outside the WFTU is obliged to follow it.

This is a first example, comrades. Others will follow in the very near future.

If we know how to correct our weaknesses, if we know how to be at the head of the struggle for the defence of the workers' interests, if we know how to be the first to take the initiative in favour of the workers, in a word, if we are active and diligent, the WFTU will attract such attention and support that the workers of Britain, and the United States of America will ask their leaders why they are attacking an organisation which is always in the vanguard of the struggle for the defence of the liberties and the living conditions of the workers. Everything depends on our activity.

The information supplied a little while ago by comrade Henri Raynaud, speaking for the Credentials Committee, is significant. No-one expected, less than six months after the split, to see the WFTU with more than 71 million members. After that very heavy blow dealt to the WFTU in January last, that real stab in the back, we did not think to be so numerous in June. In other words, if the WFTU has displeased a few trade union leaders, it has been able to please a great many workers throughout the world.

They may write what they like. Aeroplanes may drop leaflets as those which flew over Milan on the occasion of the WFTU Congress and which certainly had no other effect than that of informing the people of Milan who have not read the newspapers for some time that a great World Trade Union Congress was being held in their town, and of exciting their curiosity and encouraging them to buy the newspapers in order to know exactly what the Congress of the WFTU was doing.

Indirect propaganda thus proves that the WFTU cannot be attacked as easily as it might be desired. It is not a displeasing thing to know that an aeroplane in flying around to draw attention to the fact that the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions is being

held in Milan. This is proof of the interest with which we are regarded.

Certain people are up in the clouds, a long way away from the workers. We have our feet firmly planted on the ground and it is on the ground at Milan that the Congress of the WFTU is being held. (*Enthusiastic and long applause.*)

L. N. SOLOVIEV (*USSR*). The Soviet delegation considers that, following the report of activity of the WFTU made by the General Secretary, Louis Saillant, it is necessary to set up a committee to draft the text of a resolution addressed to the workers and trade union organisations of the countries whose trade union leaders declared that they were leaving the WFTU.

We suggest that this committee be composed of 10 people,—the General Secretary and a representative of each of the following Trade Union Centres : Cuba, the Union of South Africa, Germany, Poland, France, the Soviet Union, Italy, Hungary and Ceylon.

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). Does the Congress agree with the proposal made by Comrade Soloviev ? Is there a seconder for this proposal ?

B. FRACHON (*France*). The French delegation seconds Comrade Soloviev's proposal.

The Congress declared its endorsement of this committee. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). Comrades, I have the pleasure of announcing a delegation of young people from the Alfa-Romeo factories who have come to greet Congress. (*Congress rises and applauds warmly.*)

I thank the delegation in the name of the Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN (*S. A. Wickremasinghe*). I call on Comrade Williams of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

B. WILLIAMS (*World Federation of Democratic Youth*). Dear friends, in the name of the World Federation of Democratic Youth I bring fraternal greetings to the workers of the whole world.

On the morrow of the victory over the fascist aggressors, the young democrats of the whole world learned with joy that the aim which all the workers had set for themselves—trade union unity—had been achieved by the creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. From that day on, young people have followed and supported the activity which the WFTU has carried on for Peace and a better life. Today they wish to greet the WFTU which is for them the sole world organisation of the working masses.

Immediately after the victory over fascism, the peoples of the whole world decided to organise themselves more effectively in order to prevent any new world conflict and in order to preserve the liberty and the rights which they had won at the price of heavy sacrifices.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International

Democratic Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth are the important organisations which were created at that time.

The existence of these organisations, which rally millions of men and women, very quickly thwarted the plans of those who wished to take away from the people the benefits of victory. The Wall Street monopolies, which are responsible for the American Government's present policy of treason towards international cooperation—cooperation which existed between the peoples during the war against fascism—today dictate their policy to the American Government and to the governments of other countries—a policy which is leading to a new world war.

Everybody knows today that the *Marshall Plan* and the *Atlantic Pact* are the links in the chain which the capitalists of Wall Street are attempting to use to fetter the peoples to war and misery. This policy, which benefits not only from the assistance of the fascists and collaborators, but also from the experience of the traitors to the working class and the rightwing social-democrats, has been the cause of the fall in the living standards of the workers, the continual rise in prices and unemployment, and constitutes a threat to the very life of the workers because of the preparations for war.

The peoples do not approve of such a policy. They hate it, and it is for this reason that they are strengthening their unshakeable determination to defend their rights and their interests. This is why the democratic organisations which unite the great majority of working men, women and young people throughout the world, have become the principal obstacle to the war plans of the imperialists, whose sole desire is to reduce the people to slavery and to trample their rights underfoot. With the servile aid of the traitors to the people's cause, they are trying a classic manœuvre : that of division.

The democratic youth of the whole world is proud of having strengthened its organisation, particularly after the exclusion from its ranks of those who serve the interests of American imperialism.

We can say that our action for Peace, against colonialism and for the defence of the demands of young workers has never been received with such great success as in 1948 and 1949. The reason for this is that youth, after having cast out from its ranks all the dividers and saboteurs, united itself more firmly in the WFDY and worked with even more devotion for the accomplishment of its tasks.

We are happy to be able to say that the attempts at dividing the WFTU undertaken by the leaders of the Trade Union Centres of Britain and the United States failed, as the attempts which were made to divide our own federation failed.

Working youth has clearly shown that it supported the World Federation of Trade Unions and that it has deep hatred for those who, on the orders of Wall Street, attempted to break the trade unions. The young workers of many countries, as for example those of France, Australia, Poland, Britain, etc. have made their voices heard in condemnation of the attempts at division within the WFTU. They also expressed their active solidarity with it. "We condemn the splitters and their action" say the young workers of Australia "we condemn them as being the authors of the betrayal of the vital interests of the world's workers. We launch and appeal to all young trade

unionists in the United States and Great Britain not to stint their efforts and to re-establish total unity."

This shows that young people are ready to defend the international unity of the workers in the ranks of the WFTU. We now want to raise several questions concerning the political and economic situation of the young people of today. The first victims of illness, unemployment, wage-cuts, militarism and in a general way, of all the results of a policy of preparation for war, are the young people. Of the 3 million Italian workers who are today out of work, 300,000 are young people. One quarter of the 300,000 workless in Belgium are also young people. The millions of unemployed in Western Germany, France and other countries of Western Europe also include the same proportion of young people. Out of some 1,500,000 unemployed in India, half are young workers. More than half of the total figure of unemployed in the United States (5 million) and the partially unemployed (12 million) are young people. It is useless for the representatives of the United States on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to attempt to justify this figure by saying that it covers young married people and students. All that they prove by this assertion is that the cost of living is rising unceasingly in the United States, that the wages of young people are inadequate and that it is difficult to gain access to higher education.

Young workers in many countries receive no technical education. In Austria, the membership of vocational training schools is declining because the families of young workers cannot pay the entrance fees and because they are obliged to send their children out to work as soon as they leave elementary school.

Recently, in France, the number of apprenticeship centres was reduced. This is the result of a policy which devotes the largest part of the budget to war and which causes unemployment to rise. When unemployment makes itself felt it is the young people who suffer from it in the first place. For example in Norway, 50 % of young married people are living in difficult conditions. In the United States, 30 % of the newly-weds must live with their parents.

The reduction of the wages of young people is one of the forms of discrimination which exists in many Marshall Plan countries. In Western Germany, for example, young workers' wages have fallen 30 to 75 % lower than those of adults, even though it is a matter of the same work, with the sole difference that the workers in question are between 14 and 18 years old.

The living and working conditions of young people are still worse in the countries dominated by fascism and in colonial countries. This is proved by a few figures giving an idea of the state of health of Spanish youth: 10,000 children die every year of tuberculosis in the Biscay Province of Spain. Out of 14,000 young people in the 1948 class, more than 80 % were tuberculous and 50 % were declared unsuitable for military service.

Greek youth is in a similar situation under the monarcho-fascist regime. Those who are lucky enough to find work earn between 2,000 and 3,000 drachmas per day while a kilo of bread costs 3,000 drachmas.

The life of young people in the colonial countries is even worse. In 1947, an International Youth Commission, composed of members

of our Federation and the International Union of Students, saw with its own eyes the living conditions of youth in South-East Asia. It saw families with children cooking, sleeping and spending their lives on the pavements of the town of Karachi. It saw children between the age of 7 and 8 working in the foul air of tobacco factories or in carpet factories for wages of from 4 to 5 annas a day, that is, enough to buy two newspapers. In face of this misery to which the imperialists wish to condemn the youth of the Marshall Plan countries, it is natural that the young peoples of these countries should regard with admiration the magnificent life which the young workers of the Soviet Union lead and that they should make it their aim to obtain for themselves conditions of life similar to those which prevail in that socialist country, where the exploitation of man by man has been abolished for ever. In 1940 there were already 10 million young people in the Soviet Union employed in industry and transport and more than a million attended vocational training courses. This shows what the right to work (which is guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution) and vocational training mean in the country of socialism.

It is also quite natural that all the young people in the colonial and Marshallised countries should feel themselves drawn towards the magnificent path opened by the young people in the people's democracies. Today the youth of these countries is proud of having won the same rights as those of the adults, namely, equal pay, the right to education, to work, to holidays with pay, to social insurance, etc.

But on examining the living conditions of the young workers in capitalist and colonial countries, it is easy to understand why they are everywhere to be found in the front rank of the fight for peace and a better life. One also realises the fundamental reasons which caused the brave young French miners to be in the lead of the struggle which all the French miners waged against poverty.

Nor did anything prevent the young Italian "braccianti" from bringing their struggle to a victorious conclusion.

Friends, the World Federation of Democratic Youth makes it a point of honour to pay very special attention to the fight of young workers in all countries in defence of their rights. It is conscious that in acting in this way it is fulfilling its duty towards the cause of peace.

In August 1948 in Warsaw, the WFDY organised the magnificent International Conference of Working Youth, the first of its kind. 445 delegates represented 45 million young workers of 46 countries. The Conference unanimously condemned the manœuvres of the imperialist warmongers as the principal reason for the deterioration of the living conditions of working youth and stressed the necessity of tightening still more the ranks of working youth within the WFDY.

As a result of this Conference, the young people of many countries increased their contribution to the fight for peace, put forward even more firmly their specific demands and organised their struggle more effectively. In several countries, national and local committees of young trade unionists were set up or strengthened inside the trade unions. At the WFDY a Committee for the defence of working youth was created which, from that time on, took part in many campaigns to assist young workers to fight for their rights. An appeal launched by our Committee greatly contributed to the fact that the young people

of more than 20 countries, alongside all the workers, gave their solidarity to the valiant French miners. It was the same with the Canadian seamen.

In order to coordinate their struggle better, the young workers of many countries are now setting up national and local Committees for the defence of the rights of working youth.

In May of this year, the WFDY submitted a memorandum to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on the contribution of working youth to the fight for peace, democracy, national independence and the defence of its rights.

In this memorandum, the WFDY asked to the Council to make representations to the governments for the abolition of the bad living conditions of working youth in certain countries.

The WFDY realises that the constant deterioration in the situation of young working people in the capitalist countries is principally due to the policy of preparation for a new world war provoked by the great imperialist monopolies of Wall Street. This is why we can say that it is above all by defending peace that the WFDY has best contributed to the defence of the vital interests of young workers. Indeed, peace means bread and work to young people, a decent living wage an education. It also means to young people a budget for health and culture and not for bullets, rifles and tanks. The French youth slogan : " millions for youth and not for war " expresses this idea very well.

Among the 600 million men and women represented at the World Peace Congress, 58 million were young people. They had responded with enthusiasm to the appeal launched to all peace-loving peoples by the International Bureau of Intellectuals for Peace and the Women's International Democratic Federation.

We cannot over-emphasize the importance of this Congress. Not only did it give a solemn warning to the warmongers, but also it brilliantly showed the extraordinary strength of the camp of peace. It clearly showed the force of which the peoples of the whole world are capable when they unite and act together. The young democrats of the whole world consider that the World Peace Congress is the starting point of a great task for the widest rallying of young people, for the defeat of war and the triumph of peace. This is why they are actively preparing themselves for the magnificent peace campaigns which the World Federation of Democratic Youth is organising, the World Congress of Democratic Youth and the World Youth and Students Festival. 10,000 young people will meet in August in Budapest to sing and work together. They will learn to know each other better and as a result they will learn to know and combat more effectively their common enemy—the war mongers and the imperialist oppressors who are attempting to set them against each other. All the languages of the world will resound at Budapest but they will all speak the same message : that of peace.

It goes without saying that these great actions deeply interest all the defenders of Peace : M. Joliot-Curie, President of the Committee of the World Peace Congress sent us a message in which he said : " I send my fraternal greetings to the young people and students who are to hold their great festival in Budapest. Together we shall fight

for peace and build a world where justice shall reign everywhere : a world which it will be good to live in."

Other messages have reached us expressing the satisfaction felt by all peace and liberty loving peoples. We are sure that all democratic organisations and particularly the trade unions will give their moral and material support to ensure that the youth of the whole world and the young workers in particular are represented at the Festival and at the Congress so that they may have all the value out of it which we want them to have.

Before concluding, I want to stress a question which appears extremely important to us. The fine experiences of the past—and particularly that of the World Congress for Peace—confirm the common duty of the WFTU and the WFDY towards their members to collaborate closely so that, in the widest unity, we may triumph in the fight for peace and for the protection of the rights of the workers.

Dear and great friends of the trade unions! The eyes of the young workers and of all the workers are now fixed upon this magnificent Congress. We hope that it will irrefutably establish the resounding defeat of the breakers of the magnificent world trade union unity.

Our best wishes for the work of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress for the strengthening of the world camp of peace and democracy.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU, THE UNSHAKEABLE BASTION OF WORLD LABOUR UNITY !

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY, FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND A BETTER LIFE ! (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (S. A. Wickremasinghe). The General Secretary will now make an announcement to the Congress.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Comrades, the next item on the Agenda is the report on the general policy and action of the WFTU for international trade union unity and in favour of peace and the defence of the peoples democratic rights. The rapporteurs on this question are Comrades Kuznetsov (USSR) and Santi (Italy).

In view of the fact that the Praesidium has to examine the question of unemployment and full employment which is to be dealt with by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, as well as to prepare the representations which are to be made to the Italian Government as regards the Chinese delegation which has not yet been able to reach the Congress, I propose that, in order to facilitate this work, we adjourn the work of the Congress at this point.

Are there any remarks on this proposal ?

Congress agreed unanimously.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 2nd JULY 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of B. Blokzijl of the Netherlands.

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Kuznetsov of the All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions who is going to present his report to the Congress on the general policy and action of the WFTU. (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

General policy and action of the WFTU for international trade union unity, for peace and the defence of the democratic rights of the peoples

V. V. KUZNETSOV (*USSR*).

Dear Friends, the World Federation of Trade Unions, as is well known, is the first world trade union organisation of such a universal character in history. It was set up in order to unite the forces of the workers of all countries in the struggle for a lasting peace between peoples, for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers and for their democratic rights and freedoms.

At the cost of the immense sacrifices made in the most sanguinary of all wars, the working class succeeded in realising its long-cherished dream—the uniting of its forces to secure a better future for the workers.

When our Federation was created in 1945 the peoples of the world were still full of the hope that after the victorious conclusion of the war and the defeat of fascism, humanity would finally be delivered from threats of a new war, that the governments of the great powers would fulfil their solemn promises made during the war and that a powerful international organisation would be set up for the defence of peace and the guaranteeing of the democratic development and the security of peoples.

But these hopes were changed to alarm when it became clear that the monopolistic circles of the USA, which had done nothing to put into effect their war-time declarations and promises, were beginning to prepare for a new war, threatening to impose even more terrible sufferings on humanity than those which it had undergone in the past war unleashed by German fascism.

The American monopolists, who had drawn incredible riches out of

the war and subjected many countries and territories to their rule decided that they no longer needed to continue the policy of honest international co-operation followed by President Roosevelt. The policy of peaceful co-operation, carried out by Roosevelt, has now given way to a policy of aggression and unbridled expansion, of struggle for world domination, a policy of dictating to those countries whose governments, betraying national interests, allow American businessmen to lord it over their territories.

At present, as you know, the reactionary circles of the USA and of Great Britain are imposing their domination on the peoples through the power of the dollar and by force of arms. This policy of the imperialists is most clearly expressed in the so-called "Marshall Plan", Western Union and the North Atlantic Pact, which are the instruments with which the instigators of a new world war carry out their aggressive plans.

The real aim of this policy, however they try to hide it, is economically and politically to enslave Western Europe, to deprive its peoples of their national independence, to restore the war-industrial potential of Germany and to turn it into the arsenal and the strategic base of the Anglo-American imperialists.

In order to justify and conceal the policy of preparing to unleash another war, the imperialist camp and the exponents of aggression like Churchill do all they can to infect the minds of the peoples with the poison of enmity and hatred of the Soviet Union and the countries of Peoples Democracy. American reaction has started to carry on a so-called cold war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Peoples Democracy and is trying to turn it into a real war of mass slaughter.

As against the fact that the war against fascism showed the possibility and the fruitfulness of successful co-operation between peoples, in spite of differences between social and political systems, the organisers of the cold war are trying to convince the peoples of the impossibility of the peaceful co-existence of two systems, the socialist system and the capitalist system. They build their strategy of war preparation on completely false propaganda to the effect that the systems cannot live in peace. As a result of this, an accelerated arms race is going on in the camp of the warmongers.

It is well known that the preparation for war and war itself are a source of immense enrichment for the capitalists. The arms kings squeeze enormous profits out of the working class, lower its standard of living, dooming the workers to extreme poverty. The heavy load of war expenditure is thrown by the capitalists entirely on the shoulders of the working class and all working people. One can see the growth of inflation and taxes and the rise of the prices of immediate necessities. At the same time wages continually fall and the army of unemployed, which already at the present moment amounts to tens of millions of people, grows rapidly.

There are more than a million unemployed in the Western zones of Germany alone. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been thrown on to the streets in Holland and Belgium. Take the example of Belgium, a small country with a fairly highly developed industry. According to facts supplied by the Belgian "unemployment assistance fund", the number of workless in the spring of 1949 reached 300 thousand. How far this is from the solemn declaration of full employe-

ment proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter.

Out of fear for the advancing new economic crisis, the American capitalists as you known, shut down fully or in part, establishments and whole branches of industry in France. Italy, Belgium and other countries, condemning further hundreds of thousands of workers in these establishments to prolonged unemployment, poverty and hunger.

In the report of the Marshall Plan administration for 1948 it is modestly pointed out that in all the European countries which receive so-called "Marshall Aid", the textiles production last year was 25 % below the pre-war level; the harvests of agricultural products are also far below the pre-war figures.

A similar policy of economic plunder of the workers is, of course, also carried out in the USA itself. Here the army of unemployed and half-unemployed already amounts to more than 5 million persons and continues to grow. The real wages of the workers continually fall.

Summing up the results of two years of Marshall Plan, even its partisans are obliged to admit that the plan has not had a beneficial effect on the economy of the Western European countries, that it has not brought the desired stability and that it has not secured the healthy development of the economies of these countries. As a result of the way the Americans lord it over these countries, their peoples are today even less certain of the future than two years ago. The economy of these countries is placed in close dependence on the American monopolies. The Marshallised countries have lost their economic and political independence. Now, without any prospects of their own for the future, like doomed men they are forced to follow in the wake of American economy and to await the inevitable economic crisis.

At the same time, in order to free their hands for all sorts of political adventures abroad, the capitalist monopolies have started a campaign against the democratic organisations and, in the first instance, against the working class organisations. In many countries of Asia and Latin America, as in Spain, Portugal and Greece, the Trade Unions have been driven underground. Trade Unions and their officials are subjected to a hail of repressive measures. Thousands of working class leaders have been put behind prison bars. The monopolists attempt even further to enslave the workers of colonial countries, to take away from them even those miserable democratic rights and freedoms which they still enjoy. Reaction is exceptionally savage in countries where the existence of fascist-monarchist regimes is ensured by the bayonet and the dollar : that is, in Spain and Greece. Reaction is also fierce in capitalist countries which pride themselves on their so-called "democracy". In the USA an open attack is being carried out on democratic and trade union rights : the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act for the enslavement of the working class has not been repealed to this day, in spite of the solemn promises pronounced at the time of the presidential elections of last year. The corrupt leaders of the American Federation of Labour are trying to export this monstrous Act to the Marshallised countries of Europe.

The enemies of peace scorn the will of the people, their desire for a stable peace and democratic reform. They mobilise all their reserves for the struggle against the democratic camp and against all that is

progressive. The bourgeois press carries out unbridled war propaganda and stirs up war hysteria and atomic psychosis. Once more raising the hitlerlite bogey of anti-communism, the warmongers undertake a campaign against all the forces of democracy, against the trade unions and other progressive organisations.

But whatever plans the reactionaries and their servants may lay to unleash a new war, they have fundamentally miscalculated--they overestimate their own strength and under-estimate the power of the democratic camp of the defenders of peace.

The peoples do not want war, they do not want to shed their blood once more for the profits of a handful of selfish billionaires. The peace-loving peoples are mobilising all their forces to deal a rebuff to the enemies of peace and progress. The army of the defenders of peace has become a powerful and unconquerable force of hundreds of millions of people who are deeply concerned to prevent war.

The camp of democracy and peace now includes great international organisations, which gave their support to the World Peace Congress, such as our World Federation of Trade Unions, with 70 million members, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students and many progressive organisations of scientists, writers and other cultural workers of different countries. In the camp of peace and democracy are hundreds of millions of ordinary folk in Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Australia who take an active stand against war. In the camp of peace is the mighty Soviet Union, which played a decisive part in the victory over the fascist enslavers. In this camp are the countries of Peoples' Democracy who are on the road to the successful construction of Socialism and also the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, defending their freedom and national independence by armed struggle.

The great leader of the Soviet people and the best friend of all working humanity, Joseph Stalin, has predicted the inevitable failure of the warmongers' plans: "The horrors of the recent war are too fresh in the memory of the peoples," said Comrade Stalin, "and the social forces working for peace are too great for Churchill's disciples in aggression to be able to overcome them and to precipitate them on to the side of war." We can see how these prophetic words of Joseph Stalin are being carried into effect. The army of the defenders of peace is going over to the offensive against the warmongers, against those who stifle the democratic freedom and the national independence of peoples.

This is shown first of all by the mass movement against the Atlantic Pact, which has developed in all countries during recent months, the movement of all peoples against the arms race, for the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of the armaments and armed forces of the great powers.

The great success of the World Congress for Peace, held in Paris and Prague in April of this year, was a clear indication of the growing activity of the anti-imperialist camp. This Congress, at which organisations including more than 600 million people were represented, became a powerful demonstration of the forces of the international army of the defenders of peace, democracy and progress.

The Manifesto, unanimously adopted by the Paris Congress, boldly

unmasks the instigators of a new world war, shows clearly where the threat of war comes from and who is engaged in preparing for it.

The whole world knows that the warmongers are the American imperialists who dream of world domination. It is they who threaten peace with the atomic bomb and undermine the United Nations Organisation, who cover the globe with a network of military bases, who organise the propaganda of hatred for mankind and openly call for the extermination of whole races and peoples.

The World Peace Congress brought the broad masses of the people in all countries into movement, it called on them to play an active part in the defence of peace. In its Manifesto, the Congress expressed full confidence in the possibility of successfully defending peace if all honest people, without distinction of political opinions, religious convictions or party affiliations, enthusiastically take up this task.

"The defence of peace is the cause of all the peoples of the world"—says the Manifesto. "We have been able to serry our ranks. We have been able to understand each other and we express our readiness and our determination to win the battle for peace, the battle for life."

The World Congress for Peace set up a Permanent Committee. That active and faithful fighter for the cause of world peace, the World Federation of Trade Unions, is a member of this Committee.

The principal force in the movement of all peoples for peace is the most progressive class of contemporary society—the working class. The strength of the working class lies in its unity, in the consolidation of its ranks. During the great war of liberation against fascism, the working class grew more and more sharply aware of the necessity of uniting its forces in the common struggle of the workers of all countries against the menace of the revival of fascism and the danger of a new war, for the vital interests of the working people and their democratic freedoms. Now, from the experience of the struggle against reaction, the working class has become further convinced that the unity of its ranks and the friendship and cooperation of the workers of all countries are the pledge of the invincibility of the camp of peace and democracy.

In these conditions, the tasks of the World Federation of Trade Unions are especially great and responsible. It has occupied and continues to occupy a firm place in the camp of peace and democracy. In many texts, adopted by the administrative bodies of the Federation in the years 1946-1949, there could be heard the mighty voice of the millions-strong masses of workers and employees, organised in Trade Unions for the defence of peace, democratic freedoms and trade union unity. Our Federation has worked and continues to work tirelessly for the broadening and strengthening of its ranks. During the period dealt with in the report many national trade union centres have joined the Federation, including the Federation of Free Trade Unions of Germany and the Japanese Trade Unions.

We may note with satisfaction that although the leaders of certain trade union centres succeeded in withdrawing their organisations from the WFTU, the total membership of the WFTU is now higher than it was at the time of the first World Trade Union Congress in Paris.

Just a year after the World Trade Union Congress in Paris in September 1946, at the Washington Session of the Executive Bureau,

there was adopted a resolution on "the establishment of a firm and lasting peace." This resolution which preserves all its significance today, states "The workers have noted with alarm that the coalition of freedom-loving nations which was the key to military victory has not been maintained with the firmness and unity of purpose essential to the establishment of an enduring peace. They have been further disturbed by the failure to pursue the military defeat of the fascist powers by a determined struggle to extirpate fascism in all its forms and manifestations wherever they may be found."

The Executive Bureau issued a grave warning to the inspirers of a new aggression who, as the resolution stressed "are flaunting the same ideological banners which were carried by Nazism and Fascism." The Executive Bureau, already at that time, called on the governments of the United Nations to turn towards a policy of friendship and international cooperation; it called on the workers of all countries and on all people of good will to serry their ranks in the struggle for a stable and lasting peace throughout the world.

The WFTU has consistently come forward in defence of trade union rights and freedoms and has saved many working class fighters from a violent death. It has carried out a mass campaign against the Franco regime in Spain, mobilising millions of workers for the struggle against fascism and its last remnants.

The Federation has devoted considerable effort to the cause of the demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany and Japan; it has contributed to the creation and unification of democratic trade unions in these countries and to increasing their importance and abolishing the aftermaths of fascism and militarism.

But the World Federation of Trade Unions was not able to fulfil all the requests of the workers which were inscribed in the decisions of the London Conference and the Paris Congress and other documents. This was prevented by the leaders of the General Council of the British TUC and the Congress of Industrial Organisations of the USA. From the earliest days of the existence of the Federation, they sabotaged the steps it took to improve the standard of living of the workers, to defend democratic rights and freedoms, and to strengthen the international unity of the working class. Finally, Deakin and Carey tried in January 1949 to liquidate the Federation. When they did not succeed in this, the splitters announced the departure of their Unions from the WFTU. The behaviour of Deakin and Carey once more proves that they served and still serve not the working class, but the enemies of the working class and there is nothing new or suprising in this. The agents of capital in the working class movement have always tried to break up and disintegrate the ranks of the working class, to deprive it of the possibility of building and strengthening unified democratic organisations. In the past this treacherous policy of the right socialists and reformists led to a situation in which, on the eve of a second world war the working class was disintegrated and unable to oppose a united front of peace-loving peoples to the fascist aggressors and their supporters.

The history of the betrayal of the working class by the leaders of the CIO and the TUC, to say nothing about the AFL leaders, is now repeating itself.

The present policy of the reactionary Anglo-American trade union leaders amounts to a complete renunciation of the defence of the everyday needs of the working class, a renunciation of the defence of peace and of participation in the peace movement. it amounts to direct service of the warmongers.

Deakin and Carey perfidiously and dishonestly misinform the workers about the activity of the Federation. they basely deceive the trade union rank and file and conceal their own splitting activities. But, as the Russian proverb says, you can't hide an awl in a sack. The working class must know and shall know the truth. By their departure from the World Federation of Trade Unions the leaders of the TUC General Council and of the CIO have committed a grave crime against the working class of the whole world, acting on direct instructions from the ruling circles of Great Britain and the USA.

Deakin, Carey, Kupers and Tewson, who tried to put an end to the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, alleged that the Federation was to blame for the failure to reach agreement with the International Trade Secretariats and that this was their reason for leaving the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This is a calumny on the Federation. The WFTU went out of its way to meet the desires of these Secretariats, guided as it was by the wish to create as rapidly as possible effective, genuine international organisations for trade unions of different branches of industry. (Trade Departments), for the defence of the interests of workers of different trades. But this was the last thing that the (mainly British) leaders of the ITS wanted, deliberately drawing out the discussions and entirely refusing to co-operate with the Federation.

The doors of the World Federation of Trade Unions and of its Trade Departments remain open to all trade union organisations. Today the Federation still calls on the International Trade Secretariats to co-operate with it on conditions acceptable to the Secretariats.

Deakin and Carey, deceiving the workers, also allege that the World Federation of Trade Unions is opposed to certain States giving economic aid to others, that the Federation is opposed to the restoration of the destroyed economy of war-devastated countries.

Can anyone be taken in by this gross lie? All the Trade Union organisations which belong to the WFTU have always considered it normal and desirable for economically powerful countries to give aid to weaker countries. But, in doing so the countries affording aid must not encroach on the national independence of the countries which receive it as is being done at present by America in relation to the Marshallised countries. The World Trade Union Congress in Paris in 1945 stressed that there must be no interference in the internal affairs of countries in need of assistance nor must they be subjected to the influence of international trusts and cartels. The same must also be said about the other slanderous statements of the splitters.

Who but the leaders of the TUC and the CIO, to the advantage of the imperialists of their countries, sabotaged the unification of the German trade unions which could have become an important factor in the denazification and democratisation of Germany? Who but the leaders of the Anglo-American trade unions incited the leaders of the trade unions of the Western Zone of Germany to split Germany and to

repress the movement for national and trade union unity which is growing in all zones ? Who but the leaders of the TUC and CIO gave support to the breakaway group of the Independent Trade Union organization in Berlin, which actively supported the British, American and French occupation authorities in their policy directed against turning Germany into a democratic peace-loving state ? This policy is by no means in the interests of the working class, which desires a just solution of the German problem in the spirit of peace and general security.

One can also take the question of assistance to the young trade union movements of Asia and Africa. Who but the leaders of the TUC and CIO sabotaged the convening of the Conference of Trade Unions of the Asian countries already decided on by the Paris Congress ? The leaders of the TUC and the CIO prevented the Federation from giving effective support to the trade unions of colonial countries in their hard struggle against colonial slavery precisely because they support the imperialist policy of their governments.

Was it a coincidence that the Anglo-American trade union leaders hastened to recognise the Congress of pseudo-trade unions convened by the monarcho-fascist government of Greece at a time when the democratically set-up Greek Confederation of Labour was being destroyed, its leaders arrested, the General Secretary, Paparigas, brutally assassinated and scores of trade union workers were languishing in prisons and concentration camps ?

Or was it a coincidence that Deakin, Tewson and Carey spoke within the Federation against equal pay for equal work for women and colonial workers and against their being granted equal social rights ?

What can the workers hope for from the leaders of the AFL, the CIO and the TUC who acted against the courageous strike of the French miners in October-November 1948 ? The miners unanimously rose up to struggle for just economic demands and for their trade union rights. The leaders of the Anglo-American trade unions forbade the members of the trade unions of their countries to collect funds to aid the French miners and when funds were collected as, for instance, in the mining districts of Great Britain, Deakin, with the help of the Government, sabotaged the transfer of these funds to the strikers. Moreover, Deakin and Carey directly called for the repression of the courageously striking workers and loudly greeted the punitive expeditions of the French minister, the so-called " socialist " Jules Moch, which cost the miners many victims.

The campaign and the repression undertaken by the leading cliques of the AFL, the TUC and the CIO against the progressive elements in the trade unions of Great Britain, the USA and Canada, who condemn the splitting anti-working class activity of the leaders and call for co-operation with the WFTU—for example against the Scottish miners, against the Trades Councils of London, Lancashire and Cheshire, against such trade union leaders as Bridges and the progressive trade unions of the USA—all this clearly indicates the anti-working class, anti-democratic character of the activity of the splitters.

The splitters want to hide from their workers and from the workers of the whole world that they are acting on orders from the imperialist governments.

It is impossible, however, to hide the fact that Deakin and Carey received exhaustive instructions from the British Foreign Office and the State Department of the USA as to how to paralyse the activity of the WFTU or to liquidate it.

It is worth reminding the Congress in this connection that at the beginning of 1948, in the world press, there appeared information about a conference held in New York in the middle of December 1947, at which the plan of a conspiracy against the World Federation of Trade Unions was worked out. This conference was attended by leaders of the AFL and a representative of the British Foreign Office, Makins. At this meeting it was agreed that the Labour Government and Bevin himself should incite the leaders of the British trade unions to use the Marshall Plan to bring about a split in the WFTU.

It is well known that as a result of pressure from Bevin the representatives of the General Council of the TUC immediately started to carry out their treacherous plan to break up world trade union unity.

Spurred on by their masters, Deakin and Tewson, miscalculating their strength, rushed into battle against the World Federation of Trade Unions. They zealously tried to carry out their instructions to the letter. The results are well known. It is not the fault of the Anglo-American trade union splitters that their attempts to liquidate the WFTU did not meet with success. It was not only they who were out in their reckoning, but their masters also. They do not wish to admit that times have changed. The working class has developed politically and learned many things. It knows that now, when the capitalist monopolies are carrying out an attack on the vital rights and freedoms of the workers, when the threat of a new economic crisis is looming near, the whole burden of which rests on the shoulders of the workers, now, when the imperialists are consolidating aggressive blocs and once more calling for war—now the unity of the workers throughout the world is necessary as never before.

In face of the continual attacks on the unity of the world trade union movement, the working class and its World Federation of Trade Unions have given the full measure of their firmness and maturity. The attempts of the bosses of the Anglo-American trade union movement have received a decisive rebuff from the great majority of trade union centres which have remained true to the principles and the unity of the Federation.

In spite of the efforts of the servants of American imperialism, our Federation lives and develops its activity for the benefit of working people throughout the world.

The reactionary elements in the trade union movement, headed by the AFL bosses, have naturally not given up their intention of paralysing the activity of the Federation and forming their breakaway blackleg organisation as a counterpoise to the WFTU. In the bourgeois press appeared information concerning the splitters' conference in Geneva. The results of this conference, the preparatory work for the creating of a new centre decided on by them and the official declarations of its initiators—Tewson, Deakin and Carey—throw a flood of light on the nature and aims of the organisation planned by the splitters.

It will be only a bastard bloc of the upper circles, servants of

Anglo-American capital, an instrument of terror, political discrimination and betrayal towards the working class and its trade union organisations.

It is characteristic, for instance, that invitation to Geneva were sent, as Tewson stated, only to those trade union centres whose leaders profess political views similar to those of the TUC. Is this not a typical example of discrimination for political reasons? Carey was even more frank, speaking about the aims of the new organisation. The essential task of the new organisation, he declared, should be the "fulfilment of President Truman's plan for economic aid to backward countries." The whole world knows that behind these phrases about "aid" lurks the attempt to subject all colonial and semi-colonial countries to the American monopolies, to embrace every continent in the so-called "Marshall Plan." The new organisation of Carey and Deakin is indeed destined to become the instrument of American expansionism, a "watch-dog" (as Carey so clearly expresses it in an interview with the "New York Herald Tribune" correspondent in Paris on the 25th June) of the pseudo-American democracy which they seek to impose on the colonies and dependent countries.

There can be no doubt that the workers will reject this barefaced anti-working class aggressive programme. They will not follow the initiatives of the strike-breaking organisations.

The struggle of the progressive forces of the trade unions of the USA and Great Britain is growing in favour of a return to the WFTU. Such great trade union organisations of the United States of America as the Fur and Leather workers and the Seamen's and Dockers' Union and others and 17 great British trade union organisations have spoken out against leaving the WFTU. It is the same in other countries. The presence at our Congress of representatives of Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and other countries is a proof of the mood of the broad masses of the workers.

Time is working for those who faithfully and honestly serve the interests of the workers throughout the world.

In order to raise still further the authority of the World Federation of Trade Unions, it is necessary to daily strengthen international trade union unity won by bitter and stubborn struggles. It is necessary to broaden the ranks of the partisans of peace and democracy, and to develop the activity of the WFTU to the full in defence of the economic and political rights of the working class.

What are the tasks of the WFTU in the struggle for peace, for the strengthening of trade union unity, for the democratic rights and freedoms of the workers?

In our opinion these tasks consist of the following :—

1) The Federation and its bodies must extend their work to unmask the warmongers and their agents in the working class movement, a struggle to draw all workers into the movement of all peoples for peace and democratic liberties. This work should not be carried out in a sporadic fashion, but daily, systematically and stubbornly; it is necessary to develop it on the national and international planes, putting forward concrete demands depending on the conditions in each country.

In the Marshallised countries, suffering from the interference of

the imperialists in their economic and political life. the principal slogans should be : The struggle against the interference of foreign monopolies in the internal affairs of the country—for the saving of national industry from destruction by the " Marshall Plan ", against turning the dependent countries into strategic bases for the warmongers, against their inclusion in the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc, for democratic liberties and the raising of the standard of living of the working people.

In colonial and dependent countries, the movement for the defence of peace is linked with the slogans of struggle against colonial oppression and racial discrimination, against compulsory slave-labour, for national liberation and independence, for the co-operation and friendship of the peoples of the colonial countries, who all suffer equally from the oppression of imperialism and its agents—the native bourgeoisie and the feudal cliques, for the vital economic interests of the workers in town and country.

In countries like the USA and Great Britain, the working masses carry on a struggle against the armaments race and the attacks of monopoly on the standard of living of the masses of the peoples and on their democratic freedoms, they demand that the ruling circles shall abandon their policy of aggressive military blocs and return to honest international co-operation, they come out against the forced labour of coloured people and discrimination between other categories of workers, they call for the unity of the working class in the struggle for its vital interests.

The trade unions of the countries of People's Democracies with all their work have proved that they stand and will stand on guard of Peace.

There can be no doubt that the trade unions of the Soviet Union will continue as hitherto, faithfully and consistently to carry on the struggle for the consolidation of the democratic forces.

2) In the name of the Second World Trade Union Congress, it is necessary to approve the work and the Manifesto of the World Congress for Peace and also the activity of the representatives of our Federation at the Congress for Peace. The World Federation of Trade Unions and affiliated trade union centres and organisations must take an extremely active part in the work of the Permanent Committee of the World Congress for Peace and its local branches, in all its organisational, propaganda and publishing work.

In order to give the struggle for peace and democratic rights a permanent and effective character, the trade unions must play a most active part in the activity of the national peace committees. The trade unions, as the main mass organisations of the working class, must take the lead in the growing activity of the working masses in the struggle for peace and develop this activity by creating permanent peace committees in establishments and institutions. The creation of these committees must be preceded by wide preparatory work by the trade unions.

The peace committees will be able to unite workers and employees independently of race, nationality, party affiliation, political opinions or religious convictions, both those organised in unions affiliated to

the WFTU and those belonging to other organisations or to no trade unions at all. The works peace committees must become a bastion and a leading force in the peoples' peace movement.

3) In order to demonstrate before the whole world the determination of the working class to defend the peaceful labour of the peoples, the Federation must propose to the Permanent Committee of the World Congress for Peace the date for an International Peace Day. On this day, in all countries there must be held mass popular demonstrations of protest against the existence of fascist regimes in Spain and Greece, against colonial wars in Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya, etc., against the violation of trade union rights—for peace, democracy and the international unity of the working class.

4) The Federation must call on all affiliated organisations to carry on more intensive activity in the defence of trade union rights, trampled underfoot by bourgeois governments, in the defence of trade union leaders who languish in gaols. In our opinion, the Congress should send fraternal greetings to the democratic trade unions of Greece, Spain, Portugal, India, Malaya, Brazil, Argentina and other countries of Latin America, which are carrying on a struggle for the vital interests of the working class under conditions of clandestinity, and send specially hearty greetings to Dange and other fighting friends—courageous batlers for the trade union cause—who are behind prison bars.

5) The democratic trade unions, the WFTU and all those to whom the cause of peace and the cause of the working people are dear, must keep a vigilant eye on the machinations of the enemies of working class unity. They must tirelessly unmask their undermining activity, completely isolate them from the masses and destroy them once and for all.

The efforts of the WFTU must be directed to the re-establishment of trade union unity on the national plane, especially in those countries, where reactionary trade union leaders try to bring about or to deepen splits in the trade union movement, as, for instance, Germany, Japan, India and the States of Latin America. The progressive trade unions must take a firm stand against the affiliates of the AFL which have been set up in these countries and against the emissaries of the AFL, who stir up enmity between workers organisations; and they must try to obtain the expulsion of the agents of the AFL from these countries.

6) The Federation must increase its activity directed to drawing into the WFTU new members who will strive to strengthen the international unity of the trade unions, especially trade union centres of colonial and dependent countries. The Federation must throw its doors open to trade union organisations and groups belonging to trade union centres which are not affiliated to the WFTU. We are deeply convinced that the workers of the USA, Britain and other countries will find ways and means of collaborating with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

7) The Federation should pay special attention to the development of the trade union movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The executive bodies of the WFTU have to extend its daily help to the workers of colonial countries for creation and consolidation of democratic Trade Unions and to establish a close contact with the trade unions of these countries.

8) The Trade Departments set up and in the course of being set up by the WFTU can and must be an important factor in the struggle for unity. Uniting the workers of separate trades without distinction of their trade union or political affiliation in the fight for the vital interests of the workers, giving practical examples of mutual aid and joint struggle against the attacks of the capitalist monopolies, the Trade Departments will be the best propagators of the ideas of trade union internationalism, a weapon in the struggle against the antagonism between different sections of the working class fostered by the AFL: the Trade Departments will enormously help to strengthen the national and international unity of the workers.

9) It would be appropriate, in view of the exceptional importance of the questions under discussion, to appeal in the name of the Congress to the workers of the whole world in a manifesto calling on them to develop more widely their struggle for a lasting peace, against the instigators of a new war, for democratic rights and freedoms, for the vital interests of the working people, for the unity of the ranks of the trade union movement.

Dear friends, these, in our opinion are the tasks of the WFTU and its affiliated organisations in the field of the struggle to raise the standard of living of the working class and all working people, in the struggle for the international unity of the trade unions, for peace and democratic freedoms. These tasks are indissolubly linked one with the other.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has been created to improve the living and working conditions of the workers and all working people in the struggle for peace and democratic freedoms. The international unity of the working class in the WFTU is based on the free and voluntary cooperation of the trade unions which are non-party organisations of the working class without distinction of race, nationality, religion or political convictions.

Each national trade union organisation has the right and the possibility of freely discussing any question in the WFTU.

Our weapons are unity, organisation, solidarity and mutual support. In unity and mutual support lies the principal pledge of success in the struggle of the working class and all working people for their interests. As long as we are united we need fear no enemies. United by bonds of solidarity, we shall be able to defend our rights. Scattered and disintegrated, we would be powerless in the struggle with capitalism.

Allow me to express my conviction that the World Federation of Trade Unions will be able to rally the whole working class for the cause of the defence of peace, that it will be able to destroy the agents of the warmongers in the working class movement and lead the world working class movement onto the broad road of struggle for the freedom and happiness of peoples.

Let the imperialists and their lackeys know that nothing will break the determination of the working class to achieve unity in the struggle for peace, freedom and its vital interests.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

RAISE HIGHER THE BANNER OF STRUGGLE FOR THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AND THEIR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, AN ACTIVE AND CONSISTENT FIGHTER FOR LASTING PEACE AND THE FRIENDSHIP OF PEOPLES ! (*Hearty applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Thornton who is going to read several telegrams.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). I have been asked to inform you of several telegrams.

The first telegram, sent by the Canadian Seamen's Union reads as follows :

CANADIAN SEAMEN'S UNION :

" On behalf of the membership of the Canadian Seamen's Union I extend to you our warmest fraternal greetings for a most successful World Conference. The splendid militant support and solidarity extended to us in our struggle against the efforts of the shipowners to smash our Union has become an inspiration to the workers of the world in their struggle for a better life and is living proof of the need for working class organisation like the WFTU. Your support has strengthened our determination to carry on struggle to successful conclusion. Long live the international solidarity of the working class.

" DAVIS. President. "

(Applause.)

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS :

" Best wishes for the work of your big Congress which is an event in the recent fight of millions of peoples of the world for peace. Democratic students of the world united in the International Union of Students support wholeheartedly the fight for peace, national independence and better future led by your organisation.

" GROHMAN. President. "

(Applause.)

GREEK MARITIME UNIONS :

" Please convey to Congress our fraternal greetings and best wishes for successful deliberations. Brutally oppressed Greek Workers in their present plight look to Congress of world's workers for solidarity and assistance for peace and progress. Long live working class unity : Long live the WFTU.

" FEDERATION OF GREEK MARITIME UNIONS. "

(Applause.)

MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC :

" Mongolian trade union delegation sends warm greetings to Second World Trade Union Congress representing multimillion workers, masses of all countries. We fully support all activity of WFTU which is fighting for peace and working class solidarity. Wishing Congress complete success. Regret inability participate opening Congress. Being delayed by Italian visas.

" ADILBISH. "

(Applause.)

FOOD, TOBACCO, AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA CIO :

" Convey fraternal greetings members Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union to World Federation Congress. Regret lack of funds prevents sending representative. World Labour solidarity and unity through WFTU will bring peace and security for all disregard efforts of splitters who have no real following here. Best wishes for successful Conference and for building strong International Trade Departments.

" Donald HENDERSON. President. "

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (B. Blokzijl) called on the leader of a delegation of workers from the Moretti factory.

THE LEADER OF THE MORETTI DELEGATION. I bring the greetings of young workers in the Moretti factory who wish to express their gratitude to the representatives of the workers of the whole world.

(Applause.)

The session was adjourned for 30 minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN (B. Blokzijl). The session is resumed. We propose that the session should be suspended immediately after the speech of Comrade Santi and that our meeting of the afternoon should commence at 5 p.m. and last until 8 p.m. Are there any objections? If there are no objections I shall call on Comrade Santi.

General policy and action of the WFTU (Continued)

F. SANTI (Italy). In a Congress such as ours, where discussions constantly relates to problems of a general order, it is not an easy task to establish a precise distinction between the different items on the agenda. In fact, a great part of item 7: " The General Policy and action of the WFTU for international trade union unity and in favour of peace and the defence of the democratic rights of the peoples " has already been dealt with by many of the delegates who spoke in the discussion on Comrade Saillant's report.

As a matter of fact, the discussion on such a subject as this is not new and will be repeated in future Congresses, since in practice, the trade union movement, from the moment it appeared in the world, has always had to defend its unity and to fight for peace and for the rights of the peoples.

In order to consider the action which the WFTU can carry out in favour of international trade union unity, it is necessary for us to proceed once again to an examination, however brief, of the causes of the split which took place as the result of the withdrawal of certain National Centres affiliated to the WFTU in order to seek out its origin.

The trade union movement naturally tends towards unity on the national and international plane, but it was only after the constitution of the WFTU at the end of the second world war, that the international trade union movement was able to achieve its unity on really all-inclusive bases. Nevertheless, one National Centre of a great country, the AF of L, has remained outside world organisation, since the creation of the WFTU. The AF of L is dominated by elements who make trade unionism into a private enterprise and a source of personal advantage having no links with the great majority of the workers of the country.

Emissaries of the AF of L, with powerful means at their disposal and spread throughout all the countries of the world, patiently wove a network of corruption, slander and deceit into which those trade union leaders were to fall who have lost all will to struggle and all confidence in the future of the working class. The disruptive activity of the AF of L very quickly found support with the American State Department which, at the same time as it tried to strengthen the capitalist system in Western Europe and in other parts of the world, had to attempt to weaken the political and trade union organisation of the workers. The synchronisation of British foreign policy with that of the United States (Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, etc.) was to lead later to the alinement of the policy of the Trades Union Congress with the policy of the American trade unions, since meanwhile, the CIO had adopted the same position as the AF of L.

This orientation on the part of the leaders of the CIO and the TUC came, by means of diverse diplomatic pressure, to influence more or less widely, the reformist and governmental elements of several National Centres in Europe and the British Commonwealth. The splitting movements therefore have their origins in very precise political and reactionary influences. Those who preach the necessity of giving the WFTU an apolitical character are themselves the instruments of the world anti-labour policy. Nevertheless, it is not sufficient to observe that the AF of L and the State Department are to be found at the heart of the splitting activity. It is necessary to seek to isolate the elements of this activity on a wider historical and social plane. These elements are in my opinion the following :—

- 1) To promote and encourage everything which serves to break the solidarity of the working class, both on the national and the international plane, by deceiving its hopes and by reducing its fighting spirit.

- 2) To crush more particularly the trade union movements in the poorest countries, and above all in the colonial countries, since the growth of class consciousness among the workers of these countries constitutes a great contribution to the national independence movement and therefore forms an obstacle to the exploitation of these countries

by capitalist imperialism. In particular, the native bourgeoisie in the colonial countries is abandoning the mission of fighting for national independence, a mission which in the colony-owning countries belonged to that class after the French Revolution, and is, in contrast, allying itself with the foreign bourgeoisie for the defence of its class interests.

3) To contribute to the consolidation of capitalist governments by cutting down the opposition which a working class, united on the trade union plane, could raise to these governments.

In addition, by weakening the trade union movement, to maintain the workers' living standards and thus the cost of labour at a low level in certain countries, considered as areas of private investment, so as to guarantee these investments a greater revenue.

4) To prevent in certain countries a situation arising in which growing unemployment, great popular discontent, etc. a situation of crisis in the capitalist economy meets with a working class strong and united on the trade union plane which could serve as the basis of wider movements aimed at bringing about radical reforms in the structure and which could be in a position to oppose possible attempts at a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie seeking to thrust on to the backs of the workers the consequences of the crisis.

In conclusion, the same historical reasons and the same social conservatism which drives capitalism to make every possible effort to overcome certain of its internal contradictions and to create a capitalist unity, also play a part in forcing the forces of capitalism to attempt to weaken the working class by causing divisions in its ranks.

What must be done to limit the split and, if possible, to eliminate its consequences, on the national as well as the international plane?

a) In the first place, it is necessary to maintain, and strengthen the democratic character, constitution and functioning of our WFTU. All its activity must give continual and daily proof that it is the world organisation of all the workers, irrespective of political ideology, nationality, race, or religious beliefs, and independent of parties, governments and States. It remains open to all democratic trade union organisations—including those which have withdrawn—which desire to fight for the liberation of the workers from all exploitation.

b) A constant campaign must be carried on in order to bring out, both on the national and international plane, the incalculable damage which division causes to the working class. This intelligent and objective campaign, considered in its expression, must be conducted particularly among the workers of the Trade Union Centres whose leaders, almost always without consulting them, have abandoned the WFTU.

c) We must assist trade union development and organisation among the peoples in economically backward countries thereby giving them a concrete proof of international solidarity.

d) We must fight unrelentingly for the defence of trade union rights whenever they are violated and in any country whatsoever.

e) We must apply a policy of active participation in all bodies of an international character (UNO, ILO, etc.) by always initiating

measures to solve the problems of the working class and by making them widely known so that the workers may be fully conscious of their rights.

f) We must make all the necessary efforts to make the action of the WFTU concrete on the trade union plane by the development of international Trade Departments which, in face of the growth of the international trusts, could determine the common objectives of struggle for the national trade unions of the various branches (continual exchange of experiences between the different National Centres, agreements on the examination and solution of the problem of migration, the fight against unemployment, etc.).

g) On the national plane, there where the split is a "*fait accompli*" we must promote unity of action *beyond polemics in order to obtain the best results possible for the working class.* This unity achieved in the pursuit of concrete aims is, as Saillant has said, the best school of trade union unity.

But obviously trade union unity is not an end in itself. It is an instrument for the defence of the moral, economic and trade interests of the workers, and consequently, a means of attaining the traditional and historic objectives of the labour movement. One of the most important of these objectives is the defence of peace, the fight against war. Thus it is not simply a question of defending the workers' standard of life but indeed their life itself.

Our adversaries would like it to be believed that the WFTU and its National Centres have only given themselves the aim of fighting for peace since the international situation reached such a tension point that the probability appeared of the prospect of war by the capitalist world against the countries of popular democracy.

In actual fact, the whole history of the labour movement testifies that the constant preoccupation of the workers has been the fight for peace. There has never been an international conference of the labour movement, since its birth, which has not placed on the Agenda of its work the problem of the fight against war. Unfortunately, because of its weakness, and also because of the incapability or the treachery of some of its leaders, the labour movement has not up till now succeeded in preventing war.

The fight for peace is also one of the aims inscribed in the Constitution of the WFTU. It is completely logical and natural that today, in 1949, the WFTU should give its support to the World Congress for Peace and that it should fight for the defence of peace, since it is today, (and not in 1945, 1946 or 1947) that peace is really in danger. In calling on the workers to fight against war, the WFTU is not only continuing to work in accordance with the most noble traditions of the international trade union movement, but also it is acting in complete harmony with its Constitution which was approved by those very people who today are accusing the WFTU of choosing by this action a particular ideological camp.

Therefore, we must fight against war. There is no need for me to remind you of the words of Jaurès; "Capitalism bears war in itself like the storm-cloud bears the storm."

The conception according to which wars have economic and social

causes, a conception which until recently was adopted only by socialist thinkers, is today accepted by every one since such is the evidence provided by the facts, even if among some politically backward social groups they still dare to speak of war for civilisation, moral values, national dignity, etc. But who can still believe in this?

By unleashing two world wars in the space of thirty years, capitalism has taught the workers a great deal. What forecast could we make about a possible third world conflict? It is absurd to think that capitalism, already weakened, could think of a war between the capitalist countries. How, for example, could the governments explain to their people a war between Britain and America or between Italy and France? There is henceforth a single capitalist front, under American direction, and the sole probable forecast remains that of a war by this single front to halt the advance of socialism and to consolidate the weak bourgeois structure of international society.

It is for this reason that today, the conceptions of honour and the national flag are left aside in order to set out on an international crusade based on so-called moral values, human dignity, etc. In reality, the secret regret of the capitalists is that which Churchill confessed with brutal cynicism—that of not having stifled the October Revolution at the outset. They hope that it will be possible to do today that which was not done at that time. But the hopes of the war mongers will not be fulfilled. While being conscious that a new conflict would mark the bloody downfall of world capitalism, we are working actively for peace.

We do not want and we cannot pay such a price of a new human carnage for the defeat of the bourgeoisie. We know that peace is indispensable for the building of a socialist society. For this reason, we shall not fail in our duty of fighting against war. We shall fight concretely and effectively, united with all the forces of labour, intelligence and culture to ensure that peace prevails in the world.

The Paris Congress was a great rally, a meeting-together of peoples across frontiers, a pledge of fraternity and human solidarity.

If today, we see the first signs of an easing in the international situation appearing, we owe it to the fact that the peoples have energetically expressed to the war mongers not only their desire for peace, but their resolution to fight and struggle for peace.

Today, we have the power to oppose war. War is no longer the task of a small handful of soldiers. Modern war mobilises millions and millions of men and women in the factories and in the public services, even more than in the military formations. It is above all a problem of the productive apparatus. And who are the producers if not the workers organised in trade unions?

We must fight to ensure that industrial production is production for peace. This is why we must try to participate in ever greater numbers in the process of production and its control. We workers in the capitalist countries have a special interest in fighting against war, in consolidating peace throughout the world and we have pledged ourselves to do so.

Simply the threat, however distant, of war is exploited by the capitalist governments to justify their membership of pacts such as the Atlantic Pact which puts the destinies of the countries into the

hands of a foreign power. The military alliances demand a minimum rearmament programme and with the necessities of modern war, any even small-scale rearmament signifies, that a great part of the national wealth is devoted to this purpose and as a result is levied on the workers' wages, on old-age pensioners, on the unemployed, and on the poorest sections of the population. Such a potential threat of war signifies, in the internal sphere, a policy of oppression and restriction of liberties in order to justify the fight against the workers' trade union and political organisations, dubbed as the "fifth column": it signifies that the fate of the countries is delivered into the hands of a restricted group of General Staffs instead of being restored to the men freely elected by the people. This is tantamount to a death blow to democracy.

If it is to safeguard its very existence, the trade union movement must fight for peace. The results of this fight will be all the more concrete if the trade union movement is stronger and the trade union movement will be all the stronger, the more united it is.

For all these reasons, trade union unity is not only linked to the improvement of the workers' living conditions, but also to the defence of peace and democracy. The weakening of the trade union front makes the anti-democratic forces in all countries of the world more bold. If they were to triumph, the workers would have to renounce the gains which have cost them so many battles and they would be thrown back on to the margin of history.

There must therefore be unity, both on the national and international level. Our efforts and our will must be oriented in this direction. If on the national plane, the split represents the employment of "black-legs" in the economic fights of the trade unions, it represents on the international plane the employment of black-legs in the very noble battles for the defence of peace.

Comrades, in conclusion, I would like to make one observation. We have talked too much—and I perhaps more than the others—of splits and splitters. It is now time to abandon the splitters to their fate. Let us, in contrast, address ourselves directly to the workers who followed them in good faith, and let us endeavour to bring them back with us, in our organisations where we must strengthen the basis for democratic cohabitation by fighting against all sectarianism, and by ensuring the widest freedom of expression and orientation within the framework of a common discipline of action.

Certain divisionist trade union leaders—this is the last time I shall mention them—have been meeting in the last few days in Geneva. I myself was also in that town, for other reasons, naturally. I was taking part in the 32nd International Labour Conference, in which the WFTU participated in a fruitful manner in defence of the rights of the workers and their organisations. What I can assure you of is that the meeting of splitters indeed took place in an atmosphere of division.

Right from the beginning, rivalry appeared for control of the movement, open rivalry between the two American organisations, concealed rivalry between the latter and the British Trades Union Congress. Many of the AF of L criticised the Confederation of Christian Workers for its motion in favour of unity of action, provoking this reply from Tessier, President of the Confederation: "My friend,

...for the French workers, you must
...with the CGT." One South American
...closed the meeting at the outset. The declared pro-
...the participants in the meeting was not to formulate an
...program of action, for this would immediately have divided
...They were united only in a negative attitude : the fight against
...WFTU.

How different is our situation. Our WFTU has immense possi-
bilities for development and success. It is called upon to achieve a
very great task, that of fulfilling the hopes of the workers of every
continent, so that humanity might live in a world in which each man
and each woman was assured of bread, peace and liberty.

Let us recognise comrades, that an immense responsibility rests on
us. Let us make ourselves worthy of it by our work and our sacrifice.

(Hearty applause.)

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 2nd JULY 1949

5 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of G. Di Vittorio.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, we have just received some sad news, that of the death of Comrade George Dimitrov, the well-known leader of the international working class, the hero of the famous Leipzig trial where, in the name of progressive humanity, he was the victim of the fascist provocateurs who were later to steep the world in blood.

He was Prime Minister of the Bulgarian People's Republic. I am certain of expressing the profound sentiment of all the workers, cutting across all differences in political or religious opinion by sending in memory of this hero of the struggle of progressive humanity against fascist barbarity, the respectful and affectionate salute of all those who are fighting throughout the world for social progress, for civilisation and for a better humanity.

In the name of the Congress, I express our condolences to the Bulgarian delegation for this loss which strikes not only the people of Bulgaria, but the workers and progressive elements of the whole world.

(Congress rose and observed a minute's silence.)

Comrades, I throw open the discussion on the report of Comrade Kuznetsov and the report of Comrade Santi. I call on Desmond Buckle of the Transvaal delegation. *(Prolonged applause.)*

D. BUCKLE (*Transvaal*). Comrades, we endorse the reports presented by Comrade Kuznetsov and Santi.

Referring to that section of the report made by Comrade Kuznetsov where he spoke of the efforts of those who are organising a propaganda campaign of hatred and who are calling for the extermination of entire races, I would also like to stress that the movement for the defence of peace is bound up with the struggle against colonial oppression, against racial discrimination, against slavery, for national liberation and friendship with the colonial peoples.

Comrades, the creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions nearly four years ago was a signal achievement representing a powerful stimulus to the forces of progress and bringing great hope of emancipation to millions of toiling people.

None stood to gain more by that fact than the workers of the colonial and subject countries and none therefore could welcome the event with greater enthusiasm.

For the first time the small, struggling and weak unions of the under-developed and subject countries were invited to stand beside the National Trade Union Centres of the principal countries and to participate with them on an equal footing in the protection and promotion of the interests of all working people.

Needless to say, this association of the strong and the weak was of almost immediate benefit to the latter. The minor Trade Union Centres were not only given the assurance of the help and support of the influential and experienced National Centres in grappling with the tasks confronting them, but were encouraged also to undertake themselves the solution of these tasks. In pursuance of this policy the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions called the All-African Trade Union Conference at Dakar, West Africa, in April 1947. On that occasion, unique in the history of Africa, representatives of the African working peoples were able to discuss their common problems free from the unwelcome attentions of self-appointed governesses and guardians.

But it was clear that imperialist reaction was not going to accept these developments with resignation. On the contrary, it is now attacking the emergent mass movements of the African peoples with an increased and unrelenting fury. Millions of Africans are undergoing repressions more cruel now than ever before.

In this respect serious attention must be given to the shameful practices of near fascist government of the Union of South Africa in order that the abominable crimes committed against a defenceless people may be brought to an end.

It will be recalled, no doubt, that at the 1st World Trade Union Congress in Paris, the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions found obstacles in its way which prevented a delegate being sent direct from South Africa. The Government of that time took pains to make elaborate excuses for this blatant denial of the rights of African trade unionists. However, the present Government unrestrained by any considerations of democracy and humanity, has made quite clear its reactionary stand on this as on all other questions.

Speaking in the South African Senate in early May, Mr. N. J. Schoeman, the Minister of Labour, said that the Government was not prepared to allow non-Europeans to attend Conferences overseas. But allow me to quote him "I think it is wrong", he said. "our conditions in South Africa are such that we cannot.

"I think it is unfair to the non-European himself to allow him to go overseas, especially in a country where there is no colour bar and no discrimination, to attend a Conference there and then have him come back to our conditions here.

"While there is a Nationalist Government I don't think that will be permitted."

Thus out of his own mouth the arrogant exponent of race hatred is condemned.

But we do not confuse the bray of an ass with the roar of a Lion. The Transvaal Council is determined to play its part in international

trade unionism. We are convinced that no neo-fascist Minister or pinchbeck Hitler of whatever country will succeed in preventing the true facts of the conditions of life of the working people from reaching this Assembly the highest Parliament of organised labour.

It is well known that the economy of South Africa rests on African labour without which no gold or coal or diamond mines could be worked and farms would soon become derelict.

As a former Minister of Native Affairs recently pointed out, the Native is responsible for the total mining revenue that accrued to the State as well as the Government's share of the profits from leases.

In 1947, the Government received a total of £15,000,000 from gold and coal mining. And while industry paid £3,500,000 in taxation—20 % of which was due to African labour—the Africans themselves contributed indirectly and directly in taxation a minimum of £16,250,000. Yet it is the Africans who always get the worst deal of all, their children not excepted.

Recently, when the Government decided to effect economies on grants for school feeding, it was the 2d. per day per head grant to the African children that was totally abolished. The European children continue to receive their 6d. each per day. And the Government which could not afford to spend £870,000 of its own currency for the feeding of African school children yet found it possible to use £2 million in foreign exchange as subsidy for the luxury of white bread.

In putting into operation its hateful policy of Apartheid, the Malan Government is determined above all to force the African people back into the already over-crowded Native reserves.

Any African worker in Johannesburg who loses his job runs the risk of being forbidden to take another job in the city. He is more likely to be arrested and deported to a farm. Men are being separated from their families. Workers who have lived for ten or fifteen years in the city are being driven into the open countryside.

For the purpose of registration of workers, Johannesburg is setting up labour bureaux, which the Africans more appropriately call slave markets. Every African arriving in the city for work is now to be issued with a tin badge on which his name and number are stamped. The Africans have a name for these also; they call them dog licences.

The new Unemployment Insurance Bill practically excludes all Africans from benefit for no one is eligible who earns less than £182 a year or receives food and quarters from his employer. All migrant labourers are also to be denied benefits regardless of the size of their earnings. All these developments are in keeping with the designs of those who in preparing to launch a 3rd World War, wish to transform South Africa into the war-industrial base of the African continent, exploiting for the purpose the cheap labour of millions of ignorant and brutalised African slaves.

In the circumstances, it can be well understood why the African trade unions need the protection of this international organisation of workers more than ever before.

War-time measures which seriously interfered with the building of African trade unionism, are being kept in force although the war has been over these four years.

The Government continues to refuse official recognition to the

African Unions and is, indeed, preparing to transform them into tribal unions.

Yet this is the time when some people in obedience to the orders of their masters, the bitterest enemies of the working-class, are seeking to undermine the authority of the World Federation Of Trade Unions and finally to destroy the organisation.

These people may be showered with honours from certain quarters, but they are fast losing the respect of the workers they have betrayed so treacherously.

To these gentry who represent the splitting of the international trade union movement as an achievement, we can only say :—

"Fools regard with pride what wise men think of with shame."

For us a small and feebly struggling centre the choice is clear—either we live under the guidance and protection of the World Federation or we perish by consenting to remain outside.

It is without hesitation that we choose to live..

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Jacques Marion, of the French CGT.

J. MARION (*France*). On the morrow of the terrible war which the peoples have just suffered, we must reflect on and take the bearings of the situation in terms of international trade union action. This, briefly, is what our Comrades Kuznetsov and Santi have expressed.

The war of 1939-1946 was in effect nothing other than the struggle between two ideologies : one the one hand, the capitalists' desire for hegemony and on the other, the workers' desire for emancipation.

The victory of Stalingrad (which will remain a symbol of the liberation of the peoples) unquestionably weighed the balance in favour of the peoples. It is for this reason that international capitalism (whose headquarters is in Washington after having been in Berlin and Rome) considered that as its power of domination was in danger it was necessary, 1. to bolster up the repression in Greece, Indonesia, Spain, India and elsewhere, 2. to prepare the conditions for a new world conflagration. It was in fact a question of annihilating the consequences of the Stalingrad victory, by forcefully bringing the peoples back to reason, that is to say, under the domination of international capitalism.

The comparisons which one could make between the years which preceded the war and the period in which we are now living could be multiplied : the same hate, the same tactics, with the method of anti-Sovietism on the external plane and anti-communism inside each country. The report made by Comrade Kuznetsov—unanimously endorsed by the French delegation—makes us perfectly aware of this danger of war.

It is therefore important to make known the direct instinctive sentiment of all the workers. It is not only the militants who are opposed to war, it is also the workers who give a firm mandate to their militants to do everything possible to oppose the war and in our country, for example they specify : "Never will the French workers, never will the mothers of France agree to war against the Soviet

Union." For the USSR represents for the workers of the whole world the determining factor in their own liberation.

And also : would a people such as the French who have drawn from their history the valuable lessons of 1789-1830-1848, of the Commune of 1871, of the Occupation and the Resistance of 1940 to 1944, be worthy of its traditions if it now appeared not to be concerned with the campaign in favour of Peace? Certainly not.

Consequently, the fact that our trade union movement in France has remained level-headed, by maintaining its own unity in spite of all the traps, is the indication of a maturity of mind which has already borne fruit. The permanent opponents of workers' emancipation have acted in France in accordance with the same methods which have always been employed throughout the world. These are :

1. Reduction of the workers' purchasing power (in France, at the present time it is 50 % less than in 1938).

2. The attempt to exploit the labour of women and children so as to bring them into competition with male workers.

3. Support of colonial wars in the periods between generalised wars. Before 1914 (Madagascar, Tonkin, Morocco, etc.) after 1914, Riff, at the present time the war theatre of Indo-China. To this must be added the juxtaposition of Anglo-Saxon imperialism—that of America predominating—but the objective is the same, to attack the USSR and the People's Democracies.

This preparation for war has been exposed in our country particularly by the General Confederation of Labour which, in spite of all opposition, has remained the most representative, the most powerful and the most dynamic of the French Trade Union Centres. The CGT groups in fact all the workers who wish to remain united whatever may be their individual political, religious or philosophical affiliations.

But because the CGT refuses to follow the path of understanding with international capitalism, its members and its militants are labelled "communists", which would not moreover be a fault. But it is useful to specify that we are not all communists in the CGT, not by a long way. All the workers in its ranks are united to put a stop to war. The CGT is therefore qualified to speak in the name of all the workers of France, since it serves to group and to unite all of them.

Better still, in our own French delegation to this Congress, in addition to the members of the Executive Committee and the General Council there are comrades directly appointed by their work mates : a miner from the Pas de Calais, a woman agricultural worker, a woman textile worker and a metal worker from the Renault factory.

Of the problems requiring our attention, that of the defence of Peace concerns us particularly. It is sufficient only to inform a French working man or woman of the reasons for our fears as regards the dangers of war and they will take a stand. It is sufficient to read, not newspaper articles, but the declarations of statesmen to understand that war is deliberately being prepared.

In France, the CGT took a stand by immediately denouncing the Marshall Plan and its corollaries as preparations for war. It denounces in this plan :—

a) the infringement of national independence, the obligation for our country of having a Government composed in accordance with the wishes of some 50 financiers or industrialists and 30 admirals or generals who in fact direct American policy.

b) the investment of American capital.

c) the strangling of the economy, the development of unemployment, the annihilation of the workers' living standards.

d) the ever-increasing grip on the cultural means of expression, particularly the cinema and the press.

It also denounces the system of military alliances provided for all the countries benefiting from the Marshall Plan, by the Brussels Pact first of all, then the Atlantic Pact.

In acting in this way, the French CGT mobilised the working class of our country, and it has become the active element in the rallying of the fighters for peace and liberty, making possible, some months later, the Pleyel Congress. It is also an active element in the movement for the defence of democratic and trade union liberties which, in contempt of the Constitution of our country, have many times been so scandalously flouted.

We could quote many cases of infringements of the right to strike, freedom of assembly, freedom of expression, freedom of demonstration and even going as far as requests for the raising of the immunity of certain members of Parliament guilty of having demanded the respect of Republican legality.

The CGT denounces the disproportionate importance of military credits in relation to those for National Education and Scientific Research, for example. Half of the French budget is set aside for military credits.

The CGT has on many occasions protested in numberless meetings and demonstrations against the transformation of peaceful industry into industry for war.

As regards the problem of Germany, the CGT has adopted a position on the denazification, democratisation, demilitarisation of Germany and the internationalisation of the Ruhr. We are, on the contrary, witnessing at the present time the utilisation of nazis, the inclusion of Germany in an anti-Soviet bloc and the blast-furnaces of the Ruhr being put in the service of this bloc.

The front of all the Defenders of Peace, of all the peoples must be raised in opposition to these preparations for war. In the solution of international disputes, the French CGT has always declared itself against resort to force and in favour of the formula of negotiation.

In its day-to-day trade union action, the CGT links up the problem of the fight for demands with that of the defence of peace, the fight for the workers' living conditions being one of the forms of action for peace.

There is, in addition, the consideration of the problem of unity in all meetings and assemblies. It is easy to demonstrate that the front of the workers united in the fight for demands is the same as in the struggle for the defence of peace.

On the eve of the 1914 war, some days before he was assassinated, Jean Jaurès said at Lyon on 25th July 1914 :—

“ At this time when we are threatened with murder and savagery, there is only one chance left for the maintenance of peace and the safety of civilisation, it is for the proletariat to rally its forces. ”

What was not possible in 1914 is possible now because the relation of forces has changed.

The task of the WFTU is very great, it has to achieve complete trade union unity so as to raise the barrier of the peoples against war. In order to achieve this, it is therefore necessary for the Trade Union Centres to work for the reconstruction of unity in each of their countries.

On the morrow of the split in France, the CGT immediately undertook the campaign for the reconstruction of labour unity. Leaving aside all verbiage, all sterile discussion, respecting the sentiments and ideology of each person, the CGT understood the necessity of making even greater contact with all workers, even the unorganised. It was a question of knowing their immediate aspirations however slight, of establishing a minimum programme capable of rallying the workers of all enterprises, and of then entering into activity on the basis of common demands.

This unity of action was achieved in spite of the opposition from the divisionist bosses : it was later extended to include the workers of the Christian Workers' Confederation and is growing wider week by week up to the point of winning over all levels and of ending in unity of action on the national plane, for each industry, and each trade and of bringing about the return to the CGT of the organisations which had left it.

This campaign has been carried on with the cooperation of everyone, ruthlessly eliminating all spirit of sectarianism and by not confusing, as Santi has said, the workers with those who dragged them into the split. This has made it possible for us, in France, to say with pride that in practice the split is in the process of being wiped out.

To work for the unity of the trade union movement in each country is to work to intensify the power of the World Federation of Trade Unions and only a powerful WFTU will be capable of preventing war.

It is only with the passage of time that one judges the importance of an epoch—those who lived at the time of great convulsions of History did not measure the historical value of their time.

In our turn, we are not perhaps perfectly aware of the importance of the present period, but we certainly feel that we are now living through the most wonderful period of our times. We are living through the decisive fight against the oppressors. The French delegation declares itself in agreement with the precise proposals set forth by Comrade Kuznetsov in his report.

Let us strengthen international unity within the WFTU so as to give it the maximum power to achieve its historic task of saving peace and of liberating the peoples from capitalist oppression.

(Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Comrade Messadi of the UGTT of Tunisia.

M. MESSADI (*Tunisia UGTT*). The remarkable report presented by

Comrade Saillant has clearly brought out the activity which has been undertaken by the WFTU against the fascist regimes (like that of Franco for example) and against the policy of reaction in all countries.

The brilliant report made by Comrade Kuznetsov also told us how the enemies of peace flout the will of the peoples, their aspirations for a lasting peace and democratic reforms, and how the WFTU confronting the enemies of world peace constitutes a factor of union and unity of the most advanced element of all classes : the proletarian class.

But some other voices made themselves heard before my own : those of the comrades from Cyprus, from Cuba, from Mexico, from Poland and from Ceylon, who spoke to stress the necessity of intensifying the action of the WFTU in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Comrade Saillant's report recognises moreover in connection with the struggle for the full exercise of the peoples' democratic rights and liberties, that this action has not been sufficiently extensive. He said (p. 6.) " Our solicitude for maintaining unity in the WFTU led us in some cases, not to give the requisite breadth to the action and role of the WFTU in this matter. "

Comrade Kuznetsov's report clarifies this statement. He says in fact that it was the leaders of the TUC and the CIO who prevented the Federation from providing the trade unions of the colonial countries with real assistance in their hard battle against colonialist slavery (p. 9.).

We have to deplore that it was possible to have disagreement in the WFTU over such a matter to the extent of threatening its unity and of leading to regrettable concessions. We take note of the fact that the WFTU has henceforth been released from the hindrance which certain elements placed in the way of its activity for the defence of the democratic rights and liberties of the peoples.

There is no doubt that the fight against reaction, against fascism and against colonialism is the same fight. The Congress will undoubtedly express the will, as did Comrade Kuznetsov, of intensifying this fight, which should reassure the representatives of the colonial peoples like myself.

Nevertheless, allow me, comrades, to draw your attention to the singular gravity of the colonial problem in relation to reaction and fascism. Reaction and fascism are, in the countries of Europe, America and elsewhere, the political manifestations of capitalism before the growing threat of social progress and the forces of labour. They are the weapons of defence and counter-attack against a progressive force which already exists. They are seeking to destroy or reduce the forces of liberty and justice, and in this fight victory is not always on their side, as is demonstrated by the last triumphant victory of liberty over nazism and fascism.

Colonialism is a phenomenon which I consider as different from reaction and fascism. It is very much more serious and terrible. It is not limited to the fight against social progress and democratic liberties, it wishes to prevent their birth. It does not fight against the progressive tendencies which threaten it, it seeks to stifle them in the womb. It is working to destroy the basis of humanity

Moreover, the fact of colonialism as a whole can be fundamentally analysed in the following way :—

In the economic sphere, there is no need to remind you that the colonial empires were formed at the epoch of the triumph of international capitalism. Colonialism thus remains the most pure form of the carrying into effect of the forces of capitalism : the wealth of the soil and sub-soil of the colonised countries is the monopoly of the trusts; the people of the colonies are cheap "materials". The labour of the worker is the property of the capitalist who uses him as he pleases and to the best of his own interests. All the wealth is drained abroad by foreign capital and the economic impoverishment soon leads to widespread misery. The worker and the small peasant, exploited, expropriated, soon become nothing but human flotsam. The industrialisation of the country is prevented so as not to compete with the colonising industry.

In the political sphere, right from the outset colonialism destroys national sovereignty—brutally as in Algeria or Madagascar, hypocritically as in South Africa, Cyprus, Tunisia, and Morocco, or yet again by intrigues and manœuvres as in Transjordan.

By destroying or enslaving national sovereignty, colonialism is substituting it by a regime of direct administration based on armed force. All of you European comrades, who have known the horror of occupation by a foreign army, I ask you to think of the lot of a small people like my own which has for 68 years known this permanent occupation by foreign forces with their soldiery, their gendarmes and their policemen. With such a regime, no dependent people can hope one day to attain democracy, even that skeleton of democracy represented by capitalist democracy.

The aim of colonialism is to prevent the colonised community from developing to a national consciousness which brings about the unity of a people. They want the colonised peoples to remain a dust of unorganised and disunited individuals before the forces of capitalism. The political parties which are set up generally do not ask for a great deal; they are not revolutionary, they only call for the principles of the French Revolution of 1789. They want the people of their countries to go through the apprenticeship of liberty and political democracy, and even though the demands of these parties are so timid and timorous, they are oppressed and combated with arms, prison and deportation.

And the colonialist regime—of pure dictatorship continues. Administration is in the hands of foreigners, against the interests of the people (in Tunisia for example, there are only 5,000 to 6,000 small Tunisian officials out of more than 20,000, and the higher officials, those belonging to the upper grades number 400 of which only 12 are Tunisians docile to the regime), it means a Government composed of traitors and foreigners chosen by the representatives of the colonising country, the total absence of any democratic electoral system of representation, local councils appointed by the Government, restrictions if not suppression of the freedom of the press, association and assembly, and it means the reign of martial law. (In Tunisia for example, out of 68 years of protectorate, we have known more than 30 years of

martial law. At present we have been in this state since 1938, that is to say for 11 years.)

This is what colonialism means on the political plane. On the social plane it is worse.

The economic impoverishment and political oppression can only mean complete material and moral misery on the social plane : and it is the workers who immediately suffer from it. Without speaking of the forced labour which exists in certain countries, wages are low and trade union rights ignored or restricted. If in Tunisia we have succeeded in extracting the right to organise, it remains overshadowed by many dangers and its exercise is full of risks. Trade Union militants are prosecuted by tribunals and sentenced to dozens of years in prison. Strikes give rise to bloody repression. On August 5th 1947, for example, our Centre, the UGTT lost in a local strike at Sfax 30 workers killed and 100 wounded, 15 of whom were disabled, by the bullets of the soldiery who were defending the interests of the phosphate trust.

The working class has no share at all in the economic policy of the country. It is decided by the Government alone assisted by puppet representatives. The anti-people's budget spares capitalist profits and strengthens direct taxes on consumption. The people live in misery and thousands of children are thrown onto the street, without clothing, without lodging and without education.

In the cultural sphere, colonialism tends to kill the national culture and language: it aims at enslaving and assimilating minds and at a policy of general obscurantism.

Human civilisation is made up of the original contribution of each language, each culture and each people. My comrades from the USSR will clearly understand what I mean for they know the impetus which was given in their country to the national cultures and languages of the small Soviet Republics. In the colonised countries, the contrary takes place. In Algeria, Arabic, the national language, is not even recognised as an official language. In Tunisia, Arabic is taught as a foreign language. But we cannot forget, comrades, that our language is a language of culture and civilisation: we cannot forget that through the ancient capital of our country, through Kerouan, flowed for many centuries the great stream of the expansion of human civilisation, this stream which, coming from Baghdad and passing by way of Spain, transmitted to Europe all the heritage of Greek and Moslem civilisation which gave rise to the Renaissance.

And this role as link and channel of civilisation which our country has played in the past by its culture and its language, can again be played by our country in the opposite direction, for the renaissance of the whole of the East and for a better understanding between the peoples of the East and West, whom the imperialists are maintaining in a state of ignorance and mutual hostility. Colonialism wants to prevent our country from continuing to play this role, by preventing normal cultural relations with the East, by neglecting the national culture and language, by gallicizing education by force, and above all by maintaining ignorance and illiteracy. Think, comrades, that after 68 years of the protectorate, only 90,000 out of 800,000 Tunisian children go to school.

The foregoing is a very brief summary of the aspect assumed by colonisation in our country. And we know that it is the same thing everywhere else, if not still worse.

What can the dependent peoples do in face of this situation? Primarily they must count on themselves and this is what is happening in our country.

It is the national popular organisations which, in spite of the repression and opposition of the Government, are laying down the principles for the regime of political democracy which the people are demanding; it is they who are organising the struggle against illiteracy and are building private schools; it is they who in the social sphere are fighting on behalf of unfortunate and abandoned children, creating Committees for assistance to the needy; it is they also who, in the economic sphere, are organising consumers' cooperatives.

But it is above all our great Centre, the UGTT—born from the consciousness of the Tunisian working class, which has the duty of building the future of our people—which is undertaking varied activity. Its action aims first of all at democratising the country. It is in the trade union organisations that the Tunisian workers, left in ignorance by colonialism, have begun their apprenticeship in free discussion, honest elections, representative responsibilities and the general interest in the ranks of their trade unions. The colonial Government did not even wish to set up municipal councils elected by the people.

It is in our trade union organisations that the workers are gaining consciousness, both of their rights and their duties in the social, democratic and civil field. It is also there that they are uniting to defend peace.

It is in our organisations that the working class, and behind it, all the poverty-stricken people, is demanding its share in the management of social and economic affairs in Tunisia, is fighting for the extension of education in the national language and culture, calls for the introduction of a democratic and representative regime, and is trying, in a word, to bring about the progress of our people along the path of social, economic and political progress in order to ensure a human community with all its capacities and all its creative power instead of allowing colonialism to destroy the most wonderful human achievements.

Above all, our Centre can save our country time in its journey along the path of progress. It does not want the country to confine itself to demanding and obtaining the introduction of a system of political democracy alone. It wishes to obtain through it both political and social democracy.

Our Centre extracts no false pride from this enormous work which is its reason for existence. It is simply doing its duty like each of our Centres. But limited to its own ways and means, our Centre would be too weak to accomplish its task and above all, it does not expect to have a special position. Its presence here signifies that we think that the destiny of humanity is indivisible, that the fate of the USSR and Britain is linked to our own, as our own is linked to that of Poland or South Africa. This signifies that the fight of all peoples of good will is one and the same fight.

Now in this fight it is we, the dependent people, who have the

most thankless task, it is we who are at the most dangerous and least well defended combat station.

It must certainly be said, and I will finish with this, that the dependent territories constitute the points of strength in the criminal system of capitalism. In the defence system of the working class, in contrast, they are the weakest points of resistance. On the vast battle front between capitalism and social justice it is thus towards these most fragile and threatened points that the WFTU should direct its efforts. It is there that it should first of all strengthen the army of the workers and it is there that it must set to work to bring about the triumph of democratic principles, to ensure that dictatorship and fascism disappear and that free speech and the management of affairs should be given to the people.

If not Comrades, we run the risk of leaving capitalism an emergency exit. Even if capitalism was eliminated from Europe and America, it would also have to be eliminated from Africa, Asia, the Near and Middle East. It was not by chance that the last war saw more capital and capitalists moving towards the colonial countries. It is not by chance that instead of introducing more liberty, the last war for the triumph of democratic liberties, led to a tightening up of fascist colonialism, as in Viet Nam, Algeria, Madagascar, Indonesia, and Tunisia. It is in no way by chance that colonialism, ruined by the Atlantic Charter, was cynical enough to propose a new plan to UNO for sharing out the colonies. The Bevin-Sforza plan justly failed thanks to the intervention of the USSR.

Capitalism feels only too well, in face of the threats with which it is assailed, in face of its gradual weakening, in face of the forward march of the forces of progress, that its safety will come in a critical situation only from the colonial territories where it find reserves of raw materials, markets in the case of overproduction, cannon-fodder and strategic positions.

If we ignore this fact, Comrades, if the fight is not intensified for the dependent peoples, if the dependent peoples are not assisted in the conquest of their rights and democratic liberties, we run the risk of allowing capitalism to prepare positions of attack or very strong lines of withdrawal, behind which they could remain as a danger for a long time even though conquered elsewhere.

We shall undertake the task in our country of preventing it from setting up these unassailable bastions and these war bases. But if the workers of the whole world do not recognise the importance of the stakes, if they do not work for the liberation of the people and seize the trump cards from the hands of international capitalism, we, the workers in the dependent countries, we run the risk of succumbing and this would be a very dangerous breach in the front of liberty and democracy.

It is in full consciousness of the responsibilities which we bear towards all the workers of the world, for the defence of their rights and our own, that we launch an urgent appeal, certain of expressing the sentiment of all the workers in dependent countries, and we beg the Congress to appreciate the gravity of this appeal, by taking into consideration the motion against colo-

nisation which the delegation of the UGTT is going to place before the Commission concerned.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF ALL THE LIBERTY-LOVING PEOPLES !

(*Applause.*)

(*A delegation of Italian men and women agricultural workers entered the hall. A delegate read a message in Italian.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, I am certain that in spite of language difficulties, all the delegates have understood the message which the representative of the delegation of agricultural workers has just read from the rostrum.

These delegate wished to salute the Congress in the name of 2 million Italian agricultural workers who after a 35-day strike, have succeeded in imposing on the land owners, the most reactionary class in Italy, their essential demands.

They greet the Congress and hope for the strengthening of our World Federation of Trade Unions so as to enlarge and develop the struggle for peace and social justice throughout the world.

I am certain of expressing your sentiments by thanking the delegation of Italian agricultural workers and by requesting them to be good enough to give the fraternal greetings of all the delegates to the valiant Italian agricultural workers. (*Enthusiastic applause.*)

We are now going to call on our friend Jiri Hronek, invited as representative of the International Organisation of Journalists.

J. HRONEK (*International Organisation of Journalists*). Comrades, I am speaking to you on behalf of tens of thousands of journalists from all over the world who are fighting for peace. I say deliberately fighting, for the times are such that it is necessary to fight in order to save peace for mankind. Halfhearted measures and declarations are not enough—we must fight the warmongers, the merchants of death, we must fight the men and groups of individuals who, for their private profit, would not mind dragging the world and humanity into untold misery, turning the world into one gigantic battlefield.

Yes, we must fight these interested groups, because it is either their interests or the interests of hundreds of millions of men and women and children.

It is just for this reason that the International Organisation of Journalists is at the present time in a crisis engineered by the same forces which have tried and are trying in vain to split and weaken the mighty weapon of peace, the WFTU. The International Organisation of Journalists is in a crisis because the representatives of some countries, leaders of journalistic associations who do not represent their entire membership, refuse to co-operate in stopping the insane daily outpouring of hatred, calumnies and war propaganda with which capitalistic organs of mass communications inundate the world, because they want to make it impossible for the International Organisation of Journalists to be one of the weapons for peace.

Vested interests own the press in many western countries, especially in the United States and in Great Britain. 375 dailies, that is 25 per cent of all American dailies belong to 76 press chains. These newspapers represent 53,8 per cent of the entire daily output of the press in the United States. Amongst them there are such chains as the Scripps-Howard syndicate, the Hearst group, the Patterson-McCormick chain. These defenders of vested interests, these haters of every progress, control the mind of the American reader. But this unholy influence does not stop here. There are huge news agencies and feature syndicates which influence not only the American mind but which have a virtual news monopoly in those areas of the world controlled directly or indirectly by the United States. Another avenue for wholesale influencing by the American press is the feature syndicates, are weeklies and monthlies like the ultra-reactionary "Readers Digest" or Henri Luce's "Time" and "Life". These papers peddle the kind of policies which, if adopted, would bring untold misery not only to the American people but to the whole world.

Ninety per cent of all the books printed in the United States are published by two hundred firms. The American book market is being saturated with books which teach hatred of fellow human beings and of nations.

Eight hundred out of one thousand broadcasting stations in the United States belong to the four biggest broadcasting concerns.

In Great Britain the press is controlled by five groups of monopolists with an output of 25 millions copies. The Lord Kemsley group owns 24 newspapers, 14 of them dailies, the group of Lord Harmsworth, the heir of the pro-fascist Lord Rothermere, owns 14 newspapers, 4 of them dailies; the chocolate manufacturer Rowntree, with another industrial family, controls 41 newspapers, 13 of them dailies, and so on.

We have heard the passage in Comrade Saillant's report where he said that certain representatives of monopoly capitalism do not hesitate to declare that war would cost them less than peace. An economic crisis looms ahead, that is why the press and the press monopolies are intensifying their war propaganda. Public interests cannot be secure while the present situation prevails. The interests of press lords, and chain owners are alien to the interests of their readers. The capitalist press is by its very nature an instrument of deformation of news for the public and of boosting up the dividends of the merchants of death, peddlers of bombers and manufacturers of destructive weapons. The men who own the big dailies, weeklies and radio stations in the west participate in capitalistic spoils, and therefore they have whole-heartedly committed themselves to helping death to pay its dividends. They work overtime to keep people ignorant, they distort facts, they tell the working people that their enemy is just those forces which exploitation and imperialism fear most: the forces of freedom and progress. To hide its aims, hostile to the working people, capitalism is building, with the help of newspapers and radio in its own countries, an atmosphere of fear and general insecurity, it is inciting people to hatred and to war.

The very many honest newspapermen in the west who are trying to fight the infernal influence of the imperialist press, find themselves

persecuted, thrown out of jobs, progressive newspapers are fighting hard for survival, progressive journalists are being penalised. I want to remind you of the unknown fate of the hero of the Greek liberation movement, the journalist Manolis Glezos, who was sentenced to death twice in Athens. The IOJ tried hard to save his life, but no communication came from Athens, and we do not know what happened to him. We received no explanation in reply to our efforts to save the life of another Greek journalist Takis Fitsios, also sentenced to death in Athens; no satisfactory explanation had been found in connection with the murder of the American journalist George Polk in Salonika. Recently the trade union of French journalist and the IOJ were compelled to protest against the arrest of Pierre Juin and Jacques Friedland, editors of the illustrated weekly "Regards", and M. Pennillaud, editor of "France d'Abord", and against police attacks on several editorial offices. In Cyprus a democratic newspaper was suppressed. In the United States journalists have been thrown out of their work because they did not want to comply with war propaganda. In the Lebanon quite recently a journalist was put into prison because he served the cause of peace, in Iraq no democratic press exists, and so on.

The International Organisation of Journalists has been created as an instrument of peace. It was to be an institution which would be indicative of the great importance of newspapers, of newspapermen in the life of nations. It was charged to see to it that the press became a link between nations and not a dividing factor. But at the moment when representatives of those countries where newspapers, weeklies and radio stations really and truly belong to the people and therefore defend peace against the war-mongers, at the moment when the representatives of these countries want to make the International Organisation of Journalists an active weapon in the fight for the ideals for which this organisation was created, representatives of some capitalist countries wanted to prevent this. They wanted to emasculate the International Organisation of Journalists, they wanted to render it harmless to warmongers, and as they see that they are not going to succeed they are trying now to break it up, just as they were trying to break up the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is clear from what I have said why they are doing so but I am speaking with some authority when I say that they are not going to succeed in eliminating the International Organisation of Journalists as a weapon for peace. On the contrary, their attempt to break the organisation has strengthened the resolve of tens of thousands of journalists, in the east and west, to work and fight even harder and with greater determination for peace, to unmask those who are dangerous to peace.

The time has come and it is now, when all decent and honest newspapermen in all parts of the world must join in the fight against the forces which want war, and against the mercenaries in mass communications, against those irresponsible and dishonest newspapermen who are helping by their work to pave the way for new disasters. They must join hand in hand with the journalists of those countries where mass communications are owned by the people and serve the

interests of the people, that is peace and peaceful reconstruction. There are, I know, tens of thousands of good and honest newspapermen in the west, who are compelled by their daily needs to serve the inciters to a new war, but I wonder what would happen if one day all these newspapermen backed up by the workers of the printing trade, refused to write, to edit and to print that daily flood of *distortion, of hatred, of lies and war propaganda* which is pouring out from the presses and radio stations of an important section of the western world. I wonder what would happen if the journalists refused that, if they decided to put their brains and their knowledge at the disposal of peace, of the interests of their peoples.

Now is the time when every honest journalist should know where he stands. Now is the time when every journalist should decide to be either a fighter for peace or a mercenary of warmongers who will one day share the fate of all warmongers.

The International Organisation of Journalists is going to survive the present crisis because thousands of honest press and radio men and women are asking us to go ahead. Hundreds of millions of working people will support our fight for peace.

And as the Secretary General of the International Organisation of Journalists I call upon all honest newspaper and radio workers in the west, upon all who want to speak the truth, who want to save the peace: Join us, join the International Organisation of Journalists in the fight for peace, for democracy and progress in the world. Those forces which are trying to break up the International Organisation of Journalists try to divide us, but they cannot do that. They can only divide men and women in the newspaper world into those who want to remain the mercenaries of warmongers and those who want to help to secure a better peaceful future for mankind. I call upon journalists of the world to fight, yes, to fight for peace and if we fighters for peace remain united we shall soon see that those who want war are a mere handful and that with us there are hundreds of millions of people all over the world.

We have listened with attention to the declaration made by Comrade Kuznetsov and I can assure you that all honest journalists, friends of peace, will cooperate in order to unmask the war mongers and to win the peace.

We journalists are not a class apart; we are part of the working class and we wish to fight, hand in hand with our fellow workers, for justice and peace, in the fields and in the factories.

This is why I say in conclusion :

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE.
LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, EXPRESSION
OF THIS UNITY, ONE OF THE STRONGEST RAMPARTS OF THE WORKING
CLASS IN ITS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE AND FOR LIBERTY.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (G. Di Vittorio). I call on Luu Duc Pho, General Secretary of the Confederation of Labour of Viet Nam, one of the peoples who are victims of imperialist aggression.

LUU DUC PHO (*Viet Nam*). Dear comrades, it is a Viet Nameese who is speaking to you, a delegate of the TLD—the General Confederation of Labour of Viet Nam.

I came through the lines of battle and covered more than a thousand kilometres on foot in order to come here to make heard the voice of the Viet Nam working class and to bring its modest contribution to the common work of the workers of the world for peace and democracy.

In its name we express to all the workers closely united within the WFTU without distinction as to race, religion or political beliefs, our most fraternal greetings.

We salute the existence of socialism in the Soviet Union; we salute the building of the People's Democracies, ramparts of liberty and peace, symbols of labour and progress for the whole of humanity.

We salute the triumphal march of the great Chinese people, a victory which fills the hearts of all workers with joy and hope, especially those of the hundreds of millions of men and women on the Asian continent, savagely exploited for long centuries by both kings and imperialists.

We salute the valiant struggle of the French workers, our comrades, whose fight for peace and a better life is in close solidarity with that which we are waging against colonialism, and we would like to reaffirm our admiration and gratitude to them.

We would publicly like to express our sincere and active solidarity with the Laoans and Cambodians who are fighting with us against French colonialism in Indochina and who are not yet represented here. We request the WFTU to insert the names of these peoples in its future programme of assistance to the workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

We assure all the delegates at this Congress that, in spite of its youth and inexperience and in spite of its limited means, our TLD will show itself worthy of the WFTU to which it is proud to belong. It will in the future play its part in the struggle and labour for an ever closer union of all the workers of the world, for liberty, peace and good understanding between the peoples.

Comrades, when item 10 of the Agenda relating to the activities of the Asian trade unions comes up for discussion, the Viet Nam delegation will speak to you about the TLD and its trade union activity strictly speaking. For the moment, I would simply like to draw your attention to the war which is being forced on Viet Nam and in which our people are fighting with ardour.

Comrade Kuznetsov has clearly defined the nature of this war: a war of resistance, and he expressed all our will for peace when he said "In colonial and dependent countries, the movement for the defence of peace is linked with the slogans of struggle against colonial oppression and racial discrimination, against compulsory slave labour, for national liberation and independence, for the cooperation and friendship of the peoples."

Comrade Saillant said "It is towards these countries that international monopoly capitalism directs its strongest pressure. The peoples' right to self-determination, even if it is characterised by a political principles of national liberation, rests fundamentally on the

right of these peoples to the benefit of their labour and to the enjoyment of the natural wealth of the soil on which they were born and on which they live."

This certainly applies to our case, and our fight for a better life takes at the present time its highest form: the war against colonialism and monarchy and for national liberation and democracy.

Viet Nam, my homeland, —20 million inhabitants in an area of 350,000 square kilometres—was artificially divided by the colonialists into 3 provinces. Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina and together with Lao and Cambodia formed part of what was called French Indo-China.

It produces rice and rubber in abundance. Its sub-soil is rich in coal, iron, tin and zinc as well as in gold and silver, but its industrial development is insignificant because the colonialists think of hardly anything but exporting our raw materials and forcing their manufactured goods on us.

Eighty years of French domination have meant eighty years of crime. The colonialists ruled by terror and by obscurantism. The Viet Namese were deprived of all liberty, crushed under the weight of taxes and levies.

The working class was the most fiercely exploited of all. Social legislation did not defend the workers but enslaved them. Every demand was held to be "subversive activity" and punished by death and deportation. Thousands of workers have been guillotined or sent to prison. In the eyes of the colonialists nothing counts but their interests. For one school they build 3 prisons and 10 opium dens.

In 1945, they burned rice to serve as fuel in the factories while 2 million of my compatriots were dying of starvation. And to think that they still dare to vaunt their civilising mission!

During the second world war they handed over our country to the Japanese fascists whereas we placed ourselves resolutely at the side of the Allies and organised the fight against fascism.

In August 1945, we succeeded in breaking by revolution the yoke of colonialism to which we were subjected, laying low the monarchy and establishing a democratic regime.

We proposed loyal collaboration on an equal footing to the colonialists, but they wished to impose their domination once more and they undertook a war of colonial conquest against us, in spite of the will of the French people. They have already sent 150,000 men to fight against us, 25,000 of whom were Germans, former Himmler SS men. Now, with the money from the Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact arms, they are intensifying daily their work of pillage and rape, of torture and massacres. Thousands of villages have been razed to the ground and hundreds of thousands of our compatriots savagely massacred. The colonialists do not stop at any barbarity in defence of their sacrosanct privileges. Just to quote a few examples: they cut off the ears of the partisans and force them to eat them; they cut off the heads of men and women and expose their heads on poles at the roadside; they bring the villagers together to kill them in succession; they indiscriminately bomb schools, markets, religious buildings, public meetings. Last year, three hundred workers met their death from French bombs during a meeting organised in the Jones Plains on the occasion of May Day.

But our people are resolved to defend their independence; they claim the right to live under a democratic regime of their choice. Thanks to their immense sacrifices, it is now nearly four years that they have been victoriously resisting colonialist aggression. The French forces hold only a few of our towns. 90 % of the territory of Viet Nam remains under the authority of the Ho Chi Minh Government. The ex-emperor Bao Dai, whom the French government is seeking to replace on a crumbling throne, at the head of a constricted democracy, is considered as a traitor by all the people of Viet Nam. Save for a handful of mercenaries, all the people, united in the " Viet Nam People's Union ", support the Ho Chi Minh Government and participate actively in the struggle.

Our army, created by the people and for the people, has become considerably stronger. Our soldiers are better trained, more experienced. We succeeded in seizing a quantity of arms and manufacturing many ourselves. The balance of forces has turned in our favour and thanks to the favourable evolution of the international situation—the victory of the people's forces in China, the intensification of the struggle of the democratic forces in France—the time has come for us to make active preparations for the general counter-offensive.

Dear comrades, the victories of the Chinese people are causing the imperialists to tremble. If they are turning towards Viet Nam this is because they can no longer defend themselves in China and because they regard it as lost to them. Consequently the French colonialists in distress are now turning to their accomplices. There is no doubt that they will receive more substantial and direct aid in the near future. Already General Revers, chief of the General Staff of the French army, has been to Washington and became the inspector of the expeditionary corps soon after this visit. The brother-in-law of Chiang Kai Shek came to Paris doubtless to initiate a common campaign with the French colonialists in the frontier regions of Viet Nam and China.

There is an unceasing flow of reinforcements into Viet Nam : arms and soldiers, colonial troops and the Foreign Legion. The Viet Nameese people will soon have to face the combined assault of all the imperialists at bay. Certainly it has still to shed its blood in defence of its independence, but also to bring about the defeat of the plan of preparation for a world war devised by the imperialists.

But the increase in suffering at the same time means victory. The colonial beast in agony is acting violently and is ravaging the country, but it will soon no longer be a question of colonialism. Our people began the fight with clubs, but they have been holding out for four years and their strength has not ceased to increase. There is no doubt that shortly they will be capable of breaking the attacks of the imperialists, wherever they come from, in this way uniting themselves in the general framework of the fight for peace with the support of the democratic forces of the world. They have garnered, and are continuing to do so, to this end, rich experience from the previous fights of all the international working class.

Comrades, an independent and democratic Viet Nam is one more guarantee for peace in the world and the victory which it will gain against the colonialists will add another stone to the building

of the new human society. It is with this firm conviction that the Viet Nameese working class in the van-guard of the Viet Nam people and under the clear-sighted guidance of the President, Ho Chi Minh, first artisan of the victory of our people, is shedding its blood in defence of the Viet Nam Republic, confident of the approval and support of the fellow workers of all countries of the world.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' SOLIDARITY !

LONG LIVE PEACE AND DEMOCRACY !

LONG LIVE THE FRATERNITY OF THE PEOPLES !

(Heartv applause. The Congress stood and gave the speaker an ovation.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrade Luu Duc Pho presents the World Federation of Trade Unions with a flag which he has brought from his country, in the name of the Viet Nam General Confederation of Labour. (*Applause.*)

I now call on Comrade Olga Tournade of the French delegation.

OLGA TOURNADE (*France*). Comrades, in the name of the French delegation I want to affirm our entire solidarity with the valiant Viet Nameese people in the fight which they are waging for their liberation.

The French delegation listened to the report made by the Viet Nam delegate with profound emotion. Whether it be in the International Women's Congress, in the World Congress for Peace or at this rostrum, when the representatives of the heroic people of Viet Nam come to denounce the atrocities committed in their country, we are ashamed that it should be the French Government which is waging such a war and that it should be the author of such actions; we are ashamed that the unworthy men who force the soldiers to play such a role should be French.

The General Confederation of Labour has clearly defined its position as regards the war in Viet Nam, in national congresses, in communiques to the press, and in other ways in addition to demonstrations which it organises or in which it participates. This has won it a recrudescence of hate on the part of reaction in our country, but it found unerring sympathy in the heart of the French working class, which, drawing with it the whole mass of the people, has demonstrated its solidarity with the courageous people of Viet Nam, solidarity which has taken the most diverse forms.

Reaction has attempted to create a current of hostility towards the fighters in that country. The big newspapers have carried on a campaign against the so-called "terrorist outrages" committed by the Viet Nam fighters. These stories, tendentious because one-sided, and aimed at concealing the real character of the colonialist war, have not obtained the expected effect. The French people remember the fight of the snipers and the partisans who liberated our country from foreign occupation a few years ago. They were denouncing the "terrorists" at that time also; they also took hostages at that time; they shot and massacred all those who were fighting for national

liberation. The vast majority of the French people instinctively feel themselves closer to the Viet Nam workers fighting for their liberation than to those who, in order to swell their profits, do not hesitate to continue an unjust and crazy war, in contempt of the Constitution voted by the people of our country, a Constitution in which France undertook never to employ its forces against the liberty of a single people.

All France calls for peace in Viet Nam. The petitions campaign launched for this purpose met with great success among the women, young people, intellectuals and among the working class without distinction as to political, philosophical or religious opinions, whatever the organisation to which they belonged.

It is not by chance that the meter makers of Montrouge, huge steel factory, collected more than 4,000 signatures from CGT, Christian workers and Force Ouvrière trade union branches proving thereby the possibility of unity of action on a common basis, the fight against imperialism.

The young trade unionists carried on a joint campaign with the other youth organisations. The first lists brought to the public authorities contained 500,000 signatures; and the campaign is being unceasingly extended.

On March 3rd, at a meeting organised at the Mutualité in Paris, the young people were subjected to RPF provocation and two young comrades were injured.

The young workers of France want to live in freedom, to produce in order to improve living conditions and not to bring death; they do not want to be transformed into hangmen.

The petitions also won great success in the big Paris colleges, the School of Physics and Chemistry and the Sorbonne.

On March 6th, at the rally organised at Buffalo on the occasion of International Women's Day, bringing together more than 70,000 people, the slogan "Peace in Viet Nam" was in every mouth.

It was just such an atmosphere which surrounded the workers' demonstrations which took place when the Government announced that an additional 60,000 million francs would have to be found in order to continue this unjust war.

The French workers demonstrate their sympathy towards the fighters in Viet Nam and their desire to see the ending of the war when they fight to obtain the vital minimum wage, when they fight against rises in the cost of living.

Is it not this same attachment to proletarian internationalism, this same sentiment of solidarity and fraternity which led the aviation workers to adopt a position against war production, in spite of large-scale dismissals?

The May Day demonstration took place under the slogan of the fight for peace. There again, the slogan of "Peace in Viet Nam" found a place in all the groups.

The World Congress for Peace has done a great deal to assist the French people in this struggle and the CGT gave that Congress its enthusiastic support. The French people saw new prospects opening up before it; and they only ask to see the road which will lead to peace in order to resolutely start out along it. We shall not have to wait

long for the results of all this; the mobilisation of the masses has been more extensive than ever. I want to give you a few examples from these last few days which prove it : at the Budapest Festival the young people are preparing themselves for the fight against the war in Viet Nam in particular; at Cima Wallut, a big factory in the North, during a meeting organised against the war in Viet Nam, two delegates were appointed who will leave for Budapest to demonstrate the will of the young people of France to see an end to the war.

Similarly, the second Congress of dock and port workers adopted the following resolution, which shows the progress accomplished in recent times in our working class : " The Second Congress of Port and Dock Workers expresses satisfaction on the immense drive which has been achieved throughout the world, among the peoples and among the men resolved to fight to defeat the threat of war and to establish a just and lasting peace.

" In particular it expresses satisfaction on the unity achieved in Algeria between twenty-one democratic organisations for the defence of peace.

" It undertakes to put into application the decisions of the World Congress for Peace.

" The Congress affirms its fraternal solidarity with the people of Viet Nam fighting for its liberty.

" It demands the immediate cessation of the criminal and un-Constitutional war in Viet Nam and the resumption of negotiations with the President Ho Chi Minh.

" It pledges all the dock labourers not to work on boats leaving for Indo China. " (*Applause.*)

The workers heard this appeal : on June 20th, our Comrades in Algiers refused to work on the boats Ulysse and the Bordelaise which were to leave for Indo China. The boats remained in the port and every morning, the dockers once more refused to work on them.

At Oran our comrades refused to load another ship.

At Bône they refused to work on the ship *Avanti* leaving for Indo China.

Everywhere the workers are refusing to work for war and are demonstrating their will for peace.

Faced with this unanimous decision of the French people, nothing remained for our Government but to accentuate its antilabour policy, and this is what it is blithely doing. Every day, proceedings are instituted against the active trade unionists who, through the press and in meetings raise the problem of peace.

But threats and repression cannot restrain our people's ardent desire for peace.

The fight is hard in a country which often serves as an experimental field for international reaction, and the French bourgeoisie is subtle and cunning; but struggle strengthens the strong and frightens only the weak. The people of France will demonstrate their fidelity to the old traditions of struggle against colonialist wars. We cannot forget that in 1925 at the time of the war in Morocco, the French people ranged themselves against the war, thereby showing that it was possible for the workers of the capitalist countries to say "No !" to war if they wanted. Even at that period, 535 civil sentences and

1,200 military sentences marked the bitterness of the fight. The best militants of the labour movement were thrown into prison, from where they continued, nevertheless, to direct the battle. Certain of them are among us at this Congress; they are our comrades Benoit Frachon and Gaston Monmousseau, (*Applause*) who, in the struggle, won the confidence and attachment of all the workers and an authority which no reactionary government has been able to destroy.

The greatest ambition which we could have would be to make before this Congress the pledge of bringing back to our country the traditions of struggle against colonialist war which has made it beloved of the whole world. We shall wage the struggle to obtain the ending of the unjust war in Viet Nam; we shall wage the struggle to assist our brothers in Algeria, Tunisia, colonial Africa and Madagascar who are suffering under the yoke of the French imperialists, their exploiters and also our own.

If our rulers are carrying on this reactionary policy in such an open manner, it is because it is no longer possible for them to govern French Overseas territory as they did formerly, for, as Comrade Kuznetsov said, the forces of peace have grown in the world. They have not been able to obtain the division of the working class, but we shall strengthen our unity even more and we shall extract new victories; we shall impose peace for all time in Viet Nam and the world.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I now call on Comrade M. Fijalkowska of Poland.

M. FIJALKOWSKA (*Poland*). Comrades, Comrade Kuznetsov spoke to us in his report of the split which has taken place within the WFTU as well as the problems relating to the international unity of the trade union movement and the fight for peace.

He spoke calmly and with self-control about the split. I am sorry comrades but I, a Polish textile worker, cannot speak about it calmly. For me the split is a terrible thing and those who carried it through have committed treason and stabbed in the back the working class which had finally become united after the experiences of the last war.

It is beyond doubt that the working masses of the countries whose Trade Union Centres separated from the WFTU desire the unity of the trade union movement. The best proof is that they greeted the creation of the WFTU in 1945 with enthusiasm and that the breakaway trade union leaders would find it very difficult to say when the members of their organisations had expressed the desire to leave the ranks of that powerful international organisation, the WFTU.

It is probable that these members do not understand that the split was the work of reactionary leaders, acting on the orders of the imperialists. And what is worse, they do not realise that because of their passivity, they have a share in the responsibility for the split.

While condemning the leaders who provoked the split within the WFTU, we must make the members of the breakaway trade unions

understand that they must act. The worker who remains passive in face of the obvious treachery of his leaders must be told that he is in a way as responsible as they are.

We must and we shall do everything to make possible the return of all the honest members of the breakaway Centres to the ranks of the WFTU, the sole international trade union organisation which defends the workers.

This is why I wholeheartedly approve, in the name of 3 and-a-half million Polish trade unionists, the motion proposed by Comrade Soloviev, who asked the Congress to launch an appeal to the members of the breakaway trade unions, inviting them, in their own interests as well as in the interest of the whole working class, to link up with us in the fight for the re-establishment of unity. (*Applause.*)

The fight for a democratic and lasting peace is one of the essential tasks which falls to the working masses organised in trade unions, and as Comrade Kuznetsov has said, the WFTU must work in this direction.

As member of the Polish delegation and representative of Polish women organised in trade unions, representative of those women who, like their sisters in the Soviet Union, have known more than anyone else the horrors of the last war, I would like, comrades, to draw your attention to the role of the working woman, to the role of organised women in the fight for lasting peace.

We are in entire agreement with the thesis put forward by Comrade Kuznetsov in his report. The fight for peace must be extended to all countries and we must unite our efforts to those of the Permanent Committee for the defence of peace.

The International Congresses for Peace which were held in Wroclaw, Paris and Prague, were the powerful demonstration of the will of hundreds of thousands of ordinary people, of all political opinions, nationalities and religions.

If we want to carry out really effective work in the fight which we have engaged upon for the defence of peace, we must not fail to make full use in all countries of the role of the trade unions as mass organisations which group in their ranks the members of the most progressive class of contemporary society.

The trade unions must show increasing vigilance in the fight for peace. Let me tell you of a fact which shows how the People's Poland is reacting in face of the manoeuvres of the war mongers.

In reply to the Atlantic Pact, the Polish miners and factory workers—following the example of the workers in the Pustkowie chemical works—spontaneously adopted, at meetings, resolutions on the raising of production, on the strengthening of the links of solidarity between the trade unions of all countries and on affiliation to the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. In this way, the working class made a reply full of dignity to the Wall Street war mongers, who are preparing a new crime against humanity, who are undertaking a crusade against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. (*Applause.*)

I would now briefly like to criticise our work as regards the defence of peace. Up to now it has been rather intermittent and sporadic; it is necessary to carry on daily work of education and organisation in this sphere.

In addition, we have not paid sufficient attention to that basic unit

the family. The husband must raise the class consciousness of his wife and the mutual influence which they exercise on each other will allow them to bring up their children in a socialist spirit.

Socialist education must be carried on among the neighbours, in the street, in the locality in which one lives. In every workers' dwelling live mothers, wives and sisters of workers who must be informed of the warmongers and who must be made to understand why they wish to unleash a new war.

Millions of mothers and fathers do not bring into the world and raise children so that they might serve as cannon fodder to the lords of Wall Street but so that they might be assured of a happy future in which social justice reigns.

The 2nd Polish Trade Union Congress, which ended its work a month ago at Warsaw, specified in its resolutions that the essential task of our trade unions must consist in drawing millions of women into the fight for peace.

Another task of extreme importance to the achievement of which we must give all our attention is the education of the workers' children who are subject, both at school and outside, to a heightened offensive by reaction and the clergy.

During the preparatory meetings of the Congress, the mothers solemnly promised, according to what our delegates told us, to bring up their children in a socialist spirit. We were therefore led to ask the following question: "Have we done everything necessary to teach women, occupied with their household tasks, to bring up their children in a socialist spirit?" and we were forced to recognise that we had not done the necessary work among the millions of women and mothers, that we had not assisted them in making their children into good sons and daughters of the working class.

We women trade unionists must pay very special attention to the education of women and children. Let us not forget that the child spends several years of its life at school and if its teacher is not progressive, he cannot give him the teaching we would like.

This problem of teaching cannot leave us indifferent. We know that millions of workers' children in the United States and the Marshallised countries of Europe are obliged to admire the kings of industry and banking, that the biographies of Ford, Morgan, etc. are current reading matter for the school children of that country and that it is considered as very moral to acquire profits by means of the exploitation of man by man.

We know that in the schools of many countries, the praises of the Marshall Plan are sung while the workers and children are just experiencing the harmful effects of this plan. Young people are taught false theories in order to kill any spirit of criticism in them.

The trade unions must pay very great attention to the problem of education. We must everywhere demand that progressive teaching be given to the young generation. We must assist the Teachers' Trade Department of the WFTU to rally all the teachers of the world so as, through them, to be able to modify the teaching given in the schools of all our countries. (*Applause.*)

Comrade, the Polish delegation enthusiastically supports the proposals made by Comrade Kuznetsov, particularly as regards the

International Day for Peace. This day will make it possible to mobilise the masses of the people for the fight for peace, and to show by this demonstration, their will for peace.

We also approve the proposal concerning the manifesto to be addressed by the Congress to all the workers of the world to appeal to them to fight for a lasting peace, for the respect of democratic rights, for the defence of the vital interests of the workers of all countries, and for the unity of the trade union movement.

The Polish trade unions send their fraternal greetings to the organised workers who are waging a heroic struggle in Greece, Viet Nam, Indoneisa, and in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The Polish trade unions will fight with enthusiasm for the unity of the international trade union movement in the ranks of the WFTU. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Comrade Mustafa El Ariss of the Lebanon.

M. EL ARISS (*Lebanon*). Comrades, we have listened with great interest to the important reports made by Comrades Kuznetsov and Santi relating to the efforts made by the WFTU for international trade union unity, for peace and the defence of the democratic rights of the peoples. These two comrades have brought clearly to light the activities of the splitters, Deakin, Carey, Kupers and consorts, who have not ceased to conspire against the unity of the working class in order to serve the interests of reaction and imperialism.

We know that Sir Walter Citrine (today Lord Citrine) had proposed in 1945 at the Paris Congress, in the name of the British delegation, that the creation of the WFTU should be postponed for a year, but fortunately this proposal was rejected by the Congress quite simply because it was in complete contradiction with the interests both of the working class and of peace.

Since that time, Deakin replaced Citrine, and immediately continued to plot with the band composed of Carey, Kupers, etc. against the trade union movement throughout the world.

It was at a time when imperialist and reactionary pressure was beginning to intensify against the working class in the colonies and the capitalist countries, in order to suppress the rights won by the workers after long and bitter struggles and in order to suppress all political and trade union liberty, that the reactionary leaders of the British, American and Dutch trade unions showed their true faces as traitors. For everybody knows today that they are the representatives not of the workers and the labour unions, but of the imperialist governments and world capitalism, and that they wish to execute the will of the masters by plotting against the working class, against the unity and liberties of the workers and by demanding unblushingly and shamelessly the suspension of the activities of the WFTU.

But the genuine representatives of the workers on the Executive Bureau and Committee, certain of expressing the will of the whole of the working class replied: "No, No! The WFTU will never agree to suspend its activities".

And Comrade Soloviev was correct in saying at the time, in the

meeting of the Executive Committee, that the request made by the reactionary British and American trade union leaders, aimed at suspending the activities of the WFTU, was the greatest treachery known in recent history towards the working class. He was also right when, rejecting this unacceptable demand, he affirmed that not only would the WFTU continue its activities but would endeavour to become still stronger.

On their side, the workers of the world made the same reply and the meeting of this magnificent 2nd Congress is the proof that the workers of all countries wish the WFTU to continue its activities.

Deakin, Carey, Kupers and Co. claim that the WFTU is dominated by the communists and the Soviet Union. These gentlemen repeat like parrots the words of their imperialist and capitalist masters. The WFTU is not a communist organisation but an organisation containing all the workers of the world without distinction as to opinions, religion or race. It is a trade union organisation and not a political party. But it will never become, as Deakin and Carey wanted, a reactionary federation, a federation controlled by reactionaries of their type. The working class has said "No"; it has affirmed its will not to see the WFTU transformed into a reactionary organisation.

The efforts aimed at dividing the working class are at the basis of the imperialist and capitalist plans directed against the Soviet Union, rampart of democracy and peace in the world. If the war mongers are preparing such plans of hate against the Soviet Union, it is because that country is fighting against imperialism and exploitation of man by man. As for us, we love it precisely for these reasons and because it is the greatest defender of the peoples' right to self-determination.

We are asked to hate the Soviet Union, to love Churchill, Truman and Bevin. No and no! We have no sympathy at all for the faces of reactionaries and traitors. In contrast, we love and will always love those frank men, those heroes who fought for the unity of the working class, for the liberty of the peoples and for the peace of the world. Yes, we love the Soviet Union which crushed the hitlerite and fascist armies, which saved the world from their yoke and from their crimes, and which is now, as always, the protector of world peace so dear to all the peoples.

Dear Comrades, the workers of the Lebanon, like all the workers of the world, want peace. This is why they took part in the World Congress for Peace. I myself represented our country at that magnificent Congress the holding of which dealt a great blow to imperialist reaction and to the war mongers like Churchill. This Congress was a great victory for the liberty-and peace-loving peoples.

The WFTU, pillar of world peace and considerable force in its service and in the service of the working class, carried on great activity for the defence of peace and the rights of the workers. As this activity has been crowned with success, the imperialists gave the order to their representatives Deakin, Carey and Kupers to undermine the WFTU and to destroy the unity of the working class. But they met with a failure that they will not forget in a hurry.

The meeting of our 2nd Congress is a great victory for the working class. Consequently the workers of the Lebanon, Syria, Irak, Egypt, Cyprus and Palestine declare with all workers of the world their

attachment to and their confidence in the WFTU. They give their full support to the WFTU in the battle for the consolidation of working class unity, for the defence of liberty, democracy and peace.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU! DEATH TO REACTION AND IMPERIALISM!
DISGRACE TO THE TRAITORS AND CONSPIRATORS AGAINST THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

(Enthusiastic applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Before calling on Comrade Thornton to speak on behalf of the Standing Orders Committee I would like to announce that the Mayor of Milan will receive delegates tomorrow at the Villa Royale.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). We have an extremely important message to communicate to you from the French Committee of Aid to Democratic Greece.

" 12 Greek Seamen threatened with Athens Court Martial imprisoned at Marseille since last week asking exit visas from France in order to take refuge in Czechoslovakia. 5 other seamen in same position imprisoned in Paris. Greek families searched, homes violated in Marseille. Moreover, French Government refuses to intervene on behalf of French woman married to Greek sentenced to death in Athens for sheltering her two daughters accused of rebellion. We ask for WFTU action to obtain respect of international law, ending of monarchofascist terror, ending of American intervention and Western complicity, and the establishment in Greece of a just and democratic peace.

French Committee for Aid to Democratic Greece,

*" Justin GODARD, Yves FARGE, Paul ELUARD,
Jean GUIGNEBERT, Madeleine BRAUN,
Pierre LE BRUN, 4, Cité Monthiers,
Paris (9^e). "*

In view of the urgency of the question and the fact that the life of workers is at stake, the Standing Orders Committee asks the Congress to authorise it to draw up a resolution which it will get the Praesidium to transmit to the competent authorities. *(Applause.)*

Comrade Thornton's proposal was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 4th JULY 1949

9.45 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of Alain Le Léap.

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). We will continue discussion on the reports presented on Saturday by comrades Kuznetsov of the USSR and Santi of Italy.

I call on Comrade Grandgenet, Luxembourg delegate.

J. GRANDGENET (*Luxembourg*). Comrades.

I bring the 2nd World Trade Union Congress greetings from the workers of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the smallest country represented in the WFTU.

As a small country, it may seem of little interest, but this is not the opinion of the war-mongers, who are using it to further their aims.

Our iron and steel industry is important. Last March it reached an output of 253,000 tons, and more is possible.

During 1948 our big industrialists earned about two thousand million Belgian francs, that is, about 100,000 francs profit out of each worker employed, which is almost twice what each of these workers earned himself.

Our reactionary government, which is in the pay of Big Business, is naturally all for the Marshall Plan, whose praises it is everlastingly singing.

Our country is included in "Benelux" and is an associate of the five-power pact, which, without Luxembourg, would have been a mere four-power pact. Luxembourg is also one of the signatories of the Atlantic Pact.

To carry out the obligations it has entered into, our Government has made military service compulsory for the first time in over a hundred years, and it has undertaken to supply 30,000 soldiers if war should break out.

This army is certainly not big enough to conquer the world for the American trusts, but for us in the Grand Duchy it means that one-ninth of our population would have to do war service. But these trusts must be told that all our working people will oppose this measure, as they did the mobilisation decreed by Hitler's Gauleiter in 1942, which they met by a General Strike.

Our working class then, despite the small area of the Grand Duchy, has an important part to play and a great duty to fulfil.

Exposed for some time to the false but potent propaganda put out by the Government and socialist press, the workers of Luxembourg are now beginning to see through it. They are very well aware of the results of the application of the Marshall Plan to our country. Our steel production, for example, which should reach a total of over 3,600,000 tons a year, recently fell to 203,000 tons in May last, as against 253,000 tons in March.

Wage-increases of one-third had been promised, but instead wages fell by between 700 and 1,000 francs a month.

Dismissal of workers has already begun in the mining industries. These dismissals clearly augur a new economic crisis.

It is a matter for deep regret that in this situation our trade union movement is divided into three different organisations: the Christian union, servile to the reactionary government; the socialist union, which takes its slogans not from the socialist workers but from Irving Brown; and the Federation of Free Trade Unions which I represent.

The leaders of the socialist union recently declared in their press that they had left the WFTU. But they took this decision in truly dictatorial fashion, without asking the opinion either of the workers or of their own affiliated unions. Still less did they consider submitting this question to discussion. They know very well why they chose this method of going about things. Perhaps they wished to give the workers a demonstration of their brand of "democracy"?

I can assure Congress, and I do so in the name of all Luxembourg workers, that our working class severely condemns this splitting action. The workers of Luxembourg, like those of all the world, are for unity.

Our Federation of Free Trade Unions, faithful to the directives of the WFTU, and profiting by the guidance so clearly given by comrades Saillant, Kuznetsov and Santi in their speeches, will work still harder in the future to defend and maintain the interests of our working class. We will continue to work, as hitherto, for their material demands, and the improvement of social welfare, a sphere in which we have acquitted ourselves well, and won some success. Other successes have also been won in the peace movement.

We declare before the 2nd World Trade Union Congress that our main concern in the future will be to achieve the unity of the Luxembourg workers and to do all in our power to bring them back to the WFTU.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD
WITHIN THE WFTU :

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call on Comrade Goering of the German trade unions.

B. GOERING (*German FDGB*). Permit me to follow up comrade Kuznetsov's report with a few details of the efforts made in Germany by the free trade unions for the unity of the German trade union

movement, whose unification is a fundamental prerequisite for the unity of Germany as a whole.

I will also mention, at the same time, our efforts to educate the German people, particularly the German working class, in the spirit of peace and friendship towards all progressive and democratic peoples throughout the world.

Right from the start we based our new trade union activity on the friendly recommendations of the WFTU. We would like to stress here that in taking the initiative at the first Inter-zonal Conference at Mainz, comrade Saillant created the necessary conditions for fruitful cooperation between the unions of the four occupation zones.

Decisions of great weight were taken during later sessions of the Inter-zonal Conference. The climax of this activity, if I may say so, was reached at the fourth Inter-zonal Conference, which, after lengthy discussion, unanimously decided that the common objective of all German trade unions was a democratic economic order and not monopoly capitalism.

In another resolution on the future peace treaty, also passed unanimously, the unions once more came out for the rapid creation of an indivisible Germany.

The Inter-zonal Conferences have repeatedly demanded that the Ruhr mines become the property of the German people, and in another field they have also demanded the unification of social insurance schemes. Similarly, a special Inter-zonal Conference drew up a programme of uniform legislation on behalf of young people. The 6th Inter-zonal Conference proclaimed women's right to work, the extension to women of protective labour legislation and the principle of equal pay for equal work.

This programme drawn up for the whole of Germany—and it falls in with the objectives of the WFTU—was approved by all trade union leaders. Its essential features have been put into effect in the Eastern Zone, with the approval of the occupying Power, the Soviet Union.

Believing, as I think rightly, that the German workers can attain these objectives only if they enjoy the support of an international organisation, we have together sought admission into the WFTU.

The invitation to take part in the Prague session of the General Council of the WFTU in June 1947 gave us great satisfaction, and the decision to admit in principle the German trade unions into the WFTU aroused immense enthusiasm in millions of workers and employees. But already serious disagreement between the leaders of Eastern and Western trade unions was becoming apparent over the final affiliation of the German unions to the WFTU, over their unification, and over the principles which were to guide their future cooperation.

If we compare the date of the beginning of this disagreement with that at which the enemies of unity started their splitting manœuvres on the international level, we see that the two coincide. This was not pure chance.

This coincidence also shows that the enemies of unity and of the working class are pursuing a methodical and uniform plan. Always and everywhere we can detect the hand of the AF of L.

If, to return to my theme, the evolution along the path to progress has been different in each zone, there have been a certain number of reasons for this which can be summarised as follows :—

On the one hand, the Western Occupying Powers were hostile to the demands formulated by the Inter-zonal Conferences. With the aid of the Marshall Plan, the Ruhr Statute, and the setting up of a West German State, they practised a policy of division and colonisation, by which Western Germany was to serve as a bridge-head in their plans of aggression.

On the other hand, under growing pressure from the AF of L, the trade union leaders of Western Germany no longer defended the demands drawn up in common by the Inter-zonal Conferences and did nothing to popularise these demands among the working class.

With the help and backing of the occupation authorities we in the Eastern Zone have carried out a reform of the economy, increased the number of socialised establishments, drawn up a two-year plan, created a reliable administration and police-force (of which my colleague Warnke has already spoken); in Western Germany the trade union leaders approved a separate monetary reform, the Marshall Plan, the Ruhr Statute and the Occupation Statute. This approval was of course given by the trade union leaders and not by the masses.

At a recent lecture in Cologne, Dr. Wagenfuhrer of the Labour Research Department of Western Germany admitted that in Bizonia real wages were only 60 % of 1936, and that profits, on the other hand, had increased by 260 %, with the profit per article at a higher level than before the war.

Under cover of superficial prosperity, dismissals and partial unemployment are spreading in Western Germany. Rising prices and the dismantling of factories are daily lowering the workers' living standards. A growing number of works councils are coming to us and to the economic bodies of the Eastern Zone in search of orders to prevent the spread of unemployment. The employers' associations, whose reconstruction had been blindly sought by the trade union leaders in order, so they said, to have someone to negotiate with, are growing visibly stronger and are developing their campaign against the already precarious living conditions of the workers. The few existing rights enjoyed by the West German unions are under constant fire, although the trade union leaders are offering little resistance to the plans of the Western capitalist governments, and despite the fact that a Labour government is in power in England.

Confirmed Nazis have been set at liberty, and Schacht, for example, the man who financed the Nazis, has a fair chance of being able to take part in political activities soon. Militarists and reactionary imperialists have jobs in the administration of the Western zones, and fascist generals have hired out their gold braid to the American authorities. On the other hand, the workers' leader, Max Reimann, has been arrested, although Parliamentary elections are imminent, and workers guilty of opposing illegal dismantlings are imprisoned.

The aim of the imperialists is to eliminate Germany from the world's economy, to prevent German competition, and to make it a bastion in their machinations against the USSR and the popular democracies.

The democratic progressive forces of the Eastern Zone and of Berlin are opposed to these moves, which are aggravating the economic and social situation in the whole of Germany, hold up reconstruction and contain the seeds of a new war.

The cooperation and unity of all the German trade unions, which could then count on the support of some 9 or 10 million members, therefore assumes the greatest importance in building the democratic unity of Germany under the leadership of the working class; it would also assist the struggle against dismantling and unemployment, allow effective denazification and prevent the outbreak of a new world war. For all these reasons, we will spare no effort to bring the German trade unions together.

It is for this reason that the FDGB is represented on the People's Council, that it takes part in the National Front, and is fighting ardently for Peace. We have taken our place among all those who struggle and fight for Peace, and we were very happy to take part in the great Peace Congresses held at Paris and Prague, and by this fact to show the whole peace-and progress-loving world our determination to win, by our steadfastness, the complete confidence of all peoples.

We have, in hundreds of meetings, spoken to millions of German workers of this collective fight for peace. The Appeal we issued on this subject was directed to all four zones. It has been heard everywhere, as is shown by the host of resolutions that have come to us from factory meetings. We are thus entitled to speak in the name of the progressive forces of the whole of Germany. The FDGB is a member of the German Peace Committee, is developing permanent Peace propaganda, and is organising local vigilance committees. Moreover, the Union of the German Press, which is affiliated to the FDGB, has set up an Anti-war Committee. Without exaggeration we can say that our efforts have been crowned with success, that the will of the masses and of the intellectuals in the struggle both for Peace and against those who stir up war is continually increasing. All the efforts of the reactionaries and the war-mongers to create a war psychosis must break on the unshakable resistance of the majority of workers and of broad sections of the middle class.

In our preparation for the 2nd World Trade Union Congress we sent to Western Germany tens of thousands of postcards calling for Peace and unity; more than 5 million women in the Russian zone and in greater Berlin signed a petition against the manufacture of atom bombs circulated by the trade unions. This petition would have received twice the number of signatures if it had not had obstacles put in its way by the Western Occupying Powers. Thousands of young Germans are campaigning for world peace and German unity. We are sure that the success won in this campaign will have a favourable effect on the conclusion of the German Peace Treaty which will be a major contribution to the strengthening of world peace. We are grateful to the Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Vichinsky, for his speeches at the Peace Conference in favour of the German people and a democratic German working class. We are in complete agreement with comrade Kuznetsov and declare that, together with the millions of German workers who have prepared themselves so hopefully for the

2nd World Trade Union Congress we will do our best to deserve the confidence placed in us by the WFTU and the affiliated National Centres; we declare too that we are ready to carry on a determined fight for peace and against the war-mongers, that in working for the unity of the German trade unions we are working too to bring the West German workers into the WFTU, and that in struggling for German unity we are also working for the peace, freedom and prosperity of the people. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call now on comrade Kolsky, Czechoslovak delegate.

J. KOLSKY (*Czechoslovakia*). Comrades, in my speech on comrade Kuznetsov's report I would like to draw your attention to two points : first, the struggle of the workers for world peace, and then the question of international working class solidarity.

The question of peace and the peaceful reconstruction of our people's democracy, the improvement and the guarantee of a higher social and cultural living standard for our Czech and Slovak peoples—these are the first concern of the Czechoslovak working class.

Our country's history proves that our people have always been major sufferers in the wars that have swept across Europe. The last war, especially, brought the heaviest suffering to our people and to our country.

International reaction, the fomenters of war, are well aware of the highly developed nature of our industry and the strategic position we hold in Central Europe. They counted on the breakdown of the working class forces at the end of the occupation and on the old Czechoslovak bourgeoisie. The experience of our working class brought to a complete halt their plans of bringing Czechoslovakia into their sphere of exploitation. That is why ever since the liberation of our country by the Soviet army and our own victory of February 1948 they have furiously directed all kinds of threats of war against us. The peace move made by the World Peace Committee received fervid and active support by our people. Ever since they were set up the unified trade unions have led the workers in the peaceful construction of a new social order and at the same time in a decisive struggle against internal and international reaction. That is why the workers so enthusiastically welcomed the World Peace Congresses at Paris and at Prague.

The delegates taking part in the Prague Congress had the opportunity of seeing for themselves that every Czech worker is a worker for peace.

And our workers are working with all their strength to make our country—steadily moving towards socialism—one of the strongest defenders of peace. Every new success in production, every new power station that we build, every new tractor that comes from our factories means another victory won for peace. We know that the faster we approach socialism the stronger the support we can give to the world camp of peace. And that is why we are in complete agreement with all the proposals put forward by comrade Kuznetsov, especially with that concerning the proclamation of an International Peace Day.

The peace-loving and progressive people in all parts of the world must make known to the warmongers that they will never again allow them to start in any country whatever an imperialist war of aggression solely to satisfy their own international monopolist interests. International Peace Day must symbolise the stubborn daily struggle for peace by all those organisations who have placed the defence of peace on their programme of activities. It must be a great manifestation continuously strengthening the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

The World Federation of Trade Unions which represents the most progressive class in the world—that is the working class —has all the advantages enabling it to place itself in the front rank of the Defenders of Peace.

All affiliated organisations must turn their activities in this direction more energetically than ever. Our revolutionary trade union movement will initiate a vast campaign for peace on the nine fundamental points put forward in comrade Kuznetsov's report. All our work must be carried out under the banner of the fight for the maintenance of world peace.

And because the Soviet Union represents the defence of peace and progress in the world, we in Czechoslovakia are proud and happy to be able to fight alongside the Soviet Union for peace. The spirit of sacrifice, resoluteness and progressive outlook of the heroic Soviet people are an example to us.

While Czechoslovakia is marching towards socialism, which makes economic crisis impossible and creates firm foundations for the welfare of all workers, the capitalist states are seriously shaken by social conflicts. Our people knows that all the plans of so-called aid dictated by Wall Street lead to over-exploitation, unemployment and insecurity arising from the economic crisis which is beginning to show itself. These facts are today so convincing that no propaganda, however shameless, can deny them.

It has proved impossible to distort this truth, despite all the attacks against Czechoslovakia by international reaction, particularly after the victorious days of February 1948. Nor can it be distorted by recent attempts camouflaged beneath the pretext of protection of the Church. All hitherto dispersed reactionary elements are today grouped around a few members of the upper clergy, backed and encouraged by international reaction to sow discord among the Czechoslovak people and denigrate Czechoslovakia before international opinion.

This vast campaign is being waged by means of lies, calumnies and provocations, with the aim of deceiving world public opinion, in particular by asserting that in Czechoslovakia the Church is at loggerheads with the Government authorities.

This is not true. The fact that Catholic believers are marching hand in hand with the patriotic and progressive clergy reveals the manoeuvres of the reactionary upper clergy.

Catholic believers know that in Czechoslovakia freedom of worship is guaranteed and that the state is ready to meet all the Church's legitimate claims. That is why they have set up their organisation called "Catholic Action", which, while recognising the Catholic Church as spiritual authority, energetically and resolutely opposes the Church's

pretensions to satisfy the aims of political reaction directed against our country, that is to oppose our efforts to establish a system of political, economic and moral justice. Our workers will never again allow various ecclesiastical dignitaries to undermine our régime or to abuse their position by directing attacks against the State.

Thus, within our trade union movement, there are workers of Catholic beliefs. We do not prevent them from practising their religion. Among them are to be found the most devoted supporters of trade union unity. One of their representatives is a member of our Czechoslovak delegation to this 2nd Congress of the WFTU. This is comrade Vojance, deputy of the Catholic party and member of the Executive Bureau of our unified trade union movement.

As for the question of international working-class solidarity, the Czechoslovak trade union movement has time and again proved in practice its solidarity with the workers in countries where the working class is fighting capitalist exploitation under very difficult conditions.

At the time of the great mining catastrophe at Whitehaven in England, a great collection was organised, on the initiative of our miners, for the families affected. Six million crowns were collected.

The banner of international working-class solidarity was again raised at the time of the great strike of the French miners last year. The collection, organised on the initiative of the miners of all the coal-fields and the workers of all the industrial centres, realised a total of 300 million French francs. A part of this collection was sent direct to France, despite our currency difficulties. The balance will be utilised to the best of our ability.

We are thinking first of welcoming 2,000 French miners and their families to our spas. This summer we will receive several hundred French miners and their families for a fortnight's holiday. They will travel in special planes. In this way they will get a holiday in the Czechoslovak watering-places such as was hitherto the privilege of the Czechoslovak and foreign bourgeoisie.

In Czechoslovakia we have more than 2,500 Greek children. Our trade union organisation is giving them the greatest attention. They are housed in castles and holiday centres under the permanent charge of doctors, they go to school and are taught by Greek school teachers. The expenses of their stay in Czechoslovakia are borne by a special fund set up by the trade unions and subscribed to by the workers.

These are a few examples of the practical achievement of international labour solidarity by our trade union organisation.

We are convinced that our example of the peaceful construction of socialism, our successes won for the working class, represent a great moral support for all trade union organisations in capitalist and colonial countries. In the future we aim at expanding still further solidarity for fraternal organisations and for all those who need it.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS SOLIDARITY !

LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE !

(Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (A. Le Léap). I call on comrade Boris Polevoi of

the Soviet delegation. Comrade Polevoi is a Soviet writer. (*Loud applause.*)

B. POLEVOI (USSR). Dear friends, by profession I am a writer. In the USSR the intellectual workers, in the trade union movement as everywhere else, march side by side with the working class, working and fighting with it. I am very honoured to be delegated as a writer to the 2nd World Trade Union Congress. I am happy to have the opportunity of speaking from this platform to bring you, who are men of the vanguard, the most cordial and fraternal greetings of Soviet writers and intellectual workers. (*Applause.*)

Their destiny has long been bound up with that of the working class. This glorious tradition has been passed on by the genius of the writer Maxim Gorki. Long before the great October revolution, he wrote his magnificent novel, "The Mother", devoted to the life of the Russian workers and to their struggle against capitalism. This novel (translated into all languages) become the workers' inspiration; it is the link of our literature with the working class, its struggles, its thoughts, its hopes. It explained why the best militants of the working-class movement were dying in the prisons.

In our country socialism became a fact, and for the workers of our country the words "capitalism", "exploiters", the expressions "racial discrimination", "unequal pay", disappeared from the vocabulary, and the young workers know their meanings only through books.

The sun of socialism is shining in our country. In its light, everything that is best in man grows and develops. In this way men of a new type are formed in our country, and labour has become "a matter of honour, glory, valour and heroism". (*Applause.*)

These words were spoken by the best friend of labouring humanity, Joseph Stalin. (*Prolonged applause.*)

These magnificent words are the expression of the whole life of our people. Our aim is to form scientists, artists who will create beauty, and our workers rise so high intellectually that the Government and the people honour them as much as famous scientists, well-known writers and intellectual workers. We particularly honour the workers who have most distinguished themselves and won the highest award in our country, the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, an award conferred by Stalin.

Among the Soviet delegates to this Congress, there are two workers famous in our country. The lathe-operator Bykov has received a Stalin prize for the perfect execution of his task, as has the celebrated engine-driver Panin. Both are militant trade unionists who are fighting to consolidate world unity. There are hundreds of thousands of workers like them. The intellectual workers are closely united with the manual workers, and they put their art at the service of the proletarian cause.

Following the example of Maxim Gorki, Soviet writers make the worker the main hero of their works. These books on workers have become our people's favourite books. The workers of our country rise so high, their love for the fatherland is so great, their spiritual

life so rich, that many of them have become in their lifetimes heroes of novels, plays, poems or films.

Some of you will certainly know the magnificent book of Alexander Fadeyev, "The Young Guard". This book recounts the struggle of the miners of the Donbas and their families against the Hitlerite occupying forces. It is a book on Soviet patriotism and all the characters are true, the heroes are real heroes, under their real names, and many of them are today working and creating.

Soviet writers, poets, dramatists, painters, sculptors and cinema workers, through their study of the life of the working class, are actively helping the trade unions in their educative task, in order to form new generations of workers by the examples of the men of the vanguard.

Inversely, the trade unions interest the intellectual workers in their task, and thus reinforce the contacts between manual and intellectual workers. A striking proof of this is given by the speeches at this Congress by the representatives of the intellectual workers—Professor Crowther for the World Federation of Scientific Workers, and comrade Hronek, general secretary of the International Organisation of Journalists.

In all countries, the best representatives of literature, art, science, are in the ranks of those who fight for peace and democracy, and for the unity of the international trade union movement. I cannot but name respectfully certain intellectuals who are fighting actively for peace alongside the working class :—the French poet Louis Aragon, the Chinese writer Kuo-Mo-Jo, the magnificent representative of the literature of the Latin American countries, Pablo Neruda, the indefatigable American writer Howard Fast, the patriot of Scandinavian literature, Andersen Nexø, the Czech Jan Drda, and many others.

Each country now has its leading intellectual representatives. The World Peace Congress at Paris demonstrated that thousands of intellectuals, whose number increases daily, are the leading craftsmen of culture and the best defenders, alongside the working class, of peace.

We know also that the leading American intellectuals are protesting against every attempts at treason by the bought-out leaders of the AF of L and the CIO. In doing so they are helping the American workers, and, more generally, the whole camp of democracy. In the reports of comrades Kuznetsov and Santi are posed trade union problems in the struggle for peace. Today, when the bandits of Wall-Street are trying to wave the Bolshevik bogey, when their servants are trying to divide the working class movement and to weaken the drive for peace, intellectual workers, whatever their nationality, whatever their race, whatever their religious convictions, must choose between the camp of democracy and the camp of the war-mongers.

Each intellectual worker must ask himself to whom he gives the strength of his pen, of his brush, of his chisel, to whom he gives the fire of his heart and the intelligence of his brain. He must decide whether to give it to the working class fighting for democracy and peace, or to the imperialists and war-mongers.

Every intellectual must answer this question frankly. You can't sit on two chairs at once. The future belongs to the workers. That is why all the representatives of culture, science, and art must march

in step with the working class and cooperate with the trade unions. We do not forget that in the ranks of the intellectuals there are many writers who have sold out to the bourgeoisie and who have in fact long ceased to be what they claim. But we believe that many intellectuals who hold themselves aloof from the working-class movement are honest men who sooner or later will come towards the workers. The sooner they do so, the better it will be for humanity.

In the ranks of the intellectuals there is more and more awareness that the struggle waged by the working class is the only one that will safeguard the future of science and of culture, in whose name the leading representatives are working. We must do all in our power to have the masters of technique and of science march hand in hand with the working class, united under the banner of the WFTU. We must call on the cultural leaders to take an active part in the struggle for peace and against the war-mongers. The intellectual workers and the manual workers must strengthen the bonds between them. All honour to the working class, the creator of all values in the world.
(*Congress rises and applauds.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I now call on comrade Nikiforos, of the General Confederation of Labour of Democratic Greece.

G. NIKIFOROS (*Greece*). Comrade Delegates,

On behalf of the Greek workers I greet the delegates to the Second World Trade Union Congress, who are here representing the international working class.

The confidence and the respect of the Greek workers for the WFTU is deeply rooted in their class conscience. The WFTU since its creation in 1946 has greatly contributed to the defence and protection of union liberties in Greece. The Greek workers fully appreciate the interests and the struggle of the WFTU for the defence of their liberties during the period preceding the 8th Congress of the Greek General Confederation of Labour. They also appreciate the help of the WFTU during that Congress. The Greek workers will never forget the world-wide mobilization of the working class organised by the WFTU against the terror, the arrests and the executions of Greek Trade unionists. We, Greek workers, will never forget the efforts of the WFTU to save the life of our murdered General Secretary comrade Paparigas. It is because of the efforts of the WFTU that the Greek Maritime Union Leaders are still alive. The Greek workers, and the thousands of imprisoned and interned trade unionists followed with great interests all the efforts of the WFTU in the UNO and the ILO for a democratic solution of the Greek Trade Union problem. Greek workers never ceased to believe in the assistance and solidarity of the World Federation of Trade Unions. On behalf of the fighting Greek working class and the thousands of imprisoned and interned trade unionists we thank you all and specially we thank the Executive Bureau of the WFTU for your interest and solidarity. We specially appreciate the strong protest of the Soviet Trade Unions against the executions in Monarcho-fascist Greece.

The Anglo-Americans intervention in Greece did not confine itself to the control of the economic life and the administrative machine

of the State. It was extended still further in the internal affairs of the Greek Trade Unions. From the date the so-called "American Aid to Greece" was announced the Greek people completely lost their national independence and Greece has become an American colony. To give you an idea of the extent of American intervention it is enough to mention the following facts: No law can be passed and enforced without the consent of the numerous American missions. The wages and the salaries, even the appointments and the transfers of the civil servants must be approved by the Americans. The workers' Social Insurance Institute is administered by an American director general, a certain Powel, whose power and decisions over-rule the power and the decisions of the Greek Minister of Labour. It is the Americans who ordered the arrest of the Executive members of the Greek General Confederation of Labour, the Trade Federations and the Labour Centres. They Americans, plan all these trials, the convictions, the executions and the assassinations of the Greek Trade Union leaders. Paparigas, our General Secretary, Demetriou, the President of the Pireus Labour Centre, Zerbinos, of the Kalames Labour Centre and Georgiou, President of the Electrical Workers Federation, all these and many others are the victims of American intervention. The Americans ordered the imprisonment and the internment of tens of thousands of active trade unionists. They have appointed the treacherous new administrations to the General Confederation and the Labour Centres. These bosses of the Greek Trade Unions have been selected from among the most corrupt people our country has ever known. All their life has been connected with the selling of the interests of the working-class. Their sole ideal is their high salary which they get in return for their treason. I will give you some facts about the corruption of these appointed Greek Trade Union bosses.

Passatzis, one of the secretaries of the Greek General Confederation of Labour has been expelled from his Union because he was caught stealing silver-plate from the shop of his employer. Photis Makris, the General Secretary appointed by the Greek Trade Union is getting a monthly salary of 7.000.000 dr. or £250.- while thousands of workers and employees are starving to death from unemployment and low wages. Theocharides, another member of the appointed clique who is a well known collaborator of the German SS gets 4.500.000 dr. The appointment of these people to the administration of the Greek Trade Unions is by no means accidental. Only these corrupted people could do the dirty work the Americans want them to do in the Trade Unions.

The appointment of these people is closely connected with the whole economic and political situation in Greece, as developed after the intervention of the Anglo-Americans.

The so-called Marshall Plan American Aid which is so much advertised by the reactionary Press and radio, offered nothing to the ruined Greek Economy.

With the Civil War which is organized by the Anglo-Americans we now have in Greece more destruction than we had during the German occupation. No reconstruction in the industrial or the agricultural economy has been made.

What they have reconstructed is closely connected with the war, that is airfields, naval bases, military roads, etc. 75 % of the so-called Marshall-Aid to Greece has been spent for Military supplies. 200.000 Artillery shells were fired against the Greek Democratic Army in the battle of Grammos alone in 1948, as it was reported by extreme right wing Greek papers.

This amount of Artillery fire is bigger than the one used during the two Balkan wars.

According to the numbers given by the Industrial Association, industrial production in 1947-1948 did not reach even 60 % of that in 1939, in some branches of the Industry, as is the case of mining Industry, it didn't even reach 27 % of the pre-war production.

The agricultural production of 1948 did not pass 65 % of the pre-war production. Exports did not reach 25 % of the 1939 exports. 50 % of our trade with America is carried in American ships, as this is one of the conditions of American Aid. 60 % of the workers and employees are jobless. Unemployment is steadily increasing because of American competition and the closing down of our industries. The one million peasant refugees who offer their labour power at very cheap price, make the unemployment problem still worse. The wages and salaries of the working people have been raised 181 times, compared to those in 1939, while the cost of living is 380 times higher than the cost of living in 1939.

But despite all these difficulties the bloodstained regime of Greek Monarcho-Fascism did not succeed in subjugating our working-class. As a consequence of the strokes of the heroic Democratic Army and the disaster of the Fascist Army in the battles of Grammos, and Vitsi in 1948, the masses of the working people gained new courage. They have realized that in their struggle for their economic, political and trade union rights they are not alone. They have realized that the Greek Democratic Army is the defender of the freedom of the Greek People. As a result of this new courage among the masses a chain of strikes and stoppage of work followed the battle of Grammos.

The tramway workers, the gasworkers, the tobacco workers, the printers and the Civil Servants are among those who fought against the economic slavery imposed by the Americans. The strike of the civil servants is of great significance because it was directed against the monarcho-fascist state, and because it was called just at the time of the Grammos battle.

Comrades, it is the American intervention in Greece that has caused the civil war. This war has cost hundreds of thousands of lives. The American imperialists, the Greek industrialists and bankers together with the Quislings of Athens want this war.

The Greek working class and all the Greek people who suffer and shed their blood don't want this war. The soldiers of the Greek Monarcho-Fascist Army, who are being killed for interests that are not theirs, want conciliation, they want to return to their families. The families of the men on the front want their fathers, their husbands and brothers back. The refugees don't want the war either. Peace is the only desire of the people, but this desire is strangled by the Anglo-Americans and the Monarcho-Fascists.

The Provisional Democratic Government repeatedly proposed peace and conciliation. In the Paris Peace Congress, the Provisional Democratic Government appealed to all democratic and peace-loving people to help to achieve peace in Greece.

Last May the Provisional Democratic Government officially informed Dr. Evatt about their readiness to assist him in his efforts to achieve peace.

The Provisional Democratic Government officially stated their full agreement with the proposal of the Soviet Government in connection with the Greek Problem.

The Americans and their Greek servants interpreted the peace loving attitude of the Greek Democratic forces as a weakness. So they are continuing the war. But it will not be long before they will feel the strength of the fighting Greek people. We can assure the world that Greece will never be turned into a bridgehead against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union.

Without abandoning our peace-loving policy, we will continue our struggle against all imperialist plans. No losses or sufferings will deviate our working class from this line. We know we are supported by the majority of the Greek people. We have the heroic Democratic Army, and our Provisional Democratic Government. We further know that we are enjoying the sympathy of all democratic peoples. That's why we will win.

Comrades, let me now place before you what the Greek workers are expecting from you.

1.—We appeal to all democratic peoples to assist us in our hard and bloody struggle for peace, freedom and democracy.

2.—We appeal to the world working class to support us in our efforts to stop the civil war and to establish peace in Greece.

3.—We appeal to the Executive Committee of the WFTU to continue their efforts to save the lives of the maritime workers and all trade unionists condemned to death, and for their release from prison.

Further we appeal to the workers of USA and Great Britain to urge their Governments to stop their intervention in Greece, thus helping us to achieve peace and democracy in our country.

LONG LIVE THE 2nd WFTU CONGRESS !

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES !

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). Your applause is the mark of the feelings of sympathy and admiration we all feel before the heroism shown by the Democratic Army in Greece. I am sure I interpret your wishes aright in expressing our solidarity with the Greek TUC in its misfortunes. The trade union organisations represented in this hall will unremittingly continue their efforts until the day, we hope not far distant, when peace will be restored and the Greek people will be able to direct its own destiny. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call next on Amaro del Rosal of the Spanish delegation.

We reproduce below the complete speech of Amaro del Rosal who, owing to lack of time, gave a shortened version at the Congress.

A. del ROSAL (*Spain UGT*). The Spanish delegation is in complete agreement with Comrade Kuznetsov's report and conclusions, and declares its deep satisfaction with it. In this report the situation of the oppressed peoples is clearly outlined, and particular stress is laid on the situation of the Greek and Spanish peoples under the bloody dictatorship of fascism, which is itself under the domination of American and British imperialism. From this report we can draw the principles of working-class internationalism which guide the solidarity of the proletarian classes in their struggle for freedom.

Faithful to these principles, and nullifying the manoeuvres of the splitters, the WFTU remains the faithful interpreter of the desires of the working class, and is leading it to its emancipation. The conclusions of the report will stimulate the working class, strengthen its morale, and encourage its resistance on behalf of international unity by broadening the world front of the forces of democracy and peace.

After the World Peace Congress held simultaneously in Paris and Prague, with the victory of democratic China, after the Soviet Union's demonstration at the Conference of the Big Four that it is possible to carry out a policy of cooperation between the peace-loving nations and peoples who won the military defeat of fascism and nazism, the resolutions of this Congress will flay the war-mongers, with Franco among the foremost.

Because we have absolute faith in the working class we are convinced that the forces of democracy and peace will sweep away those who are trying to lead the peoples towards a new war directed against the USSR and the young democracies. The use of the atom bomb would be a barbarism worse than Hitler's. But if the new Hitlers forget the lesson that the forces of democracy, progress and civilisation taught Fascism, with its secret weapons, its war potential, its invincible armies, and its master race, let them remember that the world will judge them as it judged the nazi war criminals at the Nuremburg Trials.

The action of the WFTU for working-class unity and peace has always been of decisive importance for Spaniards, as for other peoples living under tyranny for every strengthening of the peace front is a battle won against fascism. For in our view action for peace is inseparable from the struggle for the respect of the rights of the working class and of the independence of the peoples. All this becomes daily plainer to the Spanish people, who have been waging an uninterrupted battle against fascism for 13 years. For 13 years the Spanish people have known no respite, deprived of all liberties and under a brutal régime of terror, starvation and poverty. But fascism has not won over our people and it will not defeat them, it will not defeat the Spanish working class which, faithful to its traditions of struggle under the most difficult conditions and by its inexhaustible courage, is preventing the stabilisation of the Franco regime which is daily getting nearer the end of its tether, for it lacks the support of the people and even the backing of the petty bourgeoisie. The resistance of the Spanish people is a proof of its struggle for the setting up of a democratic régime in Spain. The popular and democratic masses are

more and more strengthened by international solidarity (the Soviet Union, the new popular democracy in Mexico and other countries), and the contradictions of the Anglo-American backed régime are continually sharpening. It is easy to see that the Franco régime is a menace to peace for the simple reason that the London and Washington governments seem to ignore the fact. And yet the Franco régime is the continuation of the nazism of Hitler and the fascism of Mussolini, and consequently, it pursues the same objectives, stimulated and encouraged by the aid it receives. In exchange for this aid it has put Spain at the service of North American imperialism and has sold out the country's economy and its national independence.

North American imperialism has mapped out a policy for world domination. This policy is carried out on the basis of a programme which although uniform in substance, is not entirely so in its application to each country. For certain countries, it is the Marshall Plan which is applied, called the "Economic Recovery Program" by means of which these countries are subjected to its rule. The national economy passes into its clutches and the governments become agents, administering the country in accordance with the political, economic and military interests of American imperialism. It forms the governments influenced in this way into blocs and alliance for the preparation of a new war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The programme of action for Spain is not based on the fraud of the Marshall Plan, but this by no means implies the repudiation of or lack of interest in the Franco régime. It means that in carrying out its schemes in Spain, American imperialism does not need the Marshall Plan. Franco has been one of its agents for a long time, and if he is still in power, this is because of the aid which he receives from America. Both of them are united by the identity of their aggressive designs. Each one needs the assistance of the other, Franco to keep himself in power, and the American imperialists, to take over cheaply and with impunity all the wealth of Spain, its strategic bases and the political and military direction of the country. With a régime other than that of Franco, with a genuinely democratic régime, the Americans would never be able to succeed in their schemes in Spain.

We have denounced the penetration of American imperialism in Spain on other occasions and we have pointed out the danger which this penetration represents for the independence of our country and for all democratic peoples. Today, when the policy of imperialist war is becoming increasingly intensified, we consider it more than ever our duty to unmask, by means of these few brief indications on which our assertions are based, the sinister plans of the Americans, whose implementation is due to the shameful sell-out of the country by the Franco régime.

Spain has never been an air power. Yet aerodromes are being built at strategic points throughout the country. The policy of building big air bases is reaching a new intensity, though the 2nd world war is barely over.

In November 1944, while nazism was in its death-throes, Franco signed an agreement with the United States by which the latter took over the Barras aerodrome at Madrid. They immediately started to enlarge it. This was the starting-point of American air policy, and

building has taken place since at other aerodromes. New air bases have also been built. The size of this construction is shown by the following facts : in 1939, Spanish aerodromes covered 2,000 hectares of ground. In 1947, the total area covered reached 14,700 hectares. Spain now has over 70 aerodromes, including 5 trans-oceanic ones, 4 trans-continental, and 7 international.

In line with the aggressive character of the regime, Franco's airways policy is being developed under North American guidance. The Transoceanic airport of Bata (Spanish Guinea) is being built on the advice of the North Americans. Bata occupies a position of strategic importance and the North Americans need it for their air transport which, crossing the African continent from East to West, takes them to the Persian Gulf near Baku.

The construction of this air-port is accompanied by several complementary projects. Under the supervision of North American air and naval experts, naval bases are being constructed at Bata and Santa Isabel, capital of the island of Fernando Po.

In March 1949, Franco's Cabinet decided to enlarge the aerodrome of " Los Cerritos ", (Canary-Teneriffe Islands) and the transoceanic field of Barcelona, ordering the expropriation of all necessary lands.

Recently American military leaders, technicians, and air-line directors made a stay of some duration in Spain. The travels of these gentry round Spain were motivated by no tourist interest. They are experts there to study the practical means of carrying out the secret decisions taken by Franco and the Americans. It is for this reason that the Spanish airline " Iberia " has signed a contract for collaboration with and technical and material aid from the American air-lines.

The Trans-World Air Line has established a daily service between Madrid and New York which is not of a commercial nature. The directors of this line have declared that they planned to attract between 250 and 350,000 American tourists annually. The idea is to test mass air transport of whole armies from the United States to the Iberian Peninsula.

The British Labour Government is no stranger to this policy of utilising Spain as a bastion in a future anti-Soviet war. At the United Nations, Gromyko recently denounced British aid to Franco, which took the form of jet-planes. The British delegate at UNO cynically denied it. But there are documents to prove it. On 23 February 1949, " Arriba ", the journal of the Phalange, published a photograph of a jet-plane of British origin being tested at Madrid, in the presence of the Minister for Air, General Gallarza.

New departures in naval policy also date from the visits of American personalities.

On February 3rd, 1948, the head of the United States navy, Vice-Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, arrived in Spain. After this " visit " Franco began to re-organise the fleet, by creating a Mediterranean naval division, the Naval Stores Department and the Department of Naval Construction. Upon the recommendations of the United States a new naval high command was chosen.

At the present time, the United States has a permanent naval mission in Spain. This mission is intended among other things to inspect the ports and to " suggest " equipping undertakings to Franco in accor-

dance with American war needs. In October 1948, officers of the American marine inspected the Spanish ports, examining the possibilities of landing on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. When the American naval engineers had completed their work a military and naval mission headed by Senator Gurpey arrived in Spain.

Franco indeed, is spending all his resources on armaments and war preparations. At the moment construction is taking place along the whole network of the Atlantic and Mediterranean ports. This includes dredging, the building of docks, dams, jetties and quays, machinery for the loading and unloading of cargoes, warehouses, railway branch lines, etc. This does not apply merely to the large ports, because according to the reports of the American inspectors the small ports must be ready for use if the large ones are destroyed by bombing. The work of constructing and enlarging the ports is taking up a large part of the resources of the country.

PORTS	PESETAS
<i>Atlantic coast.</i>	
Cadiz	1,150,000,000
Seville	125,000,000
Vigo	255,000,000
La Coruna	150,000,000
Gijon-Musel	250,000,000
Bilbao	225,000,000
Pasajes	400,000,000
Port of Santa Maria	4,003,811
<i>Mediterranean coast.</i>	
Malaga	55,000,000
Carthagenas	60,000,000
Alicante	54,286,154
Valencia	80,000,000
Barcelona	850,000,000
<i>Canaries and Balearic Islands.</i>	
La Luz	643,877,968
Santa Cruz	100,000,000
<i>Africa.</i>	
Ceuta	40,000,000
Melilla	9,012,439
Santa Isabel	15,000,000
Bata	5,000,000
Ports Administration Commission.	100,000,000
	<hr/>
	4,171,180,372

It is only a war policy that can account for this expenditure of many thousands of millions of pesetas on port construction. It might be

thought that the needs of the sea-trade were the cause of this expenditure, but this is not so. A brief comparison of sea-going trade for the years 1932 and 1948 is sufficient to unmask the motives guiding Franco in his naval policy. In 1932, 11,632 ships entered Spain and 10,810 left; in 1948, 5,868 boats entered and 5,798 left.

Nor can this policy have any relation to a farseeing policy based on a future expansion of Spanish industry calling for larger port capacity to deal with the normal development of peninsula trade. According to the statistics issued by the Higher Council of the Spanish Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Navigation, the total capital invested in 1947 for the development of national industry in all branches was 2,947,800,000 pesetas while the state spent more than 4,171,000,000 pesetas on port expansion.

For the American and British imperialists their war-policy in Spain is tied up with the big deals they can bring off at the expense of the Spanish people.

The undertakings most favoured by Franco and to which the Franco Government grants most of the work in the ports are "Dragados y Construcciones, SA" and "Constructora Internacional, SA". In 1945, the capital of "Dragados y Construcciones" was 30,000,000 pesetas; in 1947 it was over 60,000,000 pesetas. The President of this company is Joaquin Reig Rodriguez, who is also a member of other companies financed partly by American capital.

The control exercised by American capitalism over Spanish industry and commerce cannot be given the necessary detail necessary in this report because of its complexity and variety of forms. We will confine ourselves to assembling the information available on the control of the most important industries, which will be sufficient to reveal the process and development of American expansionist policy in Spain.

When American imperialism arrived in Spain it found the way prepared for it by other groups which had preceded it, English, French, Italian, Belgian, German, etc. Spanish capitalism was no obstacle, since it had developed under the wing of foreign financial groups. That is why we see at the head of the most important undertakings Spanish names bound by common interests to the foreign capitalist groups. The last war weakened several capitalist groups dominant in Spanish economy, and this weakening was exploited by the Americans to increase their influence on the Iberian peninsula. But this does not mean that the other groups disappeared from Spain. What happens is that the policy of capitalist concentration is now led by the most powerful group, the American group, which is consequently the main beneficiary. Franco bows down before this power and servilely hands over national independence. In his speech before the Cortes on May 18, 1949, he summarised his policy and boasted of the immense riches of Spain and its strategic importance. With one eye on Washington, he said "...The exigences of reality lead us towards the United States."

In this way Franco has readily switched masters. Before, he had mortgaged Spain to hitlerite Germany. Today, he is handing it over to the magnates of Wall Street.

The Spanish electrical industry is apparently split among four great international cartels : Sofina, whose headquarters are in Belgium;

Sidro, also Belgian; Chade, in Spain and Barcelona Traccion in Canada. But in fact these four form one great trust whose nominal capital is 4,539,128,368 pesetas, with another 1,586,503,966 pesetas' worth of shares in circulation.

These four international companies are jointly controlled by the members of their respective managing boards.

At the head of the Spanish branches, the visible directors are elements of Spanish finance, connected by many economic bonds with banking and the great American enterprises. From their leading positions they direct Spanish economy towards the American coffers through exports of raw materials, and imports from America of machinery and supplies.

It can be said that today, owing to the preponderance of American imperialism in international industry and trade, the United States exercise a hegemony in the electrical industry in Spain, although the Spanish branches continue to belong nominally to their old parent-companies, since these latter are today dependencies of the American monopolists.

The branches of Spanish industry dominated in this way by the imperialists are not confined to the production and distribution of electrical energy. They have also won control of radio-telegraphic communications and electrical equipment.

They pulled off one of these big deals by selling Franco a portion of International Telephone and Telegraph ("Telefonica"). Franco invested in this deal 50 million dollars of gold bonds to buy 318,640 shares. The Americans kept a portion of the shares, which allows them to continue to control the company. Although the budgets for 1946, 1947 and 1948 contain items totalling 231,000,000 pesetas in payments to "Telefonica", the statement of accounts on December 1st 1947 showed Spain as owing the Americans 33,700,000 dollars.

In October 1946, however, Franco signed a new contract with the Americans for "technical advice and supply of materials", thus strengthening the Americans' position in "Telefonica".

The radio-telegraph services in Spain not only produce millions in profits for the American trusts, but also play a great rôle of a strategic character. For example, the Mackay Radio Telegraph Company is a subsidiary of the American Cable and Radio Corporation, associated with International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) of Spain. This last is *entrusted with the military transmissions of the American forces in Germany and in the rest of Europe.*

The Morgan Bank controls the manufacture of electrical material and equipment through General Electric, which has several branches in Spain.

Rockefeller has his claws in Spain through the intermediary of a group of offshoots of the Westinghouse Co. Among them are the "Constructora Nacional de Maquinaria Electrica SA", and the Spanish "Frenos. Calefaccion y Señales" Company.

Other American trusts operate in Spain through the intermediary of several firms such as the Western Electric Co. of Spain, Iberia Radio SA, Radio Corporation of America, Electrical Supplies Co., Asmalibar SA, Refrigeration Co., etc.

This last, a subsidiary of the York Corporation of New York, is

interested in a network of cold-storage plants all over the country and works in agreement with the National Institute of Industry, the organisation of the Franco state where the pillage of Spanish economy is plotted.

At the same time as the area under cultivation diminishes and drought rages through the lack of irrigation works, Francoism is encouraging the production of strategic materials, falling in with the American war-plans. Franco is not officially a signatory of the Atlantic plan, but this does not mean that he does not collaborate with it. The Franco Minister of Foreign Affairs had already declared on March 27 last, to the American Chargé d'Affaires in Spain, Ely Culbertson, on the subject of the American war-plans, that :—

“ We can contribute with our natural resources which so far are only partially developed, and which range from semi-tropical produce to strategic metals. ”

This declaration has been confirmed by the facts. The United States today takes the entire output of wolfram in Spain. Production is increasing. In 1930 it was 200 tons, in 1949 400, and today it is 800 tons.

Spain holds fifth place among the uranium-possessing countries. The United States are greatly concerned that Spain's output of uranium should not go elsewhere. And to give them this assurance Franco has ordered that all uranium deposits in Spain and the colonial territories of West Africa and the Gulf of Guinea be reserved for the State.

The entire output of mercury in Spain is under the control of the British trust “ Mercurio Europeo ”, whose head office is in London. This allows the United States to take out of Spain substantial quantities of mercury, under the clauses of the Marshall Plan, which authorises them to control all strategic materials in the marshalled countries. To get a greater share of this mineral, the United States have sent the engineer Evan Bennet to Spain to study the question of installing furnaces to oxidise the cinnabar.

The United States today has absolute control over the liquid fuel industry.

On 28 July 1927 the dictatorial government of Primo de Rivera had issued a decree establishing a monopoly in the petrol distribution services in Spain. On October 24 of the same year the Oil Monopoly Co. (CAMPSA) was set up. Standard Oil of New Jersey, which, before the creation of the monopoly, controlled most of the distribution services in Spain, entered into collaboration with CAMPSA. At the time of floating CAMPSA's capital was 195 million pesetas, and in April 1948 it was decided to double this to 390 million pesetas. But this sum is insufficient to carry out the plans which have been drawn up, and there is talk today of increasing CAMPSA's capital to 1,000 million pesetas.

In this way two objectives are attained : one economic and the other military. From the economic point of view Franco Spain offers the American petrol companies the opportunity of expanding and of installing new oil refineries with a considerable saving, owing to the starvation wages paid in Spain, and of solving the problem of the transport of fuel to the European markets. From the military point

of view, the development of the Spanish oil industry means the immediate availability of petrol for the armed forces in case of war in Europe.

In agreement with the American plans, the Franco Cortes on 16 July 1947 approved a plan to reorganise the monopoly with the aim of making it easier for the American companies to exert absolute control over Spanish liquid fuel. The Under-Secretary of the Treasury said during the above-mentioned session of the Cortes, that it was a matter of replacing "management by mere administration", because "direct administration by the State was not considered suitable, since the bureaucratic organisation was inadequate for industry. The services had to be adapted to private industry."

The reorganisation of the Petrol Monopoly therefore took place in agreement with the interests of the American capitalists.

The biggest oil refinery is at Santa Cruz de Tenerife, in the Canaries, and is a subsidiary of the Spanish Oil Co. (CEPSA), which has its own fleet of tankers. This firm is closely connected with Standard Oil of New Jersey.

The Americans have been working since January 1948 to set up a new refinery in Spain, to refine the oil of the Middle East. The Franco state would take part through the National Institute of Industry. The capital is estimated at 40 million dollars, of which half is provided by the Institute (part by the value of the refinery being built at Carthagena and the rest in cash), and the other half as follows: 25 % by Cal-Tex (California Oil and Texaco Oil Co.), and 25 % by CEPSA. The Carthagena refinery will be enlarged, another large one will be built at Tortosa (Tarragona) and a third at Barcelona.

On 28 April 1949 the Franco government issued a decree, published in the Official Bulletin of May 7, authorising the setting up of this undertaking, which has been granted all sorts of privileges over taxes and customs duties.

In this way the Americans are absolute masters of the liquid fuel industry in Spain.

The catastrophic situation of the Spanish railways is well known. From the strategic point of view the United States would experience great difficulties if they continued to function under the same deplorable conditions. As for other problems, the Spanish railways have a two-fold aspect, strategic and economic, for the United States. They are therefore interested in reconstruction and electrifying them.

For over two years Francoism has been offering the State railways to the American financiers. In May 1948 Mr. Andrew Wells Robertson, President of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, arrived in Spain. On May 19, he had a long interview with Franco, and the next day with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Public Works, and with high officials of the railways.

After these interviews he declared to the press that he had undertaken "negotiations for the export of supplies valued at about 30 million dollars". His Company would send to Spain over 100 locomotives, 20 electricity sub-stations, generators, steam turbines, X-ray apparatus, lifts, air-conditioning plant, industrial refrigerators, etc., and, above all, all the material necessary to complete the electrification of the Spanish railways.

Mr. Robertson, according to the New York press, "had helped Franco's minister of Finances to prepare a request for credits to the Export and Import Bank."

Since then the Falangist leaders and the Spanish financiers who are prospering under the régime have made repeated approaches to obtain large credits from the Export and Import Bank. In May 1949 the Director of the Hispano-American Bank, Mr. Andrés Moreno, went to the United States to conclude a banking operation with the Export and Import Bank for the fabulous sum of 1,200 million dollars, destined according to his statements for the industrial reconstruction of Spain and its railways. This deal has not yet been clinched, and is hanging fire until Franco gives the American bankers more solid guarantees of payment.

This does not mean that the American finance sharks have given up the Spanish prey. Powerful American firms have drawn up plans for the partial reconstruction the Spanish railways need. Over a year ago Standard Electric, in association with General Railway Signal Co. of Rochester, had already set on foot a plan for a complete modern electric signalling system. The equipment would be made in Spain by subsidiaries of General Electric.

The general plan drawn up by Franco, in agreement with several American firms, is as follows:—

Tracks	1,390,000,000	pesetas
Stations	340,600,000	—
Power equipment	761,000,000	—
Automotive equipment.....	100,000,000	—
Mobile equipment.....	1,534,400,000	—
Offices, workshops, stores..	682,000,000	—
Communications	38,200,000	—
Signals	170,000,000	—
Electrification	1,000,000,000	—
TOTAL....	6,016,200,000	pesetas

The precarious situation of Spanish railway transport is utilised by the Americans to send to Spain war surplusses which would otherwise be destined for the scrap-heap. For example the newspaper "Arriba", the Falange organ, announced on 8 February 1949 the arrival at Bilbao on February 16 of the ship "Manuel Calvo", from Baltimore with a cargo of railway supplies sufficient to assemble 750 waggons in the Bilbao workshops, and it added that the ship "La Habana" was expected with a similar cargo. But "Arriba" concealed the fact that these were war surplus wagons, built for India, with cast-iron wheels—despite the fact that the law on Spanish railways forbids the use of such wheels. The results of this criminal policy will be an increase in railway accidents, which Francoism, to justify its repression, will attribute to the workers.

The United States finance magnates are not confining themselves to controlling the main branches of industry we have been examining; they control every part, however small, of Spanish industry and trade. The Yankees pay for their pillage of Spanish economy by political support for the régime. And as Franco is convinced more than anyone else that he could not maintain himself in power without American and

British political aid, he allows these foreign powers to buy up Spain.

But imperialism is insatiable and daily imposes new conditions on Francoism in exchange for more economic "aid". On this matter the United States Chargé d'Affaires in Spain, Culbertson, gave a speech on 4 February 1948, to the American Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona, which described the guarantees the United States demand from Franco before they will extend greater economic aid to him. In this speech he said that "at the present time the United States could give Spain financial aid through the Export and Import Bank", and he enumerated the conditions for such aid :—

1. Complete direct guarantee for the loan.
2. Control of the economy and the economic policy of the country by American financial organisations.
3. Equal treatment for foreign trade, which means preferential treatment for trade relations with the United States.
4. Full guarantee of American capital investments, and not only the investments but the profits accruing, that is free convertibility into dollars of profits earned in Spain.

In this same speech Culbertson referred to a decree of December 1947 by which the peseta was devalued by the establishment of a system of multiple exchanges and bonuses on export, a form of currency devaluation. He recognised the "sincerity behind this effort" and expressed his confidence in a greater devaluation. This decree had been issued to favour American trade to a scandalous extent. As a result, the prices of American products imported into Spain rose from 244.54 gold pesetas per ton average in 1947 to 836.99 in 1948. The prices of Spanish exports to the United States also fell from 1,622.72 gold pesetas per ton (average) to 783.38 gold pesetas. A ton of mercury the Americans paid 5,807.10 gold pesetas for in 1947 now costs them, through the devaluation decree, 4,624 gold pesetas. The same proportion applies to all other products.

The facts we have just described are sufficient to reveal the policy of colonisation, domination and war of the American expansionists, who find in Franco and his régime a favorable terrain for the achievement of this policy in Spain.

But the Americans are not the only ones to benefit from Spanish wealth. The British do so too. The main mining industry is in British hands. We will quote here only a few of their possessions in order not to make this report too long.

The Rio Tinto Company Ltd. This firm alone possesses two-thirds of the copper ore in Spain. In 1873 it paid 92 million pesetas for them. For tens of years its annual profits have reached 100 million pesetas. It has been estimated that its capital has been returned 20 times over.

Tharsis Sulphur and Copper Co. Ltd. This mining firm has a capital of 1,250,000 pounds sterling. It admitted profits between 1910 and 1939 totalling 4,927,349 pounds.

Orconera Iron Ore Co. This company owns the biggest iron mines in Spain. Between 1851 and 1945 it exported to England over 200 million tons of iron ore.

The British have prevented the development of a real steel industry in Spain, not only by exporting all the ore, but by keeping the monopoly of finished steel products and by installing in Spain subsidiaries of British firms to assemble machinery and apparatus manufactured in England with Spanish raw materials. Examples could be quoted :— the Spanish Babcock Wilcox Construction Co., in Biscay; the Spanish Naval Construction Co., which owns the biggest shipyards in Spain at Matagorda (Cadiz), Sestao and Nervion (Biscay). The Vickers-Armstrong group has subsidiaries in Spain in several regions of the country, among them the Reinosa (Santander) and San Carlos (Cadiz) steel works.

This same group, with John Brown and Co. Ltd., controls Plasencia de las Armas SA, one of the main armament factories in the country.

The Spanish Explosives Union SA, which controls the manufacture of explosives in Spain, is a subsidiary of Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. of London, which, with the American Dupont-Nemours, controls the world chemical products trust.

In addition the British own many public services plants in Spain, such as the water-supply in Seville and Las Palmas (in the Canaries), and the Zafra-Huelva, Alcoy-Gandia and Lorca-Baza railways, etc.

Other great international trusts have built their empire on the basis of the wealth of Spain, such as the Penarroya Mining and Steel Co. and the Royal Asturian Mining Co. The first controls the production of lead and the second that of zinc.

But the American General Staff must know that the Spanish people does not accept its rôle of instrument for these imperialist plans and that it is not bound by Franco's agreements.

The American and British governments' policy of aid and collaboration with the Franco régime makes them accomplices of the policy of terror and the situation of famine and poverty which the Spanish people are suffering.

The big Spanish capitalists are the real beneficiaries of the sale of Spain to the various imperialist groups. Francoism, as a nazi-fascist system, polarises class differences. It is for this reason that Spain today provides the tragic spectacle of the accumulation of its wealth in a few hands, while the most frightful poverty reigns in working-class homes. A new caste has arisen from the Franco régime—the new rich, the Falange leaders. From their leading posts in the state and the official economic organisations they direct the country's economy into the coffers of the banks and the big firms on whose boards of directors they sit. It is in this way that we see the striking contrast between the increase in the capital of the banks and industrial and commercial firms on the one hand, and the fall in living standards of the working class, whose poverty is indescribable, on the other. Words are powerless to describe the sad reality, the incredible starvation which rages among the working class and the immense majority of the people.

This polarisation of wealth accumulated in the hands of a few and the immense poverty of the people is explained by the fabulous profits gained by the big capitalists under Franco domination. While 51 firms of various kinds earned a total profit of 334,800,000 pesetas in 1935, under the republican régime, these same companies, after

8 years of Francoism, from 1940 to 1947, earned a profit of 5,053,000,000 pesetas, or an average of 631,000,000 pesetas a year. Account must be taken of the fact that the profits of these companies increased from year to year, and in 1947 reached 1,103,400,000 pesetas, or 768,000,000 pesetas more than in 1935.

Parallel with this, the cost of living index has increased in the same proportions. Taking 1936 as 100, the general index increased to 445.1 in 1947, 457.9 in 1948, and, according to the Statistical Bulletin of the Franco Government, to 486 in 1949. We refer to the general index, because the partial indexes concerning essential goods has increased considerably in proportion to the whole. Life in Spain is based on the black market, and the workers are the main sufferers by this. The only foodstuffs that the workers can obtain at the official prices are rationed goods, the quantity of which for one month is sufficient to feed a person for a week. For the rest, they must go to the black market, where the prices are out of reach. The real index of foodstuffs, compared with 1936 as 100, has risen to 1,171.

The workers' wages are not in proportion with the cost of living. The gap between the two is enormous. The term "starvation wages" applied to the income of a Spanish worker is inadequate to express his poverty. The average wage of a worker, which, in 1936, was 12 pesetas, has increased to only 16 pesetas, or an increase of 34 %, while the general cost-of-living index, as we have already said, has increased to 1,171. In 1935 a worker could about meet his economic needs on a wage of 12 pesetas; today, with 16 pesetas, he can buy on the black market, the essential source of food, only a little over two pounds of bread.

Let us examine the purchasing power of a worker's wages in chart form. Let us take the highest type of wage in Spain, that of a top-category steel-worker. His wage is 22 pesetas; in addition he receives a cost-of-living bonus, but as he is obliged to pay out all sorts of contributions for the trade union and social security, his real wage is reduced to 23.53 pesetas.

To appreciate the purchasing power of these 23.53 pesetas, that is, 2.94 pesetas an hour, it is necessary to know the prices of necessities. Here are some examples :—

PRODUCT	OFFICIAL PRICE (pesetas)	BLACK MARKET PRICE (pesetas)
1 kilo of potatoes.....	1.50	5
1 kilo of rice.....	3.50	20
1 kilo of sugar.....	7	40
1 kilo of veal.....	40	
1 litre of oil.....	8.40	50
1 litre of milk.....	3	
1 kilo of bread.....	4	14
1 dozen eggs.....	30	

$$1 \text{ kilo} = 2 \frac{1}{5} \text{ pounds.}$$

$$1 \text{ litre} = 1 \frac{3}{4} \text{ pints.}$$

According to these prices, the steelworker we have taken as our example must work 13 ½ hours to buy a kilo of meat at the official price, and 10 ¼ hours for a dozen eggs, still at the official price.

But as the most essential articles, such as potatoes, rice, sugar, oil, bread, etc., are rationed, the workers are obliged to go to the black market. The ration for the week ending on June 6 in Madrid, was a quarter of a litre of oil, 100 grammes of sugar (less than a quarter of a pound), 200 grammes of rice, 200 grammes of soap, and a kilo of potatoes.

There is no help for it but to turn to the black market to make up the week's food; to buy them the steelworker, who, as we have seen, earns 2 pesetas 94 cents an hour, must work over 13 hours for a kilo of sugar, 17 hours for a litre of oil and nearly 4 ½ hours for a kilo of bread (since the daily ration is 150 grammes).

Not only are foodstuffs out of the workers' reach, but hundreds of thousands of workers in Franco Spain live in cellars and shacks. The Falangists themselves have had to admit that in Madrid nearly 400,000 people live in caves or shacks; in Barcelona, nearly 150,000 people live in the same conditions. The same is true of the workers in other towns of Spain.

Franco does not build housing for the workers. His whole policy in this direction is pure demagoguery. The building done under the Franco régime is small in extent and out of the workers' reach. Barracks for the Civil Guard and houses for rent at between 150 and 250 pesetas a month are all that is built. In the official Statistical Bulletin, the total number of houses required is said to be 978,352. This figure increases annually by 178,897.

Spanish capitalism applies the most brutal forms of exploitation to the workers. The labour-power that the workers are forced to sell costs very little. And since the price capitalism offers does not meet the most elementary needs of existence, the direst calamities strike at the doors of proletarian homes.

And yet the Falangists try to justify the growing poverty of the people by the insufficient output of the workers. They demand ever greater efforts on the part of the workers. Watch dogs for the big capitalists, capitalists themselves, they try to increase their already fabulous profits by a greater exploitation of the working class. In a speech Franco said :—

“ It is necessary for the producing elements to realise that the mere fact of passing legislation on social improvements does not mean that they immediately acquire their full value. They will be unable to improve, or only slowly, if the national wealth and possessions are not multiplied, and if the worker does not respond to social progress by putting all his heart into his work and into increasing his output. ”

We have already seen how the big companies are earning thousands of millions in profits under the Franco régime, and how the national economy is directed into their coffers. But Franco asks the workers to let themselves be still further exploited, to let themselves be squeezed to the last drop of sweat, in exchange for which they will receive a few crumbs in the way of institutions that Francoism calls “ social ”,

and which are nothing but hot-beds of corruption and pillage, fed by the workers' wages taken from them by force.

The Franco "sociologists" and "economists" say that the Franco state has surpassed all systems known hitherto. His state is based neither on marxism nor on liberal capitalism. They boast of having "created" something new, a state in which, without destroying the capitalist system, "classes have disappeared". And the secret of this "original" philosophy consists in grouping workers, technicians and owners in one organisation. Since these are the three essential factors in production, they are all classed together as "producers". This problem of principle once solved, the rest is easy. It is sufficient to establish a few labour regulations and to issue a few social laws and the trick is done: classes have disappeared.

To give shape to this original "classless state", whose only virtue has been to accentuate classes still further, they have thought up a series of so-called "social" laws, whose prolixity has no other result than to bamboozle the workers, with the object of immobilising them in the struggle for their rights and demands. The labour regulations and norms thought up by the Falangists without the participation of the workers describe on paper a series of measures put forward as favourable to the workers, but which in reality are only means of robbing them of their wretched wages, which go to create social organisations whose only object is to allow the Falangists to grow rich out of the most scandalous deals. The measures under which the employers are obliged to grant certain advantages to their workers is cynically ignored. "Economie Mondiale" of 21 February 1948 tries to justify this failure on the part of the mining companies of Vizcaya to observe their obligations towards the workers, in the following terms:—

"The companies, owing to lack of stimulus in turnover, have in recent years been unable to grant bonuses, compensation, or any other wage-increase."

It must be realised that the average wage of a worker in the Vizcaya iron mines is 12 pesetas 68 cents.

These starvation wages compel the workers to leave the mines to seek a more remunerative job elsewhere and not starve to death. "The Economist" said that in North Spain the increasing shortage of labour in the iron mines was causing concern, since the lack of workers was holding up the extraction of a greater quantity of this raw material, so important for higher steel production and exports.

And this same journal was obliged to admit the causes of this constant drain of miners, when it said that there is *no other solution than that of improving living standards*. That is, the workers must be offered sufficient advantages to keep them in the mines and attract them there.

But how does the Franco régime think of solving this problem? Does it acknowledge the factors which are causing this exodus,—the starvation and poverty caused by low wages? No. The Franco régime, the régime of the "suppression of classes", solves the problem by decreeing an increase in the working day. The newspaper "ABC"

of Madrid, in its issue for 14 March 1949, published the following item :—

“ The Official Bulletin has published a decision of the Ministry of Labour authorising an increase in the number of hours worked underground in the metal mines for the first quarter of 1949. ”

If wages do not increase, the same cannot be said of the working day. Facts are more significant than words, and any random fact taken as an example serves to unveil the class character of the Franco régime. The Falangists try to convince the workers of the uselessness of raising wages and indulge in specious arguments to justify wage-freezing. In their speeches and in their press, they speak of the uselessness of raising wages before abundance has returned, to prevent the increases affecting the cost of living. And from all this they conclude that to create abundance it is necessary for the workers to work harder.

Another of the subterfuges used by the Falangists to justify the “ disappearance of classes in Spain ”, consists in declaring shamelessly that natural resources are the patrimony of those who produce them. And since capital, the technician and the worker are all factors in creating wealth, this should be divided among the three of them. But all this, like so many other things, is pure fiction. Not one single worker shares in the profits of the factory he works in. Nine mining and metal companies earned, in 8 years, from 1940 to 1947, profits totalling 623 million pesetas, but not a cent of it was distributed among the workers. Eleven electrical firms in the same period earned 789 million pesetas, but their workers have not received a cent either. In the same period twelve banks pocketed 2,391 million pesetas, not a crumb of which went to their employees.

The tragic situation of our working class has fearful repercussions on the existence of the young workers. Spanish youth is compelled to work to exhaustion, but is unable to meet its most imperative needs. For an output equal to that of adult workers, the young worker receives an average wage of 30 pesetas a week.

There are various laws and decisions on young workers, and one of them, the so-called “ Apprenticeship Law ”, obliges young workers to work as apprentices until the age of 21, without taking any account of their vocational preparation. In consequence the most iniquitous exploitation of the youth has the force of law in Spain. Moreover, according to the said “ Apprenticeship Law ”, an employer has every right to break an apprenticeship contract and dismiss his apprentices when they are old enough to receive their trade qualification, that is at about 21 : this is to enable him to replace them by younger apprentices and thus continue the shameful exploitation of this category of workers.

Another of the demagogic measures of the Franco régime is that of the Apprenticeship centres, which function in some of the main factories and are restricted to a small number of apprentices chosen by the employer. The teachers concern themselves not so much with vocational training as with inculcating the perverse ideas of the Falange and with modelling their outlooks on those of the murderers of their fathers and brothers. By this process continue the training of future

leading cadres for the Falangist trade unions who are fighting against the old revolutionary leaders, always respected by the workers.

Spanish girls do not escape this régime of exploitation; to be able to work in a factory or go into service with a private person they are obliged to work free for six months in the "charity" institutions of the Social Insurance scheme, set up by the women's branch of the Falange.

The poverty of these young people is so great that thousands of them, in order not to starve to death, are obliged to ransack dustbins. Falangism calls these young people "los niños basureros" (dustbin kids). One of them recently said :—

"In Madrid all the children in my quarter, near the Valluecas bridge, have grouped in bands to sort through the rubbish. It's hard work because of the competition with all the other kids, so that we have to get up very early to pick up something. We get up at 2 in the morning and we fill our bags still 6 and sell them for two or three pesetas."

Meanwhile the Falange and the Franco state institutions have welcomed thousands of children of Hitlerites into Spain and installed them in comfortable homes.

The situation of the youth is so frightful the Falangists themselves cannot ignore it in their press. "People", the journal of the Falange trade unions, recently wrote :—

"The young people walk about with a tired, prostrate air. as if, on the threshold of life, they found only empty rooms."

The working youth is manifesting more strongly each day its hostility to the régime, its hatred for the Falangist exploiters. They take part in the strikes, stoppages of work or protests that our working class is organising in its daily struggle for its demands.

The young apprentices of Euzkadi, Catalonia and Madrid have organised stoppages of work, protests and even strikes to demand the application of the labour regulations and against the employers' abuses. Young workers frequently unite at the place of work to replace the young workers' delegate imposed by the Falange leaders by comrades of their own choosing, to lead the sports activities.

After living through the democratic period of the Spanish Republic, and especially the 32 months' war for national independence, in which she played an important rôle, the working woman has realised the importance of her task. And that is why it can be asserted, on the basis of countless facts, that the women of Spain are rising up against the intentions of the régime to condemn them to the most brutal exploitation.

When Franco imposed his régime of oppression, he launched the slogan "Woman's place is in the home."

And it is this reactionary slogan that the Women's Branch of the Falange is using in its struggle to make woman an inferior being. According to Falangist "principles" woman is only a domestic instrument. It is for this reason that the Headmistress of one of the Falangist educational institutions in Madrid declared that women should not be prepared for work; we must arouse in them "feminine

good taste and prevent industry from cornering the greater part of domestic production."

Pilar Primo de Rivera, head of the Women's Branch of the Falange, has said that "woman was created by God to obey, to obey her husband, to obey her employer, to obey the Falangist leaders."

The Falangists deprive Spanish women of the right to exercise any profession as soon as she gets married. The Labour Regulations decree that "in marrying, women must compulsorily leave their employment." The "marriage bonus" for working women who ask for it is granted only after many visits and a great deal of paper-work, and only "on condition that the married woman gives up her professional employment and seeks no more work as long as her husband is not unemployed or unfit for work."

Anxious to obtain cheap labour, the employers shamefully exploit women workers. The wages for women are lower than those for men, even for identical work. Their maximum wage is less than 80 % of that of the men. In the textile industry, when a wage increase was granted, the women's increase was 10 % less than the men's, although they were already lower to start with.

Under a decree of the Ministry of Labour dated January 1946, employed women are paid on the basis of 20 % less than men in the same trade.

Francoism has deprived women of all the democratic rights won in the course of long years of struggle. But working women are not resigned to their fate and are fighting in the ranks of the Spanish patriots. They are active in the protests against the inadequacy of the ration; they are working tirelessly and heroically for aid to prisoners; they organise and take part in protests and strikes in the factories and workshops. Many examples of these struggles can be seen in all towns in Spain, whether in the Vigo preserved food factories, the Seville olive fields, or the textile mills of Catalonia, where the women organised successful strikes against the starvation wages granted them by Francoism. On the occasion of the Basque workers strike on May 1st 1947 many women workers led the movement in an appreciable number of factories.

The proof of the active participation of Spanish women in the struggle is in the prisons, where 20,000 women are jailed.

The Franco regime deliberately conceals the true extent of unemployment in Spain, and it does so for a political reason. It has preached far and wide that the Franco regime was going to put an end to unemployment, but unemployment is increasing and attempts are made to cover it up.

Despite the repeated promises of Francoism, demagogically proclaiming that the problem of the unemployed was solved in Spain, the truth is that all the measures taken and all the organisations set up have had no other objective than to increase the State bureaucracy and in this way to favour the big industrial companies. Francoism has introduced no unemployment pay, and the worker out of a job is therefore condemned to starve.

The figures given by the Franco government of the number of totally unemployed is less than 150,000, but this total does not

correspond with the truth. In the province of Madrid alone there are 70,000 unemployed in the building and allied trades.

Fernandez Heras, a leading member of the "Assistance Fund for workers unemployed through electricity cuts" had already declared to the Falange trade union paper "Afan" that "the number of persons partially unemployed due to the electricity restrictions was 1,500,000."

This figure has been increased, since electricity restrictions in 1949 were higher than in 1948. Unemployment resulting from this is no recent thing. On 3 August 1945 the Franco government issued a decree setting up the "Compensation fund for unemployment due to the shortage of electric current." The industrial zones of the country, principally Catalonia, were half paralysed by the shortage of electricity. Unemployment was increasing to such an extent that the factories worked only two days a week, and now one day a week, as is the case with the Barcelona textile factories. This situation has serious repercussions on the workers' living standards, and they are beginning to organise protests, demanding to be paid the wages lost through the disorganisation and waste for which Francoism is responsible in the field of electrical energy. The government was obliged to take the following measures :—

1. Five-sixths of the weekly wage lost through the electricity shortage to be paid to the workers. One-third of this five-sixths to be worked off in overtime when the distribution of current allowed it.

2. The other 2/3 to be found by the "Compensation fund for unemployment due to the shortage of electrical energy"; to this effect, 2 % to be added to industrial electricity bills and 3 % to lighting bills.

3. The factories to advance the workers each week the money due to them, and to be repaid themselves by the Compensation Fund.

In this way the interests of the factories are not affected, since the grants given are taken from the people, the consumers.

As the government decision indicated that "to enjoy the benefits of the decree of 3 August 1945" the factories should enrol their workers in the Unemployment Compensation Fund, many factories, particularly in the Basque region, protested and asked to be included in these benefits. And on 4 December 1948 the Franco government, in agreement with the factories, issued a new decree ordering the supplement on the industrial electricity bills to be raised from 2 % to 5 %, and that on lighting from 3 % to 10 %. Secondly, under the new arrangement, the factories stopped paying their third of the compensation, which would henceforth be found by the Compensation Fund also.

This way of "solving" the great problems of the country is typical of the Franco régime. Faced with the people's difficulties, the crushing burden on them is increased.

Tragic as the unemployment in industry is, that in the countryside is no less so. Falangist statistics estimate the total number of agricultural workers at 3,676,777, of which, according to the same statistics, 561,512 are considered as permanent workers. The rest, or 3,115,265, are in the "temporary" category. By this subterfuge the exact number of unemployed in agriculture is concealed. Seasonal unemployment has

always existed in Spain. It results from the semi-feudal régime of property which survives in the countryside. But never in the history of Spain has such a volume of "seasonal" unemployment been known, for the crisis in agriculture has never been so deep as today.

According to official statistics, in the cereal regions—which have the largest number of unemployed owing to the system of great landed property—the sown area has been decreased by 18 % from the average for 1931-1935. Under the Republic the average area under cereals was 8,394,000 hectares, this average in 1946 was only 6,949,000 hectares. Since Franco has been in power, the general level of production in the countryside has fallen 47.7 % from the level of the years of the Republic. The fall in production is not only due to the reduction in sown area, but also to the Franco regime, exclusively concerned with the policy of war and repression, and utilising the public funds for armaments and the upkeep of an army out of all proportion for Spain, as well as a ferocious apparatus of repression. The countryside is abandoned, without fertilisers and without irrigation.

The enormous extent of unemployment has led to the setting up of an Inter-ministerial Board calling itself the "National Unemployment Board", composed of representatives of the Ministries of Public Works, Agriculture, Industry and Trade and National Education, and of the National Insurance Institute, the State Administration and the Department for the Depressed Areas. This body is the centre where big deals are negotiated under pretext of public works intended to remedy unemployment, mainly in the countryside. Its mission is to share out among the provinces a sum of several millions for public works; but instead of absorbing the labour unemployed through the crisis, it serves the interests of the contractors—among whom are the Falangist leaders—and allows them to earn fabulous profits. The works of public interest carried out by Falangism are mainly barracks for the Civil Guard and the Army, other buildings of a military nature, and churches.

But the most repugnant and criminal deed of Falangism in the matter of unemployment is the organisation in the Falange trade unions called the "Trade Union Anti-Unemployment Organisation". This body was set up by decree on 3 July 1943; it is empowered to direct the migration of labour, find workers for privately-owned factories and carry out works on its own account.

In reality the mission of this organisation is to provide the big companies with cheap, depreciated labour. These companies cannot always find on the spot a sufficient number of workers ready to work like slaves. And the "Trade Union Anti-Unemployment Organisation" busies itself with finding them such labour, recruiting workers in the centres most affected by unemployment. These workers are taken, under Falangist supervision, to the regions where they are to be utilised and are housed in camps, a sort of concentration camps, where they live under the most wretched conditions. On the scanty wages given them by the Falangists, a portion is kept back for the "Trade Union Anti-Unemployment Organisation", and the rest goes almost entirely on their food and lodging in the camp.

Another profitable affair for the leaders of the "Trade Union Anti-Unemployment Organisation" arises from the works directly

undertaken by the organisation. Paragraph 5 of the Regulations governing these works empowers the organisation to carry out all works "which through their military character or national utility are judged necessary by the State". This clause allows the Falangists to carry out gigantic deals for which they need cheap labour.

The workers who know about this traffic avoid the camps and prefer to starve to death rather than work for this organisation. But the Falange persecutes those who desert or refuse to allow themselves to be enrolled, and applies the Vagrancy law to them; after working out a sentence in the workhouses, the workers are grouped into teams and compelled to work as the Falangists direct.

The working class struggle is extremely difficult in a country like Spain where there are no democratic rights and the State relies on the most thorough-going repression. The years of domination of the Franco régime have drenched Spain in blood and the working class has lost thousands of its best fighters. Franco has murdered and is still murdering the most enlightened sections of the working-class movement, in order to deprive the workers of all leadership.

The right-wing socialist leaders and the anarchist provocateurs have tried, through the years of Franco domination, to prevent every demonstration of struggle from the working class and the people, under the pretext of this terror. And it must be recognised that this propaganda of these agents of the bourgeoisie has succeeded in influencing some sections of the workers.

The policy of passivity favours the bourgeoisie, which, not feeling the pressure of the masses, accentuates its methods of exploitation and helps to consolidate the regime.

The loss of tens of thousands of trade union leaders and courageous revolutionary workers is felt within the Spanish working class. It would not be exact to say that the Spanish workers as a whole have the same fighting spirit as in 1936.

In addition, a new generation is growing up under the Franco régime which did not really know the Republic, which is ignorant of the hard and glorious history of the revolutionary working-class movement, which under-estimates the value of the class struggle. Francoism shows this generation historical facts and present events in a distorted light.

These facts, of major political importance, have not escaped us. That is why one of our main tasks is that of intensifying our political work among the masses and training new leading cadres.

The Franco unions are, by their structure and composition, instruments of the bourgeoisie. The trade union leaders are appointed from above, and chosen among the most open fascists. Membership of the unions is compulsory and the subscriptions are kept back out of wages by the employer.

In spite of the fascist character of the unions, experience has shown that they can be utilised for the workers' struggles.

Today, under the Franco regime, illegal mass organisations fighting for and defending the workers demands are not possible. Experience has shown that in following this line the vanguard elements isolate themselves from the mass of the working class. Moreover, not to work

within the trade unions means abandoning the workers to the influence of the Falangist leaders.

We have learned that we must utilise all legal possibilities permitted by the régime, however slight they may be, and to connect our legal work with the illegal work. The unions can and must be trenches where we can act without exposing our bodies to the enemies' fire. The objective we seek with these tactics is to bind ourselves to the masses where they are to be found, in order to direct and lead them in their struggle.

These tactics have been shown to be correct. The masses exert pressure inside the unions themselves and on the Franco régime to defend themselves from the insatiable exploitation to which they are subject. Following this line, the working class is not only succeeding in winning partial advantages, but each victory, however small, gives it confidence in its own strength and raises its class consciousness.

The struggle in Spain takes many forms, from individual actions to strikes and the guerilla movement. In 1948 Franco statistics showed more than 32,000 cases in Madrid alone of compensation claimed for non-observation of the labour regulations. Not included in this number are claims which were blocked by the Falangist leaders or those directly addressed to the employers. Only cases heard before the "Labour Tribunal" are included. In 1948 10,664 cases were heard in Madrid.

The workers utilise all legal means open to them in the struggle, not only to win certain advantages, but also to unmask the Falangist leaders in the eyes of the workers.

This tactic of struggle through individual claims is encouraged and reaches greater proportions each year. In 1945 the amount obtained by individual claims totalled 1,936,170 pesetas; in 1946, 11,048,999; in 1947, 56,681,918 and in 1948 61,394,411 pesetas.

These figures have a political significance : they mean the increase of the struggle through individual demands.

By following this line and utilising the Falange unions themselves and their demagoguery, the workers are increasing their struggle. The discontent and protests rising in certain industries can no longer be stopped by the leaders of the Falange unions, who are compelled to submit to the Ministry of Labour proposals for collective improvements for the workers. The workers do not confine themselves to putting economic demands to the Falange leaders, but are already putting forward demands of a political nature. On 12 May 1949, under the pressure of the masses, the leaders of the Communications Union decided to submit to the Ministry of Labour a list of demands which included :—

- 1) amendment of their Charter;
- 2) abolition of tips;
- 3) a real share in profits;
- 5) suppression of night work for women;
- 5) *reinstatement of workers dismissed for political reasons.*

The railwaymen submitted to the Railway Management Board several demands, including : higher output bonus, an extra full month's

... in June and December, regularly, full trade rates for workshop and office personnel, revision of the payments system, lodging bonus to be extended to all categories, etc.

Catalan workers in the Puertollano chemical industry demanded a 10% increase of 10% and put forward other demands.

As the feelings of solidarity of the workers in a factory take concrete shape, these forms of struggle combine with the independent struggles of the working class. They take the form of strikes independent of the Falange unions and of other actions, such as go-slow movements and sabotage, which force the employers to satisfy the demands of the working class.

In the Basque steel and metal works, in the Catalan textile mills, in Madrid, Valencia, Seville and all the industrial centres of Spain, independent strikes have broken out and continue to do so, of varying intensity according to the degree of organisation of the workers and in particular according to their degree of unity. In the history of the heroic struggles of the Spanish working class figures the great strike of 1st May 1947, in Biscay, a highly political strike, in which 50,000 workers took part.

This strike and hundreds of partial struggles which are taking place throughout Spain under the criminal Franco régime are signs that the Spanish working class has not admitted defeat and will never do so.

The heroic Spanish guerillas deserve special mention. Our guerilla groups are formed of men from all anti-Franco political sectors, mainly from the countryside. There are guerilla units throughout the country, but the biggest ones are the groups in the East, Galicia, Andalusia and Estremadura.

Thousands of armed and political actions stand to the credit of the guerilla detachments. The people feels an immense and growing affection for the guerillas and appreciates their courage and patriotism.

The guerilla forces, whom Franco tries to present as bandit groups, fill a high political mission in the struggle to win back the democratic Republic.

Thousands of peasants are awakening to political life thanks to the guerillas, who at the cost of their lives defend the interests of the working population of the countryside, and by continual contact explain the character of the Franco régime to them and show them that the fight against Francoism is the only way to put an end to their poverty-stricken situation and to the pillage of peasant labour and economy by the Falangists.

Franco is trying to destroy the guerillas by attacking them with strong contingents of Civil Guards, armed with modern weapons, but he has not attained his objective. He has the peasants savagely murdered to prevent them serving as a supply and information base for the guerillas. But the blood of honest patriotic peasants let by Franco produces new guerillas who take up arms to defend their homes and Spain.

The interpenetration of the guerillas and the peasant masses, the latter's understanding of the political value of the guerillas' struggles, are determining factors in the failure of Franco and of his repressive measures.

For the Francoists everything can be turned into money, even the workers' illnesses, old people and orphans. They have set up an immense organisation called the "Social Insurance Scheme", divided into two bodies, the National Insurance Institute and the "Montepios" or Friendly Societies, organised by branch of industry and on a factory basis. Both are compulsory.

The "Montepios" were set up on the pretext of completing the services provided for insured persons by the National Insurance Institute. In fact it is another means of swelling the million-peseta funds administered by the Falangists, since in setting up two organisations two funds have also been created.

Since the Franco régime is one based on the defence of the big capitalists, it treats favourably, not only the industrial magnates, but the great landlords. Social security is a fiction in the countryside but contributions are being levied. Just as in industry, they are paid by the workers, the small landowners, the farmers and the smallholders. A law issued on 10 February 1943 declares :—

"Social security contributions in agriculture must always be made by the owner of the farm or by his substitute. The owners of farms that are rented out either on lease or in any other way can require from the farmer, smallholder or agriculturalist, either together with the rent or separately, the reimbursement of the contributions that have been paid."

The agricultural labourers receive absolutely no help whatsoever from social security. However, new edicts are issued every day which weigh more and more heavily on their wretched economy. As a result of an order made on 18 January 1949, "people engaged in agriculture will pay social security contributions for disablement and old age. These are fixed at a monthly contribution of 4 pesetas for permanent workers, and 2.50 pesetas for seasonal workers." For insurance against sickness the permanent workers—the only ones who have a right to it—pay 4 % of their wages, their employers the same. But, just as in industry, the percentage contributed by the employers is considered as part of the workers' wages. This is what the paper "Ya" had to say about this on 9 April 1949 :—

"It must be clearly understood that it is the worker and not the employer who pays the contribution for sickness insurance. The contribution made by the employer which is the same as that made by the worker is not donated gratis, but is part of the wages, which instead of being handed over immediately, is held in reserve for the future. So all the contribution is paid by the worker."

However, it is the workers who benefit the least from this money which the falangists forcibly take from them. It is not the workers who have the administration of this part of their wages held back "for the future", but the falangists who are using it to swell their fortunes today. When the workers put forward claims for their rights, their demands are not given the slightest consideration. And when they appeal to the tribunals they receive answers like this :—

"The appeal is rejected because the appellant, mother of the worker who died as a result of an accident at work, is neither over sixty nor a pauper."

"The appeal is rejected because the injured worker exploded the mine without receiving direct orders from the foreman."

"There is no compensation for hernia due to normal work if the worker is susceptible to this malady."

"The appeal is rejected because, although the accident took place in the workyard, it is not proved that the worker was working for the employer at the moment when the accident took place."

Here you have the Falangist tribunals and their social insurance. The Franco régime has turned Spain into one vast prison. On 18 May 1949 Franco declared that "the number of people now imprisoned for crimes of all kinds, ranging from those under sentence of death to those held in preventive custody, is 38,700, very much the same as there has always been in Spain." That is not the truth. The truth is that in the Spanish prisons there are about 200,000 political prisoners. If the prison population corresponded today to what it has "always been" the budget for carrying out repressive measures ought to be the same as it "has always been". But this is not at all the case. In 1936 under the Republican régime, the budget for judicial and security administration was 272,100,000 pesetas, while in 1949 Franco's budget for the same purpose reached 2,973,700,000 pesetas.

The budget figures here given have a political significance: they are those of a police state. To keep his eye on the people, to harry them and force their submission, Franco is supporting an army of tens of thousands of Civil Guards, armed and secret service police, stool-pigeons and spys. There still exist in Spain regions, such as that of Asturias declared to be in a state of seige.

Franco "justice" is controlled by laws whose monstrosity is unrivalled in history, such as the one called "Law against bandits and terrorists". The Civil Guard and the police have instructions to kill on the spot without investigating the case, any citizen who "according to the protectors of public order" have committed a crime or have the intention of doing so. The law authorising these assassinations is known to the people under the name of the law "Escape Law".

As a result of this "Escape Law" thousands of workers and those opposed to Franco have been and are being assassinated.

The Franco tribunals are those of a country at war. All the political offences are judged by military courts. The right of defence is a parody in Spain. The accused do not meet their "defenders" until they meet in the military court which is conducting the trial. The "defence" aims at justifying the prosecutors' demand for a verdict of guilty. The accused cannot present their own defence. And when, indignant at the infamous accusations of the prosecutor they want to protest or deny them, they are gagged, as was the case with José Gomez Gayoso, tried and condemned to death in Galicia at the end of 1948, or they are forcibly expelled from the courtroom. Before

the trial, even before studying the dossier, the tribunals have decided on the sentences, prepared and dictated in advance by the police.

In the police-stations and barracks of the Civil Guard, the foulest crimes against arrested persons are prepared. Words cannot describe the monstrous tortures applied to prisoners. In many cases the tortures are of such savagery that the prisoners die before they can be taken to prison. Afterwards it is announced that they committed suicide. The barbarity, sadism and absence of human feelings of the Falangists are such that they do not respect their prisoners even after they are dead. After the murder of the patriot Agustín Zorca and his comrades in the Ocaña prison their bodies were thrown among the prison refuse.

The prison régime under Franco resembles his justice. The prisons are antechambers for the cemeteries, where men and women die through tuberculosis and bad treatment. The filth they are given as food serves to kill them rather than keep them alive. Prison hospitals exist only in name. The most contagious diseases develop without either the warders or the prison doctors taking any measure to isolate the sick, thus allowing the spread of epidemics and incurable infections. The prisoners cannot correspond with their families. Only visits of the nearest relations are allowed, and this has to be proved by documents and several formalities.

The laws of Franco prisons are beatings and damp punishment cells. For the slightest infringement the prisoner is beaten severely and confined to punishment cells on bread and water for months, without clothes or straw mattress.

Firing squads are always busy, some carrying out sentences dictated by the military tribunals and others through the "Escape Law". Between 6 August 1948 and 10 April 1949, the following numbers of patriots were murdered in Spain :—

under court-martial sentence : 24; under the "Escape Law" : 136.

We know the names of those murdered and the place and date of the crimes.

19 Franco opponents are condemned to death and awaiting execution; and four more for whom the prosecution is demanding the death penalty will soon be tried by the military tribunals.

Among the patriots murdered in the last eight months are such devoted and well-loved leaders of the working class as Eugenio Parra Rubio, Manuel Villalbos Villamuelas, Rogelio García, Pedro Martínez Magro, Benito Calero Vázquez, Daniel Elola Gómez, Luciano Arroyo Coblan, Félix Gómez Casares, shot on 21 August 1948 at Ocaña (Toledo); José Gómez Gayoso and Antonio Seoane, shot on 6 November 1948 at La Corona; José Ramírez Fajardo, shot on 14 October 1948 at Barcelona; Marcelino Porra Casa, shot on 8 November 1948 at Leon; José Olmedo González, shot on 17 November 1948 at Madrid; Amador Fernández Llancza, shot on 7 December 1948 at Oviedo; José Santiago Temprano, shot on 9 December 1948 at La Corona; Ángel Carrero Sancho, Peiro Valverde Puentes, Joaquín Puig Pidemunt and Numen Mestres Ferrando, shot on 16 February 1949 at Barcelona; José Mallo Fernández, Manuel López Castro and Campos Osaba, shot at the end of March 1949 in Seville; Saturnino López and Mateo Obra Lucia, shot on 9 June 1949 at Bilbao.

That is Franco justice. It is in this way that he tries to prevent the growth of discontent against his regime.

Despite this accentuated terror, the expression of Franco evil, he has not succeeded in making the people yield or in breaking their confidence, their indomitable fighting spirit, their support for democratic ideals and for liberty, in defence of which the people is heroically suffering the greatest tortures. The people are continuing their forward march, with at their head the working class, the leading force in the great battle, directing the struggle for the re-establishment of the democratic Republic.

For us, militants of the General Union of Workers of Spain, the tragic situation in our country can only be remedied by the widest unity of the anti-Franco forces. Unity is the main factor in the struggle, the factor which determines its extent and urges it forward. If Franco stays in power, it is not only because of the aid he is receiving from the United States, Great Britain and other capitalist countries, but also because the unitary feelings of the people have not yet taken concrete shape in an organisation adequate to fight the great battles necessary to destroy the Franco régime. An essential factor for the achievement of this broad unity of the discontented and oppressed masses of Spain is the unity of the working class. That is why throughout the period of Franco domination our banner has been that of unity.

Unity has not yet reached the extent our struggle demands, because of the criminal splitting policy conducted, in the interests of Spanish and international reaction, by certain right-wing socialist leaders, such as Indalecio Prieto and Trifon Gomez, who have split our General Union of Workers (UGT) and are openly working for disunity.

These pseudo "workers' leaders", following the policy of the reactionary British and American leaders, have decided to withdraw "their UGT" from the WFTU in order to add their mite to the division of the international working class. The aims of both are clear. The Spanish right-wing trade union leaders, tied more closely each day to the imperialist wagon, are at their service, so that Spain, with or without Franco, may be utilised as a bastion of Anglo-American imperialism.

These gentlemen have nothing to do with the working class and its struggle. They are definitely on the side of the rottenest Spanish reaction. As the democratic cause progresses and the peoples win victories, the Spanish right-wing leaders unmask themselves more and more and take up a position alongside the reactionary and fascist forces.

On 2 June 1949, after the end of the UNO Assembly, Prieto's Socialist Party and Trifon Gomez' UGT signed a manifesto in which, while condemning the setting up of the World Federation of Trade Unions, they declared that they would attend the Conference called at Geneva by the splitters of the WFTU. But this UGT is not the UGT of Spain. The real General Union of Workers of Spain is here, in the World Federation of Trade Unions, with the workers of the country of socialism, with the workers of victorious China, united with the workers of the new democracies of Europe, the proletariat of Latin America, forming one solid body with all workers who want unity in the struggle for their demands, with all the partisans of Socialism.

But what they, the Spanish splitters, want is unity with Francosim, with the high dignitaries of the Church and the Franco caste of Army Generals. In the same manifesto, with no sense of shame or dignity, they address an appeal to them, not to put an end to the régime, but to replace Franco by another Franco of the same ilk. In this way they follow the line mapped out for them by the American State Department and break entirely with all republican groups.

It is not astonishing that these traitors have left the WFTU. Their place is not alongside the defenders of peace and democracy, but alongside the enemies of freedom and the partisans of war.

Comrades with many years of experience behind them, the Spanish working class and people have learnt to detect unmistakably their true friends and enemies, and the right road to their liberation.

The Spanish working class judges those elements which are trying to divide the international trade union movement as its enemies, because they are serving the interests of imperialism.

Splitters like Carey, Deakin, Kupers and Co. have rivals in Spain and in the split these were in the vanguard of the enemies of the WFTU.

These common agents of imperialism have nothing to do either with the working class or the Spanish people for the simple reason that their attitude and their programme is in substance, the same as that of Franco, and the Spanish people have shown for thirteen years that it has another programme, that of re-establishing national independence and a democratic Republic so as to take part with the other peoples in the struggle against war, for democracy and peace.

The splitters in our country also went to Geneva, but neither the will of those who are fighting in Spain nor the will of the Spanish people were represented at Geneva. The political position of those people is that indicated for them by the American Federation of Labour, a policy consisting in defending the interests of the magnates of Wall Street.

One of their missions is to propagate the Marshall Plan and the defence of the Atlantic pact, thus fostering the policy of Franco and imperialism. Their mission also is to fight against the unity of the Spanish working class and the democratic and anti-Franco forces, engaging instead in political compromises with the reactionary monarchists and the falangist elements to try to prevent any democratic solution of the Spanish problem. In his excellent report comrade Saillant stressed that the World Federation of Trade Unions was close to the heart of the working class; we would add that it is its head and soul. The splitters can do nothing in the face of this important truth because they are bound hand and foot to the enemy.

We know very well that we must not confuse the workers of America, England, Holland, etc with their leaders. We know that, like us they want unity, that they have a passionate love of peace that they are eager both for brotherhood within the working class and for peaceful cooperation among the democratic peoples.

Many are the members of TUC, CIO and AFL who are with the WFTU although they have been separated from it by their leaders.

So the international working class is represented at this second

WFTU World Congress because there is represented here the unshakeable will of all the workers of the world to fight for these principles.

The General Union of Spanish Workers will remain loyal to the WFTU and its principles because it sees there that international outlook which is the strength of the trade union movement. Here can be found the great Soviet Union, land of socialism, fortress in the fight for freedom of all people. Here we find represented the trade union movements of the new popular democracies which, ever faithful to internationalism, are marching towards socialism with the working class at their head. Here we find represented the important unions of these capitalist countries where the working class still has some democratic liberties. Here we see represented the trade union movements of the people who are under the rule of Fascism. Here we see the representatives of the young Chinese democracy and the trade union organisation of Japan which is fighting to bring democracy to its country. Here are the representatives of the German organisations which are striving to set up a new, democratic and peaceful Germany in opposition to those who desire to resuscitate the old aggressiveness and use the country as a war arsenal.

Here, is the workers own trade union international, the World Federation of Trade Unions which, for the first time in history can proclaim that it stands firmly founded on socialism. Long live the international unity of the workers !

We stand against war for peace and democracy, for the freedom of the oppressed peoples !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). Comrades, it has so happened that the delegate of democratic Greece and the delegate for the workers of republican Spain followed each other on the platform. I would like to assure comrade Amaro del Rosal, as I have just assured comrade Nikiforos, of the complete solidarity of the workers of the world for the Spanish workers in their fight against Franco. You all know what the WFTU has done to counter the Franco régime and to counter fascism in all its forms. I hope most fervently that our Spanish comrades will soon have the chance of welcoming to a freed Madrid democrats from all countries in the world. (*Applause.*)

I call on comrade Raiko Damianov of the Bulgarian delegation. He is speaking in Bulgarian, but the translation of his speech will go out from the interpreters booths.

R. DAMIANOV (*Bulgaria*). Comrades, allow me to express, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation, our agreement with comrade Kuznetsov in his speech on the work and the struggle of the World Federation of Trade Unions for international trade union unity, for the defence of peace and the democratic rights of the working masses.

We consider that the tasks spoken of in the report represent a concrete plan of work for the WFTU and for the National Centres. When these tasks are begun the authority of the WFTU will be still higher and will strengthen the faith of the workers in its power. The

WFTU will become a powerful force for unity of the workers and will also develop into an even stronger factor in the defence of peace, democracy and the vital interests of the working masses.

Following on the historic victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition with the Soviet Union at its head, Bulgaria finally and completely broke away from the capitalist system. Thanks to the unselfish brotherly aid given by the Soviet people, it set itself resolutely on the path to socialism. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is in a general state of transformation. All the material resources of the country, together with its labour strength, is mobilised to win the wellbeing of the working class and of the whole people.

In order to fulfil these tasks our people and our working class must struggle for a lasting peace, for friendship and cooperation between all peoples. The Anglo-American imperialists are trying, with all the means at their disposal, to disrupt the peaceful and creative work being carried out by the Bulgarian people. They are encouraging the reactionary riff-raff of our country, organising nests of spies and diversionist groups and inciting their lackeys to provoke incidents on our southern frontier.

The new aspirants to world domination—the American imperialists—are stoking the fires of war in the Balkan peninsula; they are the instigators and real organisers of the war of extermination against the Greek people. They would like to extend to our country the tragedy that has fallen on the Greek people.

The peace struggle against the Atlantic Pact and the other aggressive actions of the imperialists has been transformed in our country which is so well aware of the real danger of a new world war, into a truly popular movement headed by the working class.

The Workers General Trades Union of Bulgaria took an active part in organising and bringing about the National Congress of the Defenders of Peace, and sent delegates to the World Congress held at Paris and Prague. There were mass meetings in all the factories and work-shops to hear the report-back of the decisions made at the Peace Congress.

Our people firmly believe that the peace forces are the stronger. They admire the fine stand made by the progressive forces in France, Italy and elsewhere when they openly declared that, in the event of a declaration of war by their governments, they would take no part in an attack on the Soviet people.

And indeed, as comrade Dimitrov said, the time is passed when the people were blind instruments delivered into the hands of governmental cliques, capitalists and monarchists. The peaceful people of the two hemispheres are speeding up their mobilisation in defence of peace and for democracy and world culture. The world anti-imperialist front, with the Soviet Union in the lead, is making itself more and more clearly felt.

Today, when the American imperialists are openly menacing the whole world with the threat of the atom bomb, and are boasting, with a cynicism previously unheard of, that they can wipe out millions of peaceful people and destroy whole regions and countries, all the peoples can recognise in the USSR the guardian of world peace and the defender of civilisation against capitalist barbarity.

The working class, which played an important part in the victory over the Hitlerite coalition, unified, as it is in the World Federation of Trades Unions, will become a powerful defender of peace and democracy.

The attempts by the break-away elements to destroy the WFTU and thus weaken the peace front represent only part of the plan to organise a new world war. This plan is aimed, not only against the interests of the workers of other countries, but also against the true interests of the English and American workers. That is why Deakin, Kupers and Co. are plotting behind their backs. Those social democratic elements which maintain that the WFTU is against economic help being given to those countries damaged by the war were well and truly unmasked by comrade Kuznetsov.

It is rather a question of the way the needy countries should be aided, of determining the object of that aid. Our country is receiving unselfish and fraternal aid from the Soviet Union and the popular democracies, thanks to which we are making continual progress. New industrial enterprises are springing up, new kinds of production are opening out, the number of workers is on the increase and their standard of living is continuously rising. The consolidation of our sovereignty and national independence is clearly visible.

But let us look at the aid given by the American imperialists. We can see it clearly at work in the Marshallised countries. At this Congress we have heard delegates from those countries speak of the closing down of works and of whole branches of production. The monopolists are throwing back the whole weight of the coming crisis onto the backs of the workers, the number of unemployed is on the up-grade, and the living-standards of the working masses is going from bad to worse.

That is why the working class, the unions and the WFTU are against all help which offers only huge profits to the monopolies, trusts and cartels, while bringing poverty to the workers and their families. The lackeys of the American monopolies and trusts want to make the WFTU another slave to imperialist interests. But they have failed. When we recall all the telegrams that reached this Congress there is no doubt that the English and American workers will throw aside the treacherous policy of the leaders of the British Trade Union Congress, the Congress of Industrial Organisations and the American Federation of Labour.

The Bulgarian workers, organised in the Workers General Trades Union and brought up in the spirit of proletarian internationalism firmly believe in the consolidation and development of international trade union unity and of the WFTU.

At the mass meetings that took place in work-shops and factories the Bulgarian workers indignantly condemned the anti-working class behaviour of the splitters. At the same time as it is taking part in building and strengthening the WFTU, the General Trade Union of Bulgarian workers is demonstrating its devotion to the international solidarity of the workers by establishing direct contact with 40 national trade centres.

A large number of exchange visits of delegation made up of trade union officials and workers have been organised in agreement

with the Trade Union Centres of other countries, with the aim of strengthening fraternal ties and exchanging experience.

The Bulgarian workers have always approved of and carried out the suggestions of the WFTU. They have never ceased to support the working class struggle in the capitalist countries and in the colonies. The Bulgarian trade unions have organised many demonstrations in defence of liberty and the workers' rights in Spain and in France. With this same object many protest meetings of all sizes have been held. A sum of about 14 million leva was raised for the heroic Spanish workers. Many meetings, attended by some outstanding Greek trade unionists, were held to protest against the terrorisation and massacre of the Greek workers and their leaders. A large sum was raised for the Greek women and children who were turned out of their homes and they are being given every care by the Bulgarian people. A huge meeting was also organised to support the heroic struggle of the French miners on strike, and a large sum of money was collected for them.

Finally I should like to give an assurance that in the future too, the Bulgarian trade unionists will make every effort to strengthen trade union solidarity throughout the whole world.

Dear comrades, allow me, on behalf of the Bulgarian delegates taking part in this Congress, to express our gratitude to the delegates of the second Congress of the WFTU for their condolences on the occasion of the premature death of that great son of the Bulgarian people, its guide and never-to-be-forgotten master, comrade Georgi Dimitrov.

Comrade Georgi Dimitrov always taught the Bulgarian workers that they must be faithful unto death to their country, and at the same time be loyal to the international solidarity of the working class.

Throughout his life comrade Georgi Dimitrov taught the Bulgarian workers the meaning of unity in struggle to throw off the capitalist yoke, of work for the international trade union movement and the strengthening of the World Federation of Trade Unions. By his death the WFTU is deprived, of a devoted and warm-hearted supporter. Comrade Georgi Dimitrov set us the personal example of an irreconcilable fight against reaction and fascism and for the unity of all the popular forces to destroy obscurantism. He never ceased to appeal to the workers of the world to draw round it and lead all that was honest and progressive in their people, in the fight against fascism and reaction whatever their form.

Comrade Georgi Dimitrov never ceased to teach the Bulgarian workers and people to strengthen their friendship with the great socialist country, whose friendship, he used to say, was as necessary to us to keep our national independence and build socialism as the sun and the air is to every living thing.

Comrade Georgi Dimitrov taught the Bulgarian workers to strengthen their friendship with peace-loving people, to show themselves true friends of comrades who strive for peace, liberty and real popular democracy, to hold themselves firm and unshakeable in the anti-imperialist camp.

For us, workers and people of Bulgaria our sudden loss caused by the death of comrade Georgi Dimitrov is immeasurable. We have lost our

wellbeloved guide and master. This premature loss brings us new duties. We must rally more closely than ever about the party of Dimitrov and the people's government, so that we can bring to a triumphant conclusion the fine work already begun.

In doing this the Bulgarian workers will be carrying out his teachings in the best possible way, and with all their strength, however modest it may appear, they will be making a contribution to the common struggle of the working masses for peace, democracy and national independence.

You all know that that great revolutionary, comrade Georgi Dimitrov, devoted himself utterly and completely to the international proletariat. You all know his courage and intrepidity in the face of the enemy. There is one thing we want to do now. We want to share with you our thoughts and feelings, and assure you, comrades, that the Bulgarian workers will not spare their efforts to carry out *the decisions reached at the Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions*, to strengthen the unity of the working class throughout the world, to defend liberty, peace and democracy, and accomplish the tasks to which comrade Georgi Dimitrov gave his whole life.

In homage to his glorious memory, we can say in the name of the Bulgarian workers :—

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD !

(Congress rises and applauds loudly.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call on Comrade Werner, delegate of German trade union youth.

A. WERNER (*FDGB Germany*). What is the attitude of the young people of Germany to the great world problems of peace and democracy ?

We, the young people who grew up under nazism were forced to recognise by the 1945 débâcle, that for twelve years we had been given a militarist, nazi and utterly barbarous education. This meant to many young people the terrible collapse of all their ideals, for they were not only false but served criminal ends.

Now we can say that the great majority of German youth in the Eastern Zone have completely broken with Nazi ideology and that a new progressive spirit is growing and developing among them.

We have learnt from experience all the terrible and unspeakable horrors that war and its aftermath bring to the workers.

Our inexperience has been exploited to the profit of the trusts. We can assure you that our militants will do everything in their power to prevent the flower of our youth from once again being massacred on the battle-fields for the sake of the imperialist war-mongers.

We have learnt from past experience, we know that division in the ranks of the young people, just like division among the workers, is fatal to the interests of the working class. That is why we have only one peace organisation : the Free German Youth.

In its new constitution, it undertakes to work with the FDGB to achieve a better existence, both for the young workers and for the whole of the working population.

We have one great common aim : to recruit every single young person in our fight for the unity and democracy of our country, and hence for world-wide peace.

In Eastern Germany, youth enjoys equal rights with the adults. Our law protecting young people limits their working week to 42-45 hours, and grants them an annual holiday of 18-21 days. We have completely destroyed the cultural privileges of the rich : every intellectually gifted worker can receive a higher education and attend university. Young people, like women, profit from the policy of equal pay for equal work. Our apprentices receive a special new system of payment. All this we owe to the defeat of Nazism by the Red Army.

But the youth have not only rights, they have aspirations. So we are taking an active part in the consolidation of our anti-fascist and democratic régime. Youth is taking the lead in the operation of the two-year plan in the socialised industries of our zone. While the Marshall Plan leads to slavery and subjection, our Two Year Plan is a contribution to the democratisation of Germany and to peace.

Our young activists are showing that they have a new attitude to work.

Under Nazism, the hero was considered to be the man who worked for the monopolists by taking part in aggression on peaceful people, by stealing, pillaging and killing.

We have no desire to die for capitalism. We want to live for peace.

The FDGB and our youth organisation are training the young people in a spirit of friendship with other peoples and not in an atmosphere of hatred.

A growing element among the new German youth is recognising a new heroism, the heroism of Labour, of peaceful reconstruction, of understanding among the peoples.

In our socialised factories there are young people's brigades to compete with the older workers. Hennecke, the pioneer of this movement, has said :— " The workers' enemies are talking of war and of the atom bomb, but you, young labourers, are the finest pioneers of peace. "

Throughout the Eastern Zone the young people have the right to take part in all activities. Our youth is on the march towards progress. The last election held in our zone proves that it is the young people especially who voted progressively. 700,000 young workers are organised in the FDGB; more than 100,000 of them hold trade union offices.

That is not enough for us. We want to learn, learn, learn.

The FDGB organised competitions for adolescents. We need qualified workers, not to make weapons of war, but for building peace.

In Western Germany the young people have few rights, and few resources for self-development. The workers' and the youth movements are divided among themselves.

The imperialists are recruiting adolescents for the police service against the workers, and for their foreign legions against our friends in Viet-Nam. But we are unshaken in our determination to frustrate our enemies' plans.

At our Youth Parliament, held some weeks ago at Leipzig, representatives came together from Eastern and Western Germany. Our

aims and our struggle are directed against the enemy of the German people, who is also the enemy of humanity.

We say to you : Young people, arise, give all your strength to creating a world freed from monopolists, Junkers and war-mongers.

We know we are not alone. The young people and workers of the whole world have given us their confidence. We are proud to be members of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We will defend international solidarity as our most treasured possession.

We have collected medical equipment for the Greek fighters and money for the miners on strike. We are especially proud of our friendship with the trade union youth of the USSR : from them we are learning how workers and young people can forge a better future by their own efforts.

At Leipzig 17 foreign delegates took part in our Congress. German youth is going to Budapest to take part in the Festival which Bert Williams has told you about.

In this way we are in contact with peace-loving people throughout the world.

We are proud of the successes we have won so far, and we promise you that this is only a beginning. And now to work to carry out the recommendations of comrade Kuznetsov and to strengthen and consolidate, especially in the factories, the vast Front of the Fighters for Peace. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). Comrades, we still have six people down to speak on the Kuznetsov and Santi reports. In the name of the Praesidium I propose that this session be extended for a further half-hour, to allow us make up this morning's delay.

Is there any objection to this proposal? Since there is no objection, the proposal is adopted, and we will carry on.

I now call on Comrade Peña, delegate from Cuba.

L. PENA (*Cuba*). Comrades, the Cuban delegation agrees with comrade Kuznetsov's report. The tasks to be faced for the defence of peace, pointed out by the WFTU to the militants of the colonial and dependent countries are the same as those which face the working class movement in the Latin American countries.

Yankee imperialism, while carrying on warlike activities in Latin America, distorts, for the purposes of its monstrous propaganda, the peace policy of the USSR, and tries to present it as imperialist and aggressive. It spreads slanders and provocations against the popular democracies, and demands that the governments of our countries submit to their international policy of provocation to war.

Yankee imperialism and traitorous reaction in our countries are attempting by organised propaganda to impress on the minds of our people a two-fold idea, namely that war is inevitable and that our geographical position compels us to come down on the side of USA "democracy."

You know that "democracy" is their name for the régime under which the American workers and people are at present suffering, under

the Taft-Hartley law for example. Freedom of thought is being put on trial, as in the case of the twelve American marxist leaders. So that by the so-called necessity of our geographic position, our peoples are obliged to fight for their masters who dream of extending their slave-owners' rule over the whole world, and of increasing its grips on our peoples of Latin America.

But we believe that, although our country is small, and although it is situated in an area that the Yankees consider reserved for them to exploit, if we unite our forces with those of the workers and peoples of the whole world, we can contribute to the cause of peace. The decisions of the Paris Peace Congress, which roused the people to mobilise against war, have reached Latin America despite the efforts of the imperialists to stop this happening.

It is clear that our trade union movement in Latin America must fight the reactionary current, uncover the anti-working-class, anti-democratic, anti-national character of the anti-soviet campaign, and show that it is the Yankee monopolists who are leading the imperialists, and who are going back on the promises and declarations for peace and progress made during the war.

Those who have abandoned the policy of Roosevelt for that of Hitler, the friendship of their war-allies for that of their fascist enemies, are trying to push their supporters into ruling positions, as is shown by the events in Greece, Viet Nam, Indonesia, as is shown by the plottings of the Yankee imperialists, the military coups d'état in Venezuela, Costa Rica, etc. These intrigues attempt to foment reactionary, oligarchic and unpopular dictatorships which usually free from their cells and restore to political life individuals whom the masses of Latin America have repudiated as Phalangists and collaborators of Hitlerism during the war.

Finally, these aggressive and expansionist groups support the policy of Western Union, the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, and also the reconstruction of German war industry. The peoples and workers of Latin America know that Deakin and Carey are trying to make us believe the opposite. They will obtain no more success than the other official propagandists of the State Department.

On the contrary, our peoples know and greet the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its firm intention to strengthen international cooperation with all countries, resulting in the co-existence of the socialist and capitalist countries.

The hatred of imperialism felt by the workers of Latin America has deep national roots. We want independence and national liberation for our countries. We want to abolish capitalist exploitation and to establish a socialist régime, without crises, poverty, or oppression. That is why the workers of Latin America will never make war on behalf of imperialism. We will never go to war against the country of Socialism, the Soviet Union, or against the popular democracies, nor Free China, nor the liberating armies of Viet Nam, Burma, Indonesia, etc. If the Cuban workers were obliged to go to war, they would only go to fight the imperialists who oppress us, and thus win the complete liberation of our country.

But as comrade Kuznetsov said, the fight against war in the dependent countries must be linked up with the fight against colonialism,

and for democratic demands. For the threat of war is the direct result of the domination of the most reactionary, the most aggressive, and the most imperialist sections in the USA. That is why the imperialist offensive, using the argument of the threat of war, has developed in all countries and all fields.

The economic offensive is reaching extraordinarily important proportions. In Cuba we suffer from the invasion of dumped Japanese textiles at prices with which the national industry cannot compete. Similar processes have been used to create a crisis in the boot and shoe industry. The wool, metal, glass and wood industries are similarly paralysed.

In the sugar industry, on which the economic life of our country depends, and which brings Cuba nothing but the wages of the workers and peasants, the imperialists, who control 80 % of production, are redoubling their efforts to return to the cheap labour policy, and are trying to force wages down. The effects of this would be great poverty for the nation.

The monopolies grow daily more numerous—Electricity, the Telephone, Banking are all monopolies, while the creation of a national Merchant Navy is opposed.

This economic offensive is gathering speed and will undoubtedly bring a general crisis. In Cuba the mines are paralysed, the working day is cut, except in the tobacco industries, leather workshops are closed down, sugar production is cut by 18 %. In a few months the number of unemployed has increased by 50,000, which means a reduction of the purchasing power of the workers and the general ruin of the country.

I can tell you, comrades, that the imperialists will never convince the workers or the people of Latin America of their good intentions in bringing Marshall aid to Europe as long as their activities in Latin America reveal their plans for more widespread colonial slavery.

The desperate attacks—of which you are all aware—against the trade union movement and democratic liberties throughout Latin America and in Cuba, are proof of their weakness. Each savage blow against trade union liberties helps to unite the workers against the imperialists and reveals the reactionary nature of any policy of war. Considering these elements in the light of the report made by Comrade Kuznetsov, my conclusion is that in our dependent country, the labour movement must add the general demands of the people and the nation to its own economic claims, thereby placing itself in the vanguard of the struggle against the colonial yoke and for the national independence of our country. In response to the Praesidium's request for brevity, I shall conclude here by expressing the agreement of the Cuban delegation with Comrade Kuznetsov's report.

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I call on Comrade Salaj, of Yugoslavia.

D. SALAJ (*Yugoslavia*). Comrades, the Yugoslav delegation is in full agreement with the observations made in the reports of comrades Kuznetsov and Santi to the effect that the fight for peace is one of the

fundamental tasks of the international working class and of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

We can all see the military preparations and aggressive pacts aimed at provoking a new and bloody world conflagration. We can also see the hysterical campaign of the reactionary press, which is trying to mislead the masses, intimidate the people and create the political and psychological conditions for unleashing a new war. It is clear to us that it is the imperialists, under the leadership of the American finance magnates, who are the initiators of aggressive pacts and the organisers of the campaign to foment a new war. It is our duty to oppose the plot organised by international imperialism, by capitalist reaction and its agents, with the resolute action of the united workers of the whole world.

The WFTU and its guiding bodies have perfectly well understood this fundamental task of all progressive people and members of democratic organisations throughout the world. The activity shown so far clearly proves that the WFTU is a powerful and reliable ally of peace-loving men, that it is a factor which must be reckoned with even by our enemies, the enemies of peace and of the national independence of the peoples.

I would like to point out that the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions has carried out the policy of the WFTU in its own country. Yugoslav unions have organised hundreds of meetings of protest against war. They sent thousands of telegrams of greeting to the World Peace Congress, at which a representative of the Yugoslav trade unions took part as a member of the Yugoslav delegation.

In the struggle waged by the WFTU for the defence of peace and against the instigators of a new war, the WFTU can be certain of the complete and effective support of the Confederation of Trade Unions and of the workers of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav delegation believes that we must resolutely denounce all manœuvres, propaganda and activity tending to provoke war, as well as every act which in any way feeds war psychosis.

The working class of Yugoslavia, building socialism in its own country, is deeply concerned to safeguard lasting peace in the world. It is for this reason that it stands at the side of the democratic forces of the whole world, with the Soviet Union at their head, to fight for the defence of peace.

The Yugoslav working class is convinced that the forces of peace are today stronger than the forces of war, that these forces are constantly growing and that, led by the working class of the world, they will prevent the realisation of the imperialists' bellicose plans.

The Yugoslav delegation supports the proposal of comrade Kuznetsov to ask the Congress of the WFTU to hold an international Peace Day, with the object of mobilising the workers for the defence of peace and against aggression, military pacts and war propaganda.

It is certain that the programme of the WFTU and the tasks laid down in the reports we have heard, resolutely fought for by the WFTU and the National Centres, will help make the WFTU even more powerful. No manœuvre of the enemies of the working class and of social progress will be able to counter the hopes of the international proletariat, and the Geneva Conference, despite lying propaganda and

demagogy, brings together only the splitters of working class unity, instruments in the hands of American imperialism, whose plan of political and economic enslavement of the peoples of the world they are helping to achieve.

Leading the fight for peace, for democratic rights and the national independence of the peoples, for international trade union unity and the solidarity of the working class of the entire world, the WFTU will win even more supporters and will bring into its ranks further millions of workers.

The Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions, during the period between the first and the second Congress of the WFTU, was very active in all fields, fighting for the protection of the democratic rights of the workers of the whole world and supporting the activity begun or recommended by the WFTU for the defence of the vital interests of the international proletariat and of all the democratic forces of the world.

The Yugoslav trade unions have shown their solidarity. They have on many occasions given substantial aid, in food and money, to the Greek people. More than 10,000 Greek children are in our country, protected from the monarcho-fascist terror. The Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions also gave effective aid, both moral and material, to the French proletariat during the great strikes of 1947 and 1948.

During the strikes of November-December 1947, the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions sent ten wagon-loads of oil and 20 of sugar to the children of the strikers, and during the miners' strike in 1948 they sent 80 millions francs.

The members of the Yugoslav unions, our trade union press and all workers in Yugoslavia follow attentively and with the greatest sympathy the struggle for liberation waged by the peoples of China, India, Viet Nam, Indonesia and other colonial and semi-colonial peoples against American imperialism and its satellites.

Faithful to its traditions of internationalism, the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions will continue to educate its members in the spirit of international proletarian solidarity.

The Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Unions will carry out the decisions of this Congress to strengthen the fight for peace, for the protection of the democratic rights of the workers and for the development of the unity of the world trade union movement. The Yugoslav trade unions will increasingly encourage their members to fight to strengthen the WFTU, to consolidate peace and the fraternal relations between the peoples.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKERS IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE ! LONG LIVE DEMOCRACY AND THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLES ! (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*A. Le Léap*). I declare the session adjourned.

SESSION OF 4th JULY 1949

5 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of V. Lombardo Toledano.

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). We shall continue discussion on the reports made by Comrade Kuznetsov and Santi. I now call on Comrade Linn of Israel.

B. LINN (*Israel*). Comrades, the report of Comrade Kuznetsov was animated by an ardent desire to prevent a new massacre and to secure the peace for all peoples of the world. We all share in this aim and regard it as the duty of all national workers' organizations to do their utmost—and even more than that—to frustrate the preparations made by the forces working for a new world war, which threatens to destroy the achievements of human civilisation and to cause death to great masses of working people all over the world.

Our State—the State of Israel—was the cradle of a great ancient civilisation and it is at the same time the youngest of the States in the world.

We are still at war, although there is for the time being an armistice. But we do not know if those who pull the strings of imperialistic intrigue in the Middle-East are not preparing its renewal.

I feel certain that this Congress will share in our belief that our struggle serves the forces in the world who fight for peace.

What is the true character of Israel's war of liberation? What is the part it plays in frustrating the preparation for a new world war?

Let us be frank. When the war was forced upon us we concentrated all our energy, having been assisted by the Jewish people in the world, to win it. First of all, it was our national war, because we know too well that its outcome will be decisive for our future, that it means literally a war of life or death. Our defeat would have meant the physical destruction of the great majority of the Jewish population of our country, while the world at large remains passive.

Our war was a war for the achievement of our national independence, in the spirit of the decision of the UN, in the adoption of which the USSR and the peoples of the Popular Democracies played such an important part.

This decision was adopted in order to make good an historic evil which was committed against the most persecuted and scattered people

in the world. Reactionary groups dominating the Arab peoples by force of terror and assisted by the well-known Intelligence Offices have forced upon us this war. A small community then, of only 700,000 persons, we have succeeded in repulsing a joint attack of Arab countries numbering a total population of over 20,000,000 people.

Large quantities of ammunition and war equipment flowed into these countries and a part of the invading armies—namely that of Transjordania—was under direct command of British officers.

The results of this war until now are well known. It was my Arab friend from Israel who already said that the ill-designed scheme to strangle the State of Israel at its birth has failed but has nevertheless succeeded in causing much suffering to the working masses of the Arab peoples.

We too had to make many and great sacrifices and many of our best youth have given their life for the liberty of our people.

In critical times we had the assistance of our friends all over the world. The Jewish people and the workers' movement will cherish its deepest gratitude to all those in the world, and first of all to the peoples of the USSR and Popular Democracies, who gave us their political and diplomatic help, who facilitated Jewish emigration from their countries and who assisted us in many other ways. This assistance was of great importance to us in our struggle.

And, Comrades, this war of ours also plays an objective important part in the general effort to frustrate the machinations of those who prepare for a new world war.

The Middle East has become one of the most important strategic and communication centres in the world, it is one of the richest oil sources.

All this is well known to those who plan aggression and war.

The existence of a free democratic country in this block of feudal and semi-feudal countries does not please them. The existence of a country which has made internationally known its will to preserve its independence and its strong opposition to the establishment of bases of foreign countries, a country where there lives and works a strong, organised and united labour movement in which my own party, the United Worker's Party (Mapam) plays a considerable part—such a country naturally is not favourably viewed by the present Arab rulers and their allies.

The existence of a progressive country, whose living standard is high, whose industrial economy is developed and whose working class, conscious of its mission, serves as an example to the workers of the Middle East—this, too, is viewed as a disturbing factor by the imperialistic forces.

That's why we believe that our victory is the victory of all peace loving forces in the world.

Our second task in building peace is to work steadily for true unity between the Jewish and Arab workers in Israel, which will serve as a guarantee for peace in our own country and an important step towards the organisational progress of the working class in the Middle East in alliance with the democratic forces in the world. This unity will also serve to work against making the Middle East a base for aggression.

We are not satisfied with what was already achieved and we know that there is still more to do. We are in the beginning. But I want you comrades, to remember that our State is only one year old, and this was a year of a cruel war. Behind us there are 30 years of mandatory rule, which based its policy on the well-known principle of "divide and rule". I hope my Arab friends here will agree when I state that during this year the conditions of life and work of the Arab workers in Israel have been greatly improved. Their wages doubled and trebled. But there is still much to do—and that will be done! And if something is wrong—it should be remedied as soon as possible.

Equality and brotherhood among the workers are the best guarantee for the worker's victory in his class struggle.

We want to assure Comrade Kuznetsov and this Congress that the Histadruth will contribute its part to the struggle of the workers in the world for peace among nations. We shall submit to our organisation the proposal of fixing a special day for the work of peace.

Our people was the most affected by the second world war. More than one third of the Jewish people has been annihilated by the Nazi beasts. The growth of antisemitic feelings, which is combined with the growth of reaction and neo-fascism—is filling us with horror of what may happen to our people in various countries of the world when a new war comes.

The workers of Israel together with all workers of the world place their faith in the unity of the workers and the democratic forces in the world and they will help in building the forces which will oppose war and aggression.

We join wholeheartedly with Comrade Kuznetsov when he says: "Our weapon is unity, organisation, solidarity and mutual aid. In unity and mutual help is the main guarantee of the success of working class struggle. United—no enemy will overcome us."

(Enthusiastic applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Bakiri of Albania.

N. BAKIRI (*Albania*). Comrades,

In his excellent report comrade Kuznetsov said to us: "The war against Fascism showed us that a happy cooperation, independent of any differences in their social and political outlooks, was possible between peoples." He added: "The Soviet government expressed the will of the Soviet people when it repeatedly showed and is still showing that it is ready to widen and strengthen international cooperation with all countries, whatever the nature of their social system."

But the war-mongers, those for whom war is a source of considerable profits, those Anglo-American imperialists, want to convince people of the impossibility of two different systems existing side by side. At the same time as they prepare their materials of war they are seeking to disturb people's minds; by preaching hatred against the USSR and the popular democracies they are preparing people ideologically for a new war.

They are exploiting every means possible to obtain their ends—the press, the radio, the cinema.

And then they are trying to turn the school to their use, to use education to prepare new soldiers, new aggressors and occupying forces, as the Nazis and Fascists did.

This is shown by the report of the School Policy Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Superintendents published under the title "*American Education and International Tension*." This was signed by twenty eminent people, including General Eisenhower, President of Columbia University, and Inspector Jansen of New York and demanded that communists should be removed from the teaching profession.

And who qualifies as a communist? The Canwell Committee stated, at the conclusion of an enquiry at Washington University: "There is every reason to believe a person to be a communist if he says that in this country (the USA) a policy of racial discrimination is practised (against the negroes) and that there is inequality of income."

So all democratic teachers are being hounded out of the teaching profession and persecuted.

What are to be the principles guiding the education of the teachers who are to be responsible for American learning? The abovementioned report gives the answer. It says: "Since war is inevitable, the mass of the American people must be given a new psychological orientation", and that "when the American people realise that international tension is neither superficial nor temporary, the majority will adapt themselves to the reality."

The personalities in question have paid lip-service to the catastrophes that war would bring to humanity, but in their report they severely condemn all those who do not allow themselves to be affected by the war psychosis people are trying to create, and who dare to believe in a better world.

So it is against this new American conception, aiming at preparing youth for slaughter that we teachers affiliated to the Teachers' Trade Department must struggle in order that the school shall be placed at the service of peace.

We must struggle to give teaching a different trend. We must attack the anti-democratic flavour given to education by imperialism for its aggressive ends.

We must free education from the chauvinist, fascist, racist, anti-Soviet and anti-democratic ideologies which train for war. So we must struggle for the peaceful development of a strong and healthy youth.

It is our duty to show young people that respect for national independence contributes to the cultural development of each country, and we must tell them, too, of the achievements of other countries. In doing so we may be sure that we are serving the cause of peace.

The teacher can and must make an important contribution to this cause. As he educates the young person at school he "makes" the man. He can lead him to understand that peace is his most treasured possession.

In his relationship with the parents of his pupils and other people

in his village and district he can play an important part in the fight for peace.

So our Education Department has a great task to fulfil in this fight. For our part, we have organised peace days in our schools. On these days the pupils have to write an essay on why they want peace and how they think they can contribute to it. The parents are brought into this work.

At the suggestion of our Teachers Union the Paris teachers organised an exhibition of drawings and sketches on the theme of the defence of peace for the Peace Congress.

We feel, then, that we cannot but give a warm welcome to comrade Kuznetsov's proposal to organise an international peace day, and to draft an appeal to intensify the struggle for peace. Only with the joint action of all the workers united within the WFTU will we be able to carry out successfully our work for peace.

A well rounded education is essential to prepare young people for liberty, to uproot anti-democratic and chauvinist influences and clear away dogmas that lead to the enslavement of humanity. But to obtain this education farsighted plans and great material resources are necessary.

Many capitalist and reactionary governments, which are spending exorbitant sums of money on military training and war preparation, set aside absurdly small sums of money for the people's education. I make no mention of the colonial or semi-colonial countries where no provision at all is made for Education, and where the masses are deliberately kept in ignorance.

It is in the USSR and the popular democracies that Education really serves the people, and is in the service of peace and humanitarianism. If you look in the school books of these countries you will find not a single trace of that chauvinism and racial hatred that fills the text-books of the countries training an army for aggression and occupation.

I will not list here the Soviet Union's magnificent achievements in the field of teaching, nor will I speak of the contribution of the teacher towards the sound education of the masses. That would take too much time. For the same reason I will make no mention of the popular democracies' achievement in education.

I will simply point out the difference between the education given in the capitalist countries and that given in the democratic countries by taking as my example Albania, which, thanks to the heroic struggle of the army of liberation and especially to the liberating Soviet armies, can today freely lay the foundations of socialism.

Under Zog's anti-democratic regime 83 % of the population was illiterate. Hardly a quarter of the children of school age attended school. The allowance to the Royal Court was nearly half that spent on education for the whole of the country. The supervision of school work and even of the teacher was in the hands of illiterate police.

Today, in the People's Republic of Albania, since the education reforms introduced immediately after the liberation, primary education has been made compulsory.

There are 1,893 primary schools and attendance is 362 % of the pre-war numbers. The seven-year schools, which numbered 107 in 1948,

will be increased to 172 by 1950, that is, there will be an increase of 156 % over 1938. The number of middle schools is 21 (increase of 191 % of pre-war).

Of the 17,000 illiterate people in our country 233,000 attended classes during the last three years and more than half of them have learnt to read and write. Every illiterate person under the age of 40 years must attend a course. The number of libraries has increased from 6 (in 1938) to more than 400.

So today youth has the opportunity of broadening its horizons and of showing its potentialities, while the teacher sees his rôle become more important, and new ways being opened for his cultural development. And this is happening when educators are being maltreated and persecuted, not only in fascist countries such as Spain, Greece and certain Latin American countries, but in France and the United States of America.

It is my duty to say on this platform that in the name of the Teachers Trade Department we are sympathetically following the Hindu teachers strike. We stand firm too with the American teachers in their defence of their university rights. We express our sympathy and solidarity to the teaching body of Strasbourg University in its demands that the University should remain French, and not become "western" or "European" so as to be in line with the ideological outlook of the Atlantic Pact.

We solidly support the American teachers' union which belongs to our Trade Department and which works in close association with the CTAL (Confederation of Workers of Latin America).

And, too, we must congratulate our comrades in Viet Nam who, even during their struggle for peace, have practically liquidated illiteracy, in the country that belongs to them.

As representative of the Trade Union Council of Albania, I must stress again that our workers who gave more than 28,000 martyrs to the war of liberation with 12,600 disabled besides (the country also suffered heavy material losses amounting to more than 1,600 million dollars) understand very well what war means, and so they are determined to struggle with all their strength for the defence of peace.

We therefore warmly welcome the reports of comrades Kuznetsov and Santi, as well as the suggestions put forward by comrade Kuznetsov, and we declare we will do all in our power to put them into practice.

At the same time we are unshakeable in our conviction that the peace forces, with the great Soviet Union at their head, will confound the plans of the war-mongers.

Dear comrade delegates, we the teachers have a great duty to perform in the struggle for peace. Our organisation of teachers, in carrying out the principles of the WFTU and the resolutions made, will do our hardest to acquit ourselves well.

But to carry out this work we need the support of workers of all trades and professions. We are very anxious to establish relations with all the teaching and education organisations in the world, so that we can decide together on the tasks that must be accomplished.

So, united and marching shoulder to shoulder, we shall intensify our struggle to safeguard peace.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS IN THE WFTU! LONG LIVE PEACE!

(*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Croizat of France.

A. CROIZAT (*France.*) Comrades,

The report made by our friend Kuznetsov has defined in a masterly manner the fundamental tasks of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Among other things, it brought out the imperative necessity of this intense struggle for the whole proletariat throughout the world—a struggle not only for peace but also for the realisation of the economic and social programme of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It also brought out, on the basis of this analysis, the decisive method by which the WFTU could victoriously fulfil its tasks.

This method is that of the achievement in a concrete manner of international unity, which can be attained only by constant and continuous efforts in each country in favour of the unity of all workers.

In this connection, it is important to recall that the problem of trade union unity is the reason for the existence of the WFTU which was created in 1945 on a unity basis and which remains the organisation fulfilling both the sentiment and the aspirations of the proletariat of the whole world and also the spirit of unity which animates them.

This sentiment of unity must permeate the discussions and decisions which we shall take in our Congress, and must spread throughout all countries in the interest of our action in favour of peace and for the winning of new economic and social rights.

Consequently I would like, on the basis of the discussion which has already begun and on behalf of the French delegation, to make a certain number of observations.

In the sphere of unity, it is above all necessary to guard against any sectarianism and also to take into account the situation in each country, its peculiarities, the conditions of struggle and the relations of forces and methods applied by the class enemy. It is also necessary to guard against all erroneous estimations which consist in purely and simply lumping the workers together with those leaders who are closely linked to their imperialist masters.

It is for this reason that the problems of unity vary from the point of view of complexity from one country to another; and the questions which are posed at the present time in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries are of prime concern to the World Federation of Trade Unions. It must also be taken into account that in these countries, the workers are being subjected to continuous and unrelenting pressure by the class enemy by means of the radio, the press, and a systematic campaign attempting to divert the workers from the real path which they must follow. We must give our attention to these difficulties since they result precisely from the methods brought into use by the enemy in this field in order to prevent and obstruct the realisation of unity.

There is no doubt at all that the workers of all kinds throughout the world are in agreement with the economic and social programme of the WFTU, a programme which replies to the aspirations and desires of the immense mass of the workers of the whole world.

In our work for unity moreover, especial attention must be paid to the lessons of the past, lessons which the history of the labour movement has taught us and which has always shown us that it was necessary to know how to approach the workers not with the belief that they could be as completely convinced as we were, but to approach them as they are, without naive or infantile illusions. Certainly our ambition and our aim would be to have before us workers who reason like us, having the same consciousness and a sense of responsibility identical to our own; but this is not the case. Consequently, we must reason in the following manner :—

—The fundamental task of the militants of the World Federation of Trade Unions is to develop our work of unity in terms of this situation and remembering that above all we must approach the workers as they are and not as we might suppose them to be; to develop our activity in such a way that, sooner or later, they will come to think as we do and so that they will have the same idea of responsibility as we.

I would like to make a remark here : In the discussion which has taken place on the basis of the two reports which were presented, speaking from the point of view of unity—this is the observation which arises from this discussion—there was a certain persistence in wishing to regard these problems from a rather sectarian standpoint which consisted in making no distinction whatever between the leaders and workers; we have, even in our Congress—and since yesterday—met with the expression of this opinion.

It must be understood that if we do not make the necessary rectifications in this field, we run the risk of encountering serious obstacles to the fulfilment of the fundamental tasks of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which are to do everything to facilitate the achievement of the unity of the workers in all countries and on the international scale. This is one of the essential conditions to ensuring the success of our action in favour of peace and for the achievement of the economic and social programme of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It is for this reason, comrades, that we must primarily consider the World Federation of Trade Unions as grouping all workers in its ranks without distinction as to race, colour, or political, philosophic or religious opinions. This is the essential basis of our international trade union movement.

Certainly we must not forget the responsibility of the leaders who are in the service of imperialism, in the service of capitalism, and we must continuously present an objective critique of their actions, their policy and their responsibility in the present international situation. But our endeavours must in all circumstances consist in working with conviction to draw in the workers, wherever they are—in the Anglo-Saxon, particularly Nordic countries—in doing everything possible to lead the workers who are in solidarity with the economic and social

programme of the WFTU to participate in its methods of action, so as to draw them more and more into this vast united international action against imperialism so as to bring about the triumph of the idea of peace and also the victory of the economic and social programme.

This work of unity requires audacity which, of course, does not exclude patience and flexibility.

We have much to do in order to justly convince, know how to show patience and work in such a way that the great stream of unity symbolised by the WFTU may be definitely achieved by the return—we hope with the shortest delay—of the workers of Britain and America and of the Scandinavian countries into that great family constituted by the World Federation of Trades Unions.

We must, therefore, in each of the countries which we represent, break away from these abstract conceptions and generalities, and work for unity, directing ourselves resolutely towards that concrete activity which will make it possible for us to make genuine progress and to achieve the objectives of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

I would like here—without wishing to imply that the forms in application in France can automatically be so in other countries—to remind the Congress of a certain number of experiences of the French CGT during these last few months.

We might be entitled to say that we have accumulated over many years a certain number of positive experiences in the achievement of unity.

Is it necessary to recall the 1934-1936 period, the realisation of the Popular Front, which made certain important social gains possible in France? Today, even after the attempts at division, after the split brought about by elements of whom you are aware, the CGT continues its activity, its action for the defence of the economic and social interests of the working class, and it also takes part very actively in the fight for peace.

We have drawn the lessons from our own national experience, but we have also taken account of the wise recommendations of the World Federation of Trade Unions made at its previous Congress, and we have resolutely gone ahead in our country—in spite of the split—in our attempts to achieve practical progress in the field of unity.

Here is a brief reminder of some of our experiences during this latter period :—

We have been faced by enemies who carried on a large-scale offensive against our organisation. They attempted to use a policy of violence, repression and slander in order to try and isolate the General Confederation of Labour from the immense mass of the workers of our country. We gave a suitable reply to these attempts at isolation; and the sole method which proved effective was that of the achievement of unity, not in a general and abstract way, but on precise bases directed towards the struggle for a certain number of demands common to the workers as a whole.

During these last few months, the CGT has obtained a great number of agreements on the national, departmental and local planes, with such organisations as the French Confederation of Christian Workers and also with the local organisations of "Force Ouvrière"—the breakaway organisation. In addition—and this is a new extremely important

fact—contact has been made for the first time with the organisations of technicians and engineers in the different industries.

In more than twenty industrial Federations, agreements have been concluded on the federal level, on the County level, on the trade union level and in the factories.

Important actions have taken place among the civil servants, and among the workers in private industry; and the labour movement is once more making considerable advances in our country.

The struggle is becoming more and more extensive and irresistible, under the sign of the widest unity, against the consequences of the application of the Marshall Plan, and against the policy of misery of our Government which is tied to American policy.

This struggle is being waged on the basis of unity with the Catholic workers and the workers of "Force Ouvrière", in other words the unity of all workers without distinction as to political, philosophic or religious opinions; and under the stimulus of its unity policy, the French General Confederation of Labour is making new strides forward and we are witnessing a new awakening.

The CGT has lost nothing, it has not been isolated; its contact with the masses improves daily as does its position in all the elections of workers' representatives; in the election of shop stewards on the railways, the CGT obtained from 75 to 80 % of the workers' votes.

An extremely important happening is that a mass movement favourable to us is taking shape among clerical workers, and industrial technicians and engineers, and in this must be seen one success of the unity policy—that realistic policy which is applied not in an abstract manner but on the basis of concrete demands common to the whole of the workers.

We did not immediately seek, when we first made contact, to impose our programme in its entirety. We endeavoured above all in our preliminary discussions to search for the demands common to all the workers. It was on this basis that agreements were reached and action undertaken; and it can be observed that during the last few weeks the atmosphere in our country has changed, new relations have been set up between the workers. While some months ago the worker belonging to the CGT considered the Catholic or the Socialist worker as a traitor, today they are once more coming together, fraternity reigns between the workers who are meeting each other after having been separated for one or two years.

The struggle is growing and taking on an increasingly serious character, as for example the struggle against dismissal, the fight against the closing-down of factories, against the consequences of the application of the Marshall Plan; and we can say that French experience in this sphere contains a certain number of positive aspects.

We have approached these problems with the greatest firmness, without omitting a certain flexibility; we have not wished for and we have reacted against the sectarian tendencies which manifested themselves in our movement; some comrades considered that it was no longer possible to achieve unity with the Catholic workers or the workers of the breakaway organisation; it was first of all necessary to convince our own elements. This conviction was achieved in the contact of the actual struggle and the common experiences; and today we can record

substantial results; for we want, in short, the World Federation of Trade Unions to be able to become still stronger and to be able also to develop this stream of unity.

It is absolutely vital that in each country, while taking account of the peculiarities and of the varying situation, we should resolutely orient ourselves towards this mass work, towards this work of unity based on concrete objectives.

It is necessary to remember, comrades, that the fight for peace is a fight which must be waged in constant liaison with the workers' claims. To the extent to which the workers of our countries fight against dismissals, fight for better wages and for new liberties, to the extent to which they press forward their action to improve their lot, they are contributing to the weakening of the position of capitalism and to reducing its capacity in its work of preparation for war.

The fight for peace—and I say this here, friends, in complete fraternity—still preserves a too general character, and it is indispensable—if we are fully conscious of the gravity of the international situation—for us to give to our action for peace this concrete content, this close liaison with the fight for the workers' claims, for economic and social rights, for the extension of trade union freedoms and civil liberties, so that we may continue our advance.

And if we wish in each of our countries to be able continually to change the relation of forces in favour of the working class, there is only one method, that indicated by the rapporteur, namely to start out resolutely and audaciously and on a practical basis, towards the achievement of trade union unity, while endeavouring to rid ourselves for ever from the vestiges of sectarianism and from this dangerous conception which consists in making no distinction between the workers and the leaders who are betraying the cause of the workers of the whole world.

It is for this reason, comrades, that I have brought out here the concrete results obtained in our country.

We hope to go forward and to merit the confidence of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In our country, which because of its geographical position, constitutes the international centre for the intrigues of the imperialists, we are aware that we must do everything to wage this active fight for peace and that consequently we must act without any narrow, sectarian conceptions, and we shall go forward to the sound and true achievement of the unity of the workers in the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

(Long and enthusiastic applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade Massini, of Italy.

C. MASSINI (*Italy*). Comrades, the Italian delegation declares its complete agreement with the outstanding report of Comrade Kuznetsov.

For the Italian workers and the whole Italian people, having fought and beaten fascism and nazism, hoped to enjoy a long period of peace and improve their conditions of life and work.

While in the country of socialism and in the popular democracies all this has already been or is being achieved, in the capitalist countries,

where the consequences of the second World War are more clearly visible than elsewhere, the imperialists, the armament manufacturers, those who during the bloodshed of the last war accumulated thousands of millions, are thinking of unleashing another war, with the aim—admitted by Churchill—of destroying those “bad examples”, the country of socialism and the popular democracies, so as to be able to dominate the world both economically and politically.

And this is the object of the ever fiercer reactionary measures against the working masses and against all democratic organisations that we see being used in capitalist countries.

The capitalists and reactionary governments which, like those in my country, have put themselves entirely at the service of American imperialism and in so doing have sacrificed national independence, need to achieve two main objectives :—

1. To force down as much as possible the conditions of life and work of the working masses.

2. To restrict democratic liberties in general instead of expanding them, so as to be able to remain masters of the situation indefinitely. The capitalists and their governments are compelled above all to clamp down on trade union liberties.

I would like, comrades, to describe in a few words the most important phases of this reactionary policy in Italy and the counter-measures adopted by the working class and the democratic organisations.

It is perhaps necessary to stress to this Congress how much the best sections of the Italian people contributed to the struggle for national liberation against fascism and nazism.

It was this test of popular courage and sacrifice which restored to Italy its national honour and prestige, effaced by fascism, and not the pirouettes and servilities of the foreign policy of Count Sforza.

It was the armed struggle of our brave partisans which saved the greater part of our industries, and not the cowardice of the owners who, as allies of the fascist criminals, had abandoned everything.

In spite of this, in spite of the oft-repeated promises to reform the basic branches of the national economy (agriculture, industry, the banks, social legislation, taxation, etc.), in spite of the promise to convert the national economy to the interests of the working class, nothing was done. The whole national economy has been based on the famous Marshall plan—already bankrupt—and the Atlantic pact. In other words the whole policy of the capitalists and of the Italian government has been based on war.

While each item of news however small on the easing of the international situation is welcomed by the workers with joy and hope, for the capitalist and the Italian government it is all a matter for dismay.

This is the results of the contradictions of decadent imperialist capitalism !

Anger dismay, contradictions that the hysterical cries of anti-communism and anti-sovietism cannot conceal.

If the Italian government had intended to rationalise our national economy, it had at its disposal a very effective instrument, the Institute of Industrial Reconstruction (IRI), which is a great financial body,

attached to the Ministry of Industry, with power to control the greater part of our industries, transport and other nationally important enterprises.

Instead of strengthening this organisation and utilising it, as any democratic government would have done, the Italian government obeyed the monopolist groups, such as Fiat, Montecatini, and others, and set in motion the liquidation of this body, in line with a policy tending to strengthen the monopolies.

While the governments of other countries, even capitalist ones like France and England, adopted a sort of nationalisation programme, the Italian government is doing the exact opposite on the orders of the Americans and their Italian lackeys.

But in order to try and achieve all this, it was necessary to weaken the working class and its organisations. This is the true reason for all the attempts to split the trade union movement.

In every country we can always find a Deakin or a Carey ready to betray the workers to the benefit of their class enemies; but the working class is experienced and is beginning to recognise and unmask these traitors.

The Italian government, in agreement with the bosses, is also openly carrying out an anti-union policy, and has more than once threatened to introduce into Italy something on the lines of the Taft-Hartley laws.

It goes without saying that this anti-communist and anti-popular policy has nothing in common with the interest of the nation as a whole.

This is why our production is still below the pre-war (1938) level. And unemployment is higher than it has ever been in the country's history: more than 2 million totally unemployed, without counting cuts in working hours. The living standards of the working masses is falling instead of rising.

It is perhaps as well to add that last month the owners' organisations came to an agreement to refuse all the workers' economic demands, by way of preparing to overcome the new capitalist economic crisis which is developing in the world.

How have the working class, the Italian workers, answered the government's action and the desperate efforts of capitalism in our country?

Twenty-two years of experience of fascism have well and truly demonstrated what lack of unity means for the working class: and the stubborn fight of the vanguard of the workers and of our militant anti-fascists has developed the class-consciousness of our workers.

The Rome pact on trade union unity was signed at a moment when more than two-thirds of the national territory was still occupied by the nazi-fascists; and for the first time in the history of our trade union movement employees and technicians were organised in the same unions as the workers, while other traditionally autonomous unions such as the printers, glass-workers, railway workers, and seamen entered our great CGIL.

Three years of experiences together have tightened the links between the workers of all categories and all ideologies, so much so that when orders from America and from the Vatican demanded the breakaway of the Christian democrats, the leaders of the split were followed by

a few tens of thousands of members only, the great majority of Catholics, who form 90 % of the workers, remaining in the unified organisation.

Material and moral pressure have not altered the situation. *Class feeling, a correct and unsectarian policy, and good work in the factories and offices have contributed to this result, which is all the more striking today when certain social-democrat leaders without followers have left the CGIL.*

Reaction has tried hard to divide us, and not only from within; it has tried and is still trying to isolate us from the poorer sections of the population and from all those who look on the trade union movement as a far-sighted guide in every struggle for production and progress.

The struggle has been hard, the more so since the elections of 18 April 1948 had given the party of the bosses and of the clergy an absolute majority in Parliament.

But many new answers have sprung from the popular movement : there are the Factory Committees which unite us with the technicians, and in which participate representatives of all social classes and parties—sometimes even priests—cooperating to prevent the dismissal of workers or the closing down of factories; there are the "Land Committees", which in every commune bring together those who see the necessity for agrarian reform and the technical and social improvement of agricultural production; or the "Area Committees" (*consulte popolari*), which bring together artisans, trades people, doctors, etc., who with the workers study local problems, discuss them, and fight, by mobilising the masses, for their solution; or for the most serious problems there are Committees of Deputies of each Party who have a common aim, that of finding a solution to these problems.

This activity, even with all its faults, enabled us to stop the owners' advance and to develop the movement for the peace petition, for which more individual signatures were collected from voters than the 8 million votes received by the Popular Front on 18 April 1948.

On such broad bases, and in a determined struggle in which the workers of the town and those of the country are united, we are continuing our campaign against unemployment, for a production policy, improved living standards for workers and employers, defence of trade union liberties, defence of the Republican Constitution, and peace. For it is clearly understood that each economic struggle, each trade union activity, means for us a blow for democracy and peace.

After having briefly described the reactionary policy of our capitalists and our struggle to resist and take the offensive against it, I think it may be concluded that if the Italian proletariat and its allies have not succeeded in compelling the government to adopt a policy more favourable to the interests of the country and to world peace, it is equally true that the Italian government's plan of enslavement to imperialism cannot advance in the face of the stubborn and constantly increasing resistance of the workers, who have already solemnly declared that they have no desire to fight again under the banner of imperialism.

That is why the Italian delegation declares itself in complete agreement with the immediate tasks that comrade Kuznetsov has laid

before the World Federation of Trade Unions as a whole. These tasks meet the Italian situation, and we will strive to carry them out as thoroughly as possible.

The forces of peace are greater than those of war. It is up to us, comrades, to convince them, by adequate propaganda, to fight for their ideas.

It is up to us to mobilise these forces with the appropriate forms of organisation. We are in agreement, therefore, with the proposal for an International Peace Day.

We are in agreement too with the proposed manifesto of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which must be a solemn appeal for peace to all free peoples and those who aspire to liberty. We are also completely agreed on the necessity for setting up International Trade Departments, which must consolidate and complete trade union unity among all the workers of the world.

Comrades, friends, to work !

Let us unite more closely than ever, and common victory will be nearer and more certain.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Tawfic Toubi, delegate of the Arab Workers Congress in Israel.

T. TOUBI (*Arab Workers Congress in Israel*).

Comrades, I think this 2nd Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions should be very grateful to comrade Kuznetsov for his important speech. He has not only given us valuable information on the WFTU's fight for peace, international trade union unity and the defence of democratic rights, but he has also been a guide for the future activity of the WFTU and the National Centres.

In exposing the war-mongers' plans to unleash a new war on mankind—plans which have their roots in the destructive capitalist economic system which leads to deeper and deeper crises—comrade Kuznetsov stressed that the forces of the peoples, closely attached to the defence of peace, are invincible. He aptly reminded us of the prophetic words of comrade Stalin, who predicted the inevitable bankruptcy of the war-mongers' plans.

This gives the people confidence in the outcome of their struggle against the war-mongers' plans, it gives them confidence in the immense strength of the popular democracies. It is however clear that such a situation could not have arisen without the unremitting fight for peace carried on by all peace-loving peoples.

And, comrades, we should be proud of the results we have achieved in this field. The WFTU, which took an active part in preparing for and convening the Paris Peace Congress, led the great majority of the affiliated National Centres to take part in that Congress, thus strengthening the struggle for peace on the national and international levels.

Our Federation has played an important part in the defence of peace, as a worthy representative of the toiling masses who are more than anyone concerned to preserve world peace.

But our task is far from completed, as comrade Kuznetsov pointed

out. The fight for peace, the seeking out of the war-mongers and their agents in the ranks of the working class must be a daily struggle systematically and tenaciously fought.

This, comrades, is a fundamental duty that the interests of the working class requires of us, and when we see how comrade Kuznetsov enumerated the tasks of the struggle for peace according to the conditions in each country, we understand how completely this fight is bound up with the day-to-day interests of the working class.

And we, the Arab workers of Israel, however slight our strength are proud to be at the side of the Jewish democratic forces in the fight for peace.

In our country the conditions of the battle for peace are not different from those in other capitalist countries. We are fighting, together with the Jewish democratic forces, against the penetration of American capital investment, which brings with it the influence of foreign monopolies in the internal affairs of our country. We oppose the 100-million-dollar American loan recently arranged with the Export-Import Bank, because it makes our country a market for American industry and controls in various ways the development of our country's industry. We are on guard against plans which aim at including Israel in the Mediterranean Bloc or in the Western Bloc.

Although these plans are not official, they are at the back of people's minds when they talk of friendship treaties with the reactionary governments of the Arab states.

Together with the Jewish working class we are fighting against attempts to lower the workers' living standards and wages on the grounds of a fictitious fall in the cost of living contrived by a plan called the "austerity plan."

We are also fighting against the increasing danger of unemployment. These are the forms that the fight for peace is taking in our country.

Those who speak of peace and of the fight for peace in the abstract and make no mention of the concrete ways of fighting for peace are false friends of our common cause; not only do they not defend peace, but they help the enemies of peace by concealing the right way to fight for it. Herein lies the value of comrade Kuznetsov's report on the struggle for peace.

Hearing comrade Kuznetsov speak of the question of the unity of the international working class and his detailed report of the acts of sabotage of Deakin, Carey and Co., we are tempted to give a sigh of relief at seeing such determined servants of Anglo-American capital no longer among the representatives of the working class, since they sabotaged their job of giving effective support to the unions of the colonial countries and hampered their efforts to win national liberation and world peace.

Certainly, comrades, we all regret that their departure from the WFTU has created a situation where the American and British trade union movements—like those of other National Centres—no longer function today as a progressive force.

But this act, however, is part of a whole series of betrayals of the interests of the American and British workers. This act of betrayal of working class unity reveals the manoeuvres of these agents of capitalism

even more clearly to the workers, and there is no doubt that it will rapidly bring to an end their illegal representation of the workers.

In leaving the WFTU, these agents of capitalism have cut themselves off not only from the ranks of the American and British workers, but also from the ranks of the workers of the whole world.

It is up to us, comrades, if we wish to strike a stronger blow for unity, to do more and more to unmask their friends and allies. This—as comrade Kuznetsov explained—is the correct way to fight for unity; he asked us to keep an ever more vigilant watch on the machinations of the enemies of working class unity and to tirelessly unmask their nefarious activities, isolating them from the masses and destroying them for good.

I would like here to assure Congress that the Arab working class in Israel absolutely approves this policy of fighting for unity; in this connection, it is my duty to say to Congress that there are substantial progressive forces among the ranks of the Jewish working class in Israel who fully associate themselves with this policy. They have fought and will continue to fight for whole-hearted support for the WFTU and against any association with the enemies of international working-class unity.

Our efforts will also be directed towards the establishment of trade union unity on the national level, as comrade Kuznetsov asked. We will continue to fight for trade union unity among the Jewish and Arab workers of our country, whatever the difficulties and obstacles.

Difficulties will not stop us in our fight for this sacred end. The refusal of the 7th Congress of the Histadruth last May to agree to the immediate establishment of a unified trade union movement does not discourage us, because we are sure that the minority of delegates to that Congress who put forward this programme of immediate unity will continue unceasingly to fight for that unity, because they know how important it is.

I think it appropriate here to thank our Israeli comrades, who have always helped us and particularly our General Secretary El Qassem and 16 other Arabs of the Trade Unions who have just been set free after 6 months imprisonment in Israel when the prison in which the Egyptian army was holding them fell into the hands of the Israeli army.

Finally, one very important point is what comrade Kuznetsov told us of his “conviction—on the one hand—that the WFTU will prove capable of rallying the entire working class to defend the cause of peace, and that—on the other hand—the agents of the war-mongers among the working class will be destroyed.”

This conviction is justified, comrades, because the WFTU unites in its ranks the best representatives of the world forces of human progress.

How can we doubt of victory when we have in our ranks the powerful working class of the Soviet Union, the very expression of progress and advance, which saved the world from the evils of fascism, which is largely contributing to the liberation of nations, and which is effectively assisting the advance of the peoples towards socialism?

How can we doubt of victory when we have so great a friend as the organiser of the victory of humanity over fascism, comrade Joseph Stalin?

Can we doubt of victory when we have in our ranks the working people of the Popular Democracies, who in building socialism in their countries are strengthening the camp of progress and Democracy?

How can we doubt of victory when we have in our ranks the workers of young democratic China, whose liberation has so raised the strength and prestige of the world camp of progress?

How can we doubt of victory when we have in our ranks the heroic workers of countries like France and Italy who by their courage and valour have shattered and will continue to shatter the intrigues of the British and American imperialists and their agents?

How can we doubt of victory when the best sons of the colonial countries are in our ranks and by their heroic battle against imperialism and monopoly capitalism are decisively weakening our enemies' camp and strengthening the camp of progress?

This, comrades, is why we all share that conviction. We must have faith in victory over the enemies of the working class. This faith, together with unceasing labour, will bring us success.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Bianco of Italy.

D. BIANCO (*Italy*). Comrade delegates,

I bring you the fraternal greetings of the trade unionists of the Socialist Party of the Italian workers. We have always been and remain opposed to any splitting action and we will continue to fight within the WFTU for the defence of the interests of the workers of the world.

We wish the WFTU an ever increasing growth. We regret that, because of certain leaders, the representatives of the workers of some countries are absent, and we hope they will soon join us again in the WFTU for the defence of our common interests.

After the last world war it seemed that the powerful will to unity of the proletariat of the world would be quickly achieved. With the slogan, "Workers of the world unite" the great WFTU sprang up to draw together all workers without distinction of nationality, race or religion.

But, shortly after the constitution of the WFTU, new events in the social life of the eastern and western people caused the WFTU leaders to take up different ideological views. These differences, while concerning economics and trade union strategy, were rooted in different political outlooks.

It was the duty of all trade union leaders to raise themselves above political conceptions to defend, only the interests of the world's workers. Unfortunately, the leaders of the TUC and the CIO, turning their backs on working class interests, provoked a split unfortunate for the development, the strengthening and the emancipation of the working classes.

Unity must be defended by combatting oppression in all its forms. That is why we, who are social-democrats, have remained within the Italian General Confederation of Labour and in the WFTU.

We are fighting all sectarianism, all narrow partisan outlooks, in order to reunite the workers of the world and further strengthen and develop the WFTU.

The WFTU must now set up and develop the Trade Departments and allow them the widest possible autonomy, freedom and democracy. That will make it easier for trade organisations all over the world to take part, and is the first and indispensable condition of the development of international trade unionism.

The WFTU must set up a statistics bureau to collect the production figures of different countries and statistics on the living standards of workers in all trades and professions.

On the basis of these figures the Executive Committee of the WFTU must strive to regulate the living conditions of the workers and establish fair prices on the international market. The chief task of the WFTU is to create stable conditions in the various countries of the world which will allow the raising of the living standards of the workers, especially of those who are most badly off.

Comrades, each one of us must help the new leadership of the WFTU to conclude these new tasks rapidly. Today, more than ever, the workers' forces must rally round our great world organisation.

Let us work together and with all our strength to bring together the workers of the world.

Millions of workers all over the world are today following our deliberations. Let us see that we are worthy of their hopes.

We the social-democrats of Italy, appeal to our comrades throughout the world to work to strengthen proletarian unity.

Let us work for the unity of all workers, for the WFTU, for liberty, justice democracy and peace between the peoples of the world.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Morena of Brazil.

R. MORENA (*Brazil*). The delegation of the Confederation of the Workers of Brazil is happy to be able to greet the workers' delegates of the countries represented here on behalf of the Brazilian working class which is now suffering the oppression of a dictatorship in the service of Yankee imperialism, but which, despite that, is struggling above all for its fundamental rights, for better living conditions, for peace and national independence. The Brazilian delegation is in complete agreement with comrade Kuznetsov's report which, in its analysis of the present world set-up, points out the correct and appropriate tasks of the WFTU in its struggle for peace and for the rights and democratic liberties of the workers of the world.

To our minds, the most necessary task of the trade union movement in Brazil is to concentrate all its forces on the struggle for a lasting peace, for the improvement of the workers' living standards, their rights and democratic liberties.

And why, comrades ?

After the military defeat of nazi-fascism, a defeat due primarily to the effort of the Soviet Union, the Brazilian working class won important democratic victories such as the right to strike, the right of

meeting and association which had been completely lost since 1935 when the political and military dictatorship began its 10 years' oppression of the people. So we worked to organise the Brazilian working class in the Workers' Unity Movement which soon numbered 200,000 workers. This movement was represented at the World Peace Congress held in Paris. Its aim was the defence of the workers' rights, *the development and independence of the workers' movement through the creation a powerful Confederation of Workers in Brazil, and national independence.*

The efforts of the Workers Unity Movement to create an independent national trade union Centre led to a National Trade Union Congress which took place on September 20th 1946 with 2,400 delegates from all parts of the country. Many important resolutions were passed and the Confederation of the Workers of Brazil was set up. Since its inception, this organisation has had the support of the majority of the workers of Brazil.

Since 1947 all its conquests have been ruthlessly removed by the Brazilian government. Why? The free trade union movement covered the whole country and was therefore a serious menace to the colonial policy of the Yankee imperialists whose war plans included the transformation of Brazil into a mere colony of the United States and an important war base. The Brazilian government, oppresses the people and no longer represents national interests because it is selling out our wealth and freedom to the American government and allows the gentlemen of Wall Street to lord it over us. This it does in the hopes of having a free hand to carry out all kinds of shady undertakings, on the orders of the State Department, and, as comrade Kuznetsov has rightly pointed out, has embarked on a campaign of terror against democratic and especially working-class organisations, aiming by this to reduce our workers to greater enslavement.

Behind all this we can see the Yankee plans to unleash a new war against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, against the working class of all countries and the independence of all peoples.

Comrade Kuznetsov very rightly said: "the preparation for war and war itself are a source of immense enrichment for the capitalists. The arms kings squeeze enormous profits out of the working class, lower its standard of living, dooming the workers to extreme poverty.

"One can see the growth of inflation and taxes and the rise of prices of immediate necessities. At the same time wages continually fall and the army of unemployed grows rapidly. The enemies of peace scorn the will of the people, their desire for a stable peace and democratic reform. They mobilise all their reserves for the struggle against the democratic camp and against all that is progressive. The bourgeois press carries out outbridled war propaganda and stirs up war hysteria and atomic psychosis.

"Once more raising the Hitlerite bogey of anticommunism, the war mongers undertake a campaign against all the forces of democracy, against the trade unions and other progressive organisations."

All this is taking place also in Brazil where the Government, in the service of the State Department, is carrying on a violent offensive against all the workers' rights and hopes. The year 1947 was marked by a government offensive against the workers' organisations. The Confe-

deration of the Workers of Brazil and the Trade Unions were closed down, election of union officers was forbidden, and the workers were refused access to the accounts of the social funds of the unions, which come under the direct control of the political police and Minister of Labour.

This treacherous and dicitatorial policy is spreading poverty in our country and thus assisting the aggressive plans of Yankee imperialism. Further, these plans are becoming more and more open and violent, since the United States government treats Brazil as its rear-guard or private domain. We can say that the essential characteristic of the present situation in Brazil is increasing penetration by the Yankees to further their war preparation. That is the explanation of the increasing economic, political and military dependence of Brazil on the American trusts and monopolies, a dependence still more aggravated by the increasing renunciation of its national sovereignty.

We all know the attitude of the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Bogota Conference? The ruling classes and our government of national betrayal, our puppet government, have changed their national dress for the that of the lackeys of Truman and Wall Street.

From this colonisation, this war preparation and growing domination by American capital—which is moreover maintaining an out-worn economic and social structure in our country—comes increasing poverty for the working masses, persecution and violence against the workers' movement, and also the stiffening of our struggle for the defence of our rights and demands.

Faced with this ever growing popular discontent, the little collection of parasites exploiting us is beginning to fear the working class. That explains their capitulation to Yankee imperialism and their policy of violence against the working-class.

Despite all attempts to keep up appearances, the ruling class can no longer govern as it used to.

Despite their empty chatter about democracy and the Constitution they fall back on dictatorial methods, and it is only by these that they can still manage to keep control, serve the interests of their imperialist masters, and bolster up a corrupt social and economic system, by which a tiny number of exploiters live as parasites, batten- ing on the misery of the vast majority of the nation. To illustrate these facts it is only necessary for me to tell you that 81.4 % of Brazil's 1,550,000 workers earn less than 25 dollars a month, while the report of the Bank of Brazil gives 179 dollars as the minimum necessary to maintain a family of 7 people. That means that 80 % of the workers of Brazil live on wages 6 to 11 times below the minimum. At the same time the cost of living rose by 104 % between 1946 and 1948 while the average profits remained at between 30 and 40 %.

When you hear these figures you will understand the real meaning of the government policy of wage-freezing, of its protection of super-profits and the brutal oppression of the working class.

This also explains the Yankee interference in the Ministry of Labour, and the existence, at the American Embassy, of "labour attachés" who tour the country visiting factories and trade unions. The Minister of Foreign Affairs is trying to justify in advance American

military intervention in the event of a revolution in Brazil, in the event, that is, of a new development in the struggle of the masses against their oppressors and exploiters.

The colonisation of Brazil is being speeded up because the American leaders plan an important rôle for Brazil in their war preparation against the Soviet Union, the popular democracies and the independence of all peoples. As an example of this trend the reactionary paper "Correio da Manhã" goes so far as to affirm cynically that our future is "inseparably bound up, for life or death, with that of the USA", thus echoing the gangster McCormick who had the audacity to declare to the Brazilian press that "we will fight together when the moment comes."

It is, then not only a question of producing foodstuffs and raw materials, not only of reserving a store of cannon-fodder in the most heavily populated country of South America: it is a question of Brazil's strategic position, for it lies on America's direct route to Africa and Europe.

Brazil is an indispensable base for all the strategic calculations of Yankee imperialism's war, plans—that is the reason for the pressure put on dictator Dutra to carry out faithfully the orders of his American masters and allow a veritable invasion of the country by American technicians, spies, soldiers and adventurers who would like to take over control entire of our destiny.

Added to all this, the government, under Yankee pressure, is preparing a monstrous law "in defence of the state", together with a law to muzzle the press, to outlaw strikes, and to abolish the right to holidays, recognised since 1926. Moreover, American exactions increase as the Washington government pushes forward its war preparations, menacing the working class of our country with being embroiled in imperialist war and becoming a base for the murderous adventures of the American trust and monopolies.

As soon as we realised the nature of this overwhelming danger, we set to work to mobilise the working class and the people of Brazil.

We want to tell our fellow delegates at this 2nd World Trade Union Congress that in our work we under-estimated the danger of a new war and put the struggle for peace on an equal footing with our other tasks; but today we consider that the peace struggle is the most important issue, conditioning as it does, all the other problems facing the working class of Brazil and of all other countries.

Once we realised this, and aware of the lee-way to be made up, we began, five months ago, a great peace offensive which has the support of great masses of the workers. Other progressive bodies joined with us. So it was that the Confederation of Brazilian Workers was one of the first organisations to back the proposal for a Brazilian peace congress to prepare for a Continental Peace Congress. We appealed to the people and workers to unite against the preparation for war, a preparation that strikes hard against the interests of the Brazilian workers on whose backs the government and the ruling class are anxious to throw the burden of the swollen war budget.

The manifesto issued by the Confederation of Workers of Brazil for peace and higher wages, against the war-mongers and for solidarity with the glorious Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, had a

great effect on the working class. The trades councils of the capital and the states immediately took up a similar stand, and a great number of works committees took part in regional Congresses and in the National Congress. This last took place on the 9th of April of this year. It was dispersed by teargas bombs and machine guns brought out by the Dictator's police acting on American orders. Several people were wounded.

But the workers did not allow themselves to be intimidated, for they know very well that such actions are a sign, not of strength, but of weakness.

The struggle is growing against those American missions which are trying, with government connivance to colonise the country and to put it under the direct control of the national armed forces.

We are fighting to prevent our petroleum from being handed over to the American imperialists, and to do this we are taking part in organisations called "petroleum defence committees" set up throughout the country. We are bringing to light the fact that Brazilian meat is being sold to the American intervention forces in Greece at the low price of five and a half centimes a pound, while the same quality meat is being sold on the home market at 17 centimes a pound. We are arousing wide-spread protest against the export of rice, following on a declaration by the Czech Minister of Agriculture stating that the Brazilian rice exporters were being forced to sell their produce to buyers nominated by the United States at 9 dollars a bushel while Czechoslovakia was offering 11 dollars 80 centimes a bushel for it.

Moreover, since last April the Brazilian workers have been organising Peace Committees in their place of work, and we would like to quote as an example the journalists' committee which succeeded in passing a peace resolution at the Journalists' Congress held at Sao Paulo.

The agricultural labourers and the landless peasants also gave their support to our peace campaign. So it was that at a Congress held at Saint Anastacio in the State of Sao Paulo, a Congress where again police intervention brought bloodshed, the peasants declared that their Congress was also part of the struggle against war.

The workers of the Sao Paulo State ironworks held a successful token strike to prevent an American mission from visiting their factory.

The workers of Ourinhos in the Sao Paulo State demonstrated to keep Mr. Nelson Rockefeller's touring-party from visiting their town. Mr. Rockefeller kept away.

The workers of the capital of Minas Gerais together with the students, prevented by their huge protest meetings the banquet the Association of Commerce planned to give the mission headed by the spy, John Abbink.

Finally the workers led by the Confederation of Workers of Brazil, are giving their support to the National Peace Council. A great number of women workers recently took part in the National Congress of Women which set up a new organisation, the Federation of the Women of Brazil.

The Confederation of Brazilian Workers is organising Peace Committees in every trade branch and in every place of work,

committees which fight also for the workers' immediate interests and for the strengthening of class solidarity.

At the same time we are popularising the slogan of friendship with the Soviet peoples, and we stress that we will never allow the utilisation of our territories by imperialist armies, and that, without counting the sacrifice, we will do all in our power to defend the workers' fatherland, that is the Soviet Union, and the People's Democracies.

There is no doubt that all we have done so far is only the beginning of our fight for peace, but this beginning is already sufficient to have thrown into confusion the Yankee war mongers and their Brazilian propagandists. They see that in Brazil, despite Dictator Dutra, it is not so easy to prepare for the carnage. But we are still far from being an organisation strong enough to strike down the threatening arm of the warmongers. Except for the Soviet Union, every country has been late in embarking on this work, of halting the war preparation undertaken by the American imperialists and their agents in all the capitalist colonial and semi-colonial countries.

So far the workers have not exerted all their strength in their fight for peace, because they have not so far fully understood the gravity and the imminence of the danger of war.

The Brazilian delegation calls on the WFTU Congress to support the Continental Congress for Peace which is taking place in Mexico next September. We are anxious, too, that a vigorous protest should be made against the monstrous action brought against more than 500 delegates who took part in the Brazilian Peace Congress. All this is very important for Brazil, because the struggle for peace is in our country the best way of attacking the Yankee colonisers, of ensuring national independence, the overthrow of the Dutra Dictatorship and the establishment of a democratic peoples' government in our country.

Because of all this, comrades, the Brazilian delegates are convinced that the tasks of the WFTU in the struggle for peace, for the strengthening of trade union unity and for the rights and liberties of the workers are certainly those set forth by Comrade Kuznetsov. If we delegates report these principles to the working masses when we return to our own countries, in a very short time we will see springing up a peace movement more powerful than we have ever before seen in the history of working-class struggle; a movement capable, not only of blocking the murderous activities of the war-mongers, but of shattering once and for all the ambitions of the imperialists, and finally conquering a new world for the workers.

The course of history will not be changed by Yankee imperialists, but by the working class led and directed by the WFTU. The working class is now the class to which not only the future belongs but also the present.

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade Piccolato, representative of the Italian women workers.

R. PICCOLATO (*Italy*). Comrades,

The working women of Italy endorse the reports of Comrades Kuznetsov and Santi.

The Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) has made an important contribution to the WFTU's action for international trade union unity, for the defence of the democratic rights of the peoples, and for peace.

Despite all attempts to divide it, the CGIL, by its action, has succeeded in isolating the breakaway trade union leaders and in keeping inside the CGIL the majority of the workers who formerly followed these leaders. In addition, by the just and necessary demands it put forward, it has succeeded in leading all the working men and women into the struggle by revealing to them, the activities of the breakaway traitors.

The splitters' activities have hitherto been particularly well developed among the women workers, in an attempt to break their unity and sow confusion among them. Every means is used by their agents to prevent women from joining our unions, from the threat of dismissal to the most lavish promises if only they will join their organisations.

Our organised women, with courage and even heroism, have succeeded in uniting all the women in the struggle by demonstrating, with the help of factors, that only the CGIL defends their interests and their rights both as workers and as mothers.

It is particularly in their magnificent demonstrations of solidarity to workers on strike that our women workers have become closely united.

The women in the factories and in the countryside have known how to create the atmosphere of strong solidarity which unites workers and peasants, and in this way they have won the sympathy and support of the entire population.

It was the women who organised canteens for the agricultural workers and collected food and money for them. It was they who had the children of unemployed looked after by other workers.

In these fine and moving demonstrations of solidarity the Italian women have united working men and women of all political and religious ideas and given the breakaway leaders their best answer.

Another magnificent response was given by the women land-workers to those who spoke of the weakening of our CGIL. At the end of May of this year the Confederation of Land-workers numbered 45,000 more women among its members than at the end of 1948.

The CGIL has also taken vigorous action in the struggle for peace.

Italy, which, according to the plans of American imperialism, was to hand over its military bases, its factories and its men and young people to the war-mongers of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, has reacted energetically and forcefully through its working men and women to counter the criminal war-plans of world imperialism.

The vigorous fight of the Italian workers against the Atlantic Pact has been the most decisive test of our workers' determination for peace. Unhappily, during this struggle, the first victim of the Atlantic Pact, the young Terni metal-workers Tranquilli, was killed during a demonstration.

At the Paris Congress for Peace, Italy was represented by 1,200 delegates. Half of them represented the trade union organisation. Many of the delegates were women. In a few days nearly 60 million lire were collected to allow this great delegation to be sent to Paris. To

collect this money and, later, to report back on the Congress, thousands and thousands of meetings of all kinds were organised, during which the evil and destructive activities of the war-mongers were denounced. At the same time we publicised the constructive action of the partisans of peace, who are opening new paths to work, progress and democracy.

During the meetings of May 1st, our speakers in the towns, in the countryside, and even in the smallest villages, spoke of the necessity to fight for peace.

Millions of signatures for the petition to Parliament against the Atlantic Pact were collected by our workers and especially by our women workers. Those who distinguished themselves by the number of signatures they collected received a reward and the title of partisan of peace. Thousands of the partisans are to be found today all over Italy.

The women working in the rice-fields, after winning their victory, demanded that the flags of peace and the portrait of their heroine Maria Margotti, killed during the strike of the agricultural labourers, should fly over the farms and fields during rice screening-time. Many banners were given to the trade union organisations and to the Trades Councils.

The women workers of Italy wish to offer a peace banner to the World Federation of Trade Unions also.

The struggle for peace continues, and the struggle for the unity of the workers. We are certain that our CGIL and the World Federation of Trade Unions will be able to exact peace and keep the mothers and children and the peoples of all countries from the pain, bloodshed and mourning of a new war.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, THE BASTION AND GUARANTEE OF PEACE IN THE WORLD !

LONG LIVE THE WFTU, WHICH DEFENDS THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade BlokziJl of the Netherlands trade unions.

B. BLOKZIJL (*Netherlands*). Comrade delegates,

The delegation of the EVC—the Netherlands unified trades unions is in full accord with the report of comrade Kuznetsov concerning the tasks of the World Federation in the struggle for peace, trade-union unity and democratic rights of the workers.

Under what social-economic and political conditions must these tasks be fulfilled ? That is the question which each affiliated National Centre must analyse precisely.

The Netherlands government is—as is the case with the other Marshall countries—taking an active part under American leadership in the preparation for a third world war. Some days ago a paper—closely attached to the Netherlands government—wrote openly that in a foreseeable future all men up to 35 years will be called up for military training, which means a Dutch army of 1 million soldiers on a population of about 10 millions. The paper added : “ the territorial troops will have an extension which comes near to Hitler's Volkssturm. ”

Some time ago the instigators of a new war presented the Atlantic Pact as a "peace-pact." That time had passed. The aggressive aims of this pact are by now openly recognized. In the same paper one reads that the Netherlands troops "will not be concentrated on our own soil, but somewhere in Europe, together with the forces of the allies. These forces shall comprise at least 40 to 50 divisions, not counting the American ones and they will be the *offensive* force of the West."

In this way writes the paper, which appears under the flag of social-democracy.

It is the wish of the aggressors, that the "Western part" will be brought into the field in a short time against the Soviet Union and the People's democracies of Eastern-Europe.

The workers of the USSR however, with their able government and their mighty trade union movement are right at the head of the struggle for peace, democratic rights and freedoms for the workers. They held on in Stalingrad not only to deliver their national soil from Nazi-barbarism, but also for the liberation of the oppressed peoples in the rest of the world.

It is for this reason that the Dutch workers do not capitulate to the wishes of the aggressors, but assemble in the battle for peace. The Netherlands Unified Trade Unions took an active part in the preparations for the World Congress for Peace in Paris, together with other Dutch peace-loving organizations and personalities. The first peace-committees in enterprises do exist already and more of them are being prepared.

That the action for peace is feared by the warmongers hits us in the eye, when one sees the stubborn campaign of lies and calumnies with which it is besmeared.

When the Dutch mothers say that they do not want to give their sons and husbands for a war against the peoples of Eastern Europe, they are named agents of Moscow.

When the same Dutch mothers demand a rapid demobilisation of the troops in Indonesia they are named communists.

All peace-loving people however, communists or non-communists, wish a world of peace and understanding between the peoples. All calumnies will certainly break on the shield of this longing for peace. These wishes are not limited by frontiers or religious groups. They live in the hearts of millions of men and women.

The workers of the Netherlands are in growing numbers aware that no "iron curtain" separates them from the East-European peoples; that these peoples, with the Soviet Union at their head, stand indeed in the midst of the battle for peace.

It is for this reason that the Netherlands Unified Trade Unions will redouble its forces in the fight for peace, to prevent a third world war. We are convinced that these forces will be able to prevent the Dutch workers from being sent—in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists—against those who defeated Hitler-fascism, against the soldiers of Stalingrad, against the liberators of Europe.

The preparation for war lays heavy burdens on the shoulders of the Dutch workers. At the same time that the employers are making huge profits and the taxes on these monstrous profits recently were cut down by the government—the buying power of the wages of the

workers is decreasing and the number of unemployed is increasing continually.

The costs of the threatening serious economic crisis are already beforehand paid for by the workers. Recently there was created in our country an obligatory insurance against the consequences of unemployment, for which the workers must contribute each week. Then there is the impending devaluation of the currency of our country—like that of other Marshall countries—which will cause a drastic decrease of buying-power of the masses. The subsidies on provisions are liquidated in the framework of the Benelux policy of the government. These measures also will increase prices of prime necessities for the workers. The rents of the houses will in a near future be increased by 30 %, which means a reduction of wages of about 5 %.

In the meantime expenses for military purposes are increased. The financial contributions to the Atlantic Pact will for the Netherlands amount to 25 % of the total state budget. Together with the expenditure for Indonesia this will take more than 60 % of the State budget. Even the paper of the governing social-democratic party admits that the Dutch people is being bled white by war-expenditures.

But the workers do not want to bleed. They will defend themselves. The main hindrance for this fight is the dis-unity of the Dutch trade union movement.

The NVV—of which Kupers president—has a coalition with the two Christian trade unions in our country—the Catholic and the Protestant.

This coalition supports the government's disastrous policy. The leaders of these organisations act like strike-breakers and prevent our organisation from taking part in the collective bargaining.

They also try to exclude the EVC from posing candidates for the works committee. They have approved a bill, which has the aim of taking the strike-weapon from the workers.

As a result of this policy they increasingly meet with the resistance of their own members.

The Dutch workers are learning who are their friends and who are their enemies in the common struggle against attacks on their social conditions, against the consequences of economic crisis, against preparations for a new world war, for the ending of the colonial war in Indonesia, for the installation of a lasting peace, for the defence of their democratic rights.

It is in this struggle that the conditions are ripening for trade union unity in Holland.

The differences between the members of the EVC and the NVV are removed by common struggle and will be so to an ever greater extent. The strikes of the past months have already shown this tendency clearly. In spite of the policy of Kupers there were in his organisation thousands of workers who showed themselves willing and capable of defending their rights.

These workers are our allies. They are our brothers.

When Kupers left the session of the Bureau in January this year he had not consulted his members and he did not do so afterwards.

The Netherlands Unified Trade Unions give themselves the task of making the great and noble aims of the World Federation known to

the workers of the Netherlands. We are convinced, that the Dutch workers will not want to be isolated from the international working class. Kupers went out, but it is our task to bring the workers in again.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WAR-MONGERS !

LONG LIVE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLES !

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade Kuznetsov.

V. V. KUZNETSOV (*USSR*). Comrades, the speeches made from this platform show the great attention paid by the trade union organisations of all countries to the question of consolidating international trade union unity for the defence of peace throughout the world, for the struggle for the improvement of the living standards of the working class and of all workers, and for their democratic rights and liberties.

All those who have spoken have been alarmed at the fact that the imperialists are preparing a new war and all have called for an even more active struggle against the war-mongers.

These speeches have shown us new facts which bear witness to the increasing pressure being exercised in the colonial, semi-colonial and also the capitalist countries, of the growing pressure on the working class. The owners and government circles are conducting a campaign against the workers. They are forcing down their wages, cutting down production, and throwing workers into the streets. New Draconian legislation against the workers organisation and especially against the trade unions has been passed.

The events of the past few days continue to confirm these facts.

The British Labour Government, with the fullest support from the leaders of the General Council, declares illegal all action of the workers and of the unions to defend their rights and improve their material situation. The leaders of the General Council have come out against the railwaymen's strike, as has the Minister of Labour, a former trade union militant. Their own leaders are trying to persuade the railwaymen not to go on strike.

Tagging along behind the government, the leaders of the General Council fully support the wage-freeze. At the same time, these leaders are naturally powerless to freeze or lower prices. On the contrary, prices are rising.

The latest events in the United States bring new confirmation of the fact that reactionary circles, with the aid of the leaders of the AF of L and the CIO, are increasing their pressure on the working class. The level of production in the United States is on the decline.

According to the declaration of the US Federal Reserve Board recently published in the press, the 1949 level of production has fallen by 10.8 % below November 1948 and is still falling.

The number of factories closed down or working part time is constantly increasing. It is obvious that this means a continuous increase in unemployment.

The monopolies are taking advantage of the fall in production and

the increase in unemployment to exert renewed pressure on the standard of living of the working class and to cut wages still further.

Monopolist circles in the United States are deliberately ignoring trade union rights. The United States Congress recently not only did not repeal but by a majority confirmed the Taft-Hartley law and rejected the Truman government's proposal to revise it.

It is certain that the Truman government is itself in favour of maintaining this law. But the government is bound by Truman's election promises. Truman had promised to repeal the new legislation, and as you see, all he got was a confirmation of it.

Here it is worth noting that the CIO leaders, in promising the repeal of this law, deceived the workers. The monopolist circles are using these leaders as pawns in their anti-working class game.

Comrades !

An offensive against the working class is being conducted in all countries, capitalist, colonial and dependent.

Reaction is rattling its sword and preparing a new war.

In the light of the present international situation, the unification of the forces of the working class throughout the world is more indispensable than ever. All the speakers stressed this point particularly. The forces of democracy are immense and far larger than those of reaction. Our common task, the task of the workers of the whole world, is to build an impregnable barrier against the war-mongers, to bring about the wreck of the imperialists' perfidious plans. But the forces of democracy are effective only when they are united.

The workers understand this perfectly and the representatives of the working class have expressed it very clearly.

All the speakers have stressed the necessity for strengthening the activity of the National Centres and of the Federation towards the consolidation of unity in our ranks. With reason, they have summoned us to develop this work, both in the National Centres and on the international level. They correctly pointed out the need to reinforce the struggle against the splitters.

Comrades !

To fulfil this task of strengthening and consolidating unity in our ranks, it is necessary to work tirelessly among the working masses, both in the factories and in the homes, and everywhere we can meet the workers.

In all countries where the trade union leaders have announced their departure from the WFTU there are many people who support collaboration with the WFTU, even among the leaders of these unions. It is unnecessary to say that the workers as a whole support the WFTU and are against the split in the working-class movement. The problem before us is therefore to swell the ranks of those who support international cooperation among the working class.

The WFTU must find the means to tell the workers of certain countries of the Congress' decisions to expand and strengthen the working-class movement, so that these workers can join in the struggle against the splitters. Each member of the unions of these countries must be told that the doors of the WFTU and its Trade Departments

are wide open to all who want honestly to fight for the improvement of the workers' living standards, for peace and democratic liberty.

The delegates who spoke have approved the proposals made in the reports, and certain of these proposals do study the means that can be used to improve the work of the WFTU and intensify the activities of the National Centres. These proposals should be taken into account in the resolutions of the Congress, and in this way, with the help of representatives of the National Centres, the World Federation of Trade Unions will be able to draw up a concrete plan of activity in each country, taking into account the particular conditions which prevail.

Comrades, the splitters have not succeeded in destroying the WFTU, and we are fully convinced that they will never do so. They would do better not to waste the time and millions of the American bankers to no useful purpose. I am convinced that the WFTU will be able to close still further the ranks of the working class in its struggle to improve its standards of living, to consolidate its democratic rights and liberties, and to defend peace.

(Congress rose and gave Comrade Kuznetsov an ovation.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). As the discussion on the reports is ended, we will now pass to the election of the Commission charged with drawing up the resolution on this question. On this point I call on comrade Wickremasinghe, delegate of India and Ceylon.

S. A. WICKREMASINGHE (*India and Ceylon*). I propose a commission comprising delegates from the following countries, who will draft a resolution on the general policy and action of the WFTU for peace, the peoples' democratic rights and international trade union unity: Viet Nam, Transvaal, France, Poland, Italy, Germany, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the USSR and Greece.

Before you decide on the composition of this commission, allow me to say that the imperialists have launched a murderous war against the peoples of Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. The trade union organisations of these countries are part of the WFTU, but the workers of these countries have been unable to send their delegates to this Congress, since their class enemies have prevented them from leaving and would kill them if they could arrest them. In my report tomorrow, I will describe the struggle of the workers of these countries. But now I ask the Commission which is about to be elected to give serious consideration to the problem arising in Burma, Indonesia and Malaya, where the workers are sacrificing their lives for mankind.

The proposed composition of the Commission was adopted unanimously.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 5th JULY 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of V. V. Kuznetsov.

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. V. Kuznetsov*). Today we are going to deal with item 6 of the Agenda, namely,

The action of the WFTU and the National Centres for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers

I call on the first rapporteur, Benoît Frachon.

B. FRACHON (*France*).

Comrades, in February, 1945, the World Trade Union Conference unanimously adopted a resolution and a Charter containing the principal economic and social demands of the working class.

The Constituent Congress of the WFTU, meeting in September-October of the same year in Paris, ratified the resolution and Charter adopted in London.

The Paris Congress, after the London Conference, issued an "imperative call to the national trade union movements affiliated to the World Federation to concentrate their energies upon the realisation of the basic charter of trade union rights and immediate demands formulated in the interests of all the peoples by the London Conference."

Foreseeing that the realisation of its economic and social programme would meet with stubborn opposition from the capitalist and reactionary forces, the Paris Congress considered that the working class had to strengthen its capacity for struggle by consolidating its unity.

It called on "the trade unions of all countries to wage a struggle to strengthen trade union unity and resolutely to combat all those who might attempt to disrupt this unity and to weaken or divide the forces of the working people."

The Charter adopted by the London Conference and the Paris Congress, contained among others, the following economic and social demands :—

—The right of the workers to be free from all forms of economic servitude and to earn by their labour an income adequate for their needs and requirements and commensurate with their skill and effort.

—The right to suitable jobs at adequate rates of pay for all able-bodied men and women who require them.

—Financial and fiscal policies to ensure that the purchasing power of the workers rises steadily with increasing productivity.

—The speediest reconstruction of homes destroyed during the war and the development of housing construction on a scale sufficient to provide ample living accommodation for all people.

—Establishment of price control with participation of the trade unions in this control.

—Speedy introduction of a working week of forty hours without loss of wages, without prejudice to the claims for a shorter working week put forward by trade unions in certain countries.

—Annual holidays at full pay of at least two weeks' duration as well as payment for all other public holidays.

—Recognition of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

—Establishment in each country of a single and comprehensive system of State social insurance financed mainly by contributions from Governments and employers. This system of social insurance must guarantee a normal existence for all working people whenever they are unable to secure this by their own labour, as a result of unemployment, temporary or permanent loss of the capacity for work, old age, industrial accident, sickness and the like.

—Obligation of Governments to make provisions to safeguard the health and safety of workpeople.

—Payment of allowances for families which have lost their breadwinners and for orphans until they reach their majorities.

—The payment of family allowances; the provision of kindergartens, nurseries and ample child welfare facilities.

—Trade Union participation in the control and management of social insurance.

—To combat the control of industry by private monopolies which have become a menace to industrial expansion, the democratic way of life and to national security, the London Conference called for measures to protect the public against the exploitation of the monopolies. This protection may take the form of legislation to prevent the formation of monopoly, to control and regulate it where it exists, or to eliminate it completely by the transference of the industries in question to public ownership.

After affirming that a powerful trade union movement in each country and fraternal and close collaboration between these movements was an indispensable condition for economic and social progress in the world, the Conference adopted the following Charter :—

a) Workpeople shall be free to organise themselves in trade unions and to engage freely in all normal trade union activities, including that of collective bargaining.

b) Workpeople shall be free to establish co-operatives and any other mutual aid organisations.

c) There shall be freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion, political association.

d) Every form of political, economic or social discrimination based on race, creed, colour or sex shall be eliminated, and in this sense equal pay for equal work shall be established. In cases where young people are doing adult work they shall receive the adult rate of pay.

e) *There shall be equality of educational and vocational opportunities for all people.*

f) *There shall be suitable employment available at adequate rates of pay for all requiring work.*

g) *There shall be adequate protection in all the circumstances of life where this is required to guarantee social and economic security to every citizen.*

While the World Trade Union Conference was meeting, the United Nations Charter was being drawn up.

Even the governments of capitalist countries were forced to take account of the demands put forward by the working class.

For this reason the Charter contained paragraphs dealing with social and economic progress, the necessity of establishing better living conditions in greater liberty; on equal rights for men and women; on full employment; on the universal and effective respect of human rights and fundamental liberties for all, irrespective of race, sex, language or religion, etc.

How have the WFTU and the National Centres carried out this programme? What is the extent of the progress it has made throughout the world? What are the forces which have intervened for or against its realisation? What provisions must we make to ensure its success?

This is what we must examine during this Congress.

We must do so bearing in mind that the evolution of events has not followed the same path in all States.

In the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies the working class is not meeting with opposition from the Governments to the implementation of our programme.

There, capitalist monopolies no longer exercise their dictatorship and no longer threaten their liberty, their national independence or their economic progress.

The improvement of the living conditions of the workers does not, therefore, depend on the opposition of the forces of internal social regression; it is linked above all to the development of production and to technical progress.

The situation is different in the capitalist countries.

A report will be made on the first group of these countries. Another will deal with the colonial countries. My report will be limited to an examination of the problems which are posed in the principal capitalist countries.

It is clear that the situation of the working class has deteriorated in these countries during the last few years and that it is continuing to do so.

The forces of capitalism, the monopolies have been restored and

regrouped since the military defeat of fascism and are exercising complete domination over the governments and the State apparatus.

For them, the solemn declarations made by the governments at the United Nations are nothing but demagogic formulas aimed at deceiving the working masses during periods of unrest and which they reject as an encumbering burden when they consider themselves sufficiently strong to break by violence all attempt to support demands.

The capitalist monopolies wish to throw on to the backs of the workers all the weight of post-war reconstruction and all the consequences of the crises to which their regime gives rise.

To achieve this result, the powerful capitalist monopolies headed by those of the United States, are at the present time developing a vigorous offensive against the living conditions of the workers.

They are supported in this attack by the governments which they influence or which they direct.

I shall not describe the details nor the forms of this offensive; you have been given a document in which are assembled the essential facts which characterise it; you may consult this *.

The following conclusions may be drawn from an examination of this document :—

—The real wages of the workers have perceptibly declined in the capitalist countries as a whole, prices having risen much further than nominal wages;

—The profits of the great capitalist organisations have considerably increased in proportion as the standard of living of the working masses declines;

—The expansionist policy of the American monopolists which is at present weighing on the policy of the majority of the capitalist States, is leading these States to intensive preparations for war;

—In these conditions, war budgets are increasing in considerable proportions and are imposing crushing burdens on the working populations of these countries;

—The colonial war carried on by the capitalist States, particularly against Viet Nam, Indonesia, Malaya, as well as the support of these States for the dictatorial regimes in Spain and Greece are imposing extensive sacrifices on the peoples both in terms of money and of human life;

—In all these States, social works, useful construction for the improvement of the standard of living of the masses are sacrificed to war expenditure making for the enrichment of the great armament firms;

—The reconstruction of homes destroyed by the war is deliberately sacrificed. No serious programme for the construction of houses, schools, sanatoria and rest homes is being undertaken or even envisaged. Real social insurance does not exist in the majority of capitalist States.

In those countries where the working class succeeded in obtaining the introduction of social insurance schemes, even imperfect, the reactionary forces supported by the governments are making violent attacks on them at the present time;

* See Appendix.

—Unemployment is growing and developing in nearly all the capitalist states, where the official statistics give only an imperfect idea of its extent and growth.

Already, millions of workers are deprived of employment and wages:

—Real unemployment insurance guaranteeing the workers deprived of employment against misery exists nowhere.

The benefits granted to the unemployed are generally inadequate and for a limited time only, and conditions of eligibility for benefits are such that the majority of unemployed are deprived of them, particularly partially unemployed;

—In spite of all the noisy and demagogic affirmations, racial discrimination continues to prevail with more or less virulence in all capitalist countries.

Migrant workers, notably in France, are humiliated, deprived of the right to organise and strike and are persecuted, and the Governments attempt to use them against the Labour movement;

—The principle of "equal pay for equal work" is nowhere applied, not even in the countries where, formally, women should receive the same wages as men for the same work. The laws proclaiming this right are put aside and remain a dead letter.

Another source of difficulties has been added to those, already numerous, which the working class has to face.

The consequences of the execution of the "Marshall Plan" are proving absolutely disastrous in the countries subjected to it.

It will be remembered that in November 1947, Carey attempted to introduce a discussion of the "Marshall Plan" into the WFTU, presenting it as a generous plan of disinterested assistance from the American people to the peoples of Europe, who had greatly suffered during the war.

It was in this way, moreover, that the authors of the plan presented it themselves to the American people to get them to accept the financial burden required for its execution.

It will also be remembered that, because the WFTU had, in a completely democratic manner, refused to follow Carey, the latter, supported by all the enemies of labour unity, lied shamelessly on the character of the WFTU's refusal. He accused it of opposing aid to countries devastated by the war. Obviously, all this is fantasy. How could the WFTU be opposed to disinterested aid to peoples in difficulty? But the WFTU was fully entitled not to give its name, as Carey wished, to an operation whose aims were decidedly partisan.

Today, the workers of the United States, like those of the so-called beneficiary countries of the plan, are in a position to realize that, under the cover of assistance to impoverished countries, a monopolistic venture is concealed, directed against the peoples and harmful to the working class.

The workers of the United States, who had been led to believe that this plan would guarantee a high level of production in their country and rid it of the spectre of unemployment, can now see that unemployment in their country is growing in an alarming fashion.

In the "beneficiary" countries of the Marshall Plan it can, first of all, be noted that the new burdens of the war budgets imposed in connection with the plan greatly exceed the sums allocated for the despatch of certain merchandise.

Basic national industries are threatened with extinction or have already been heavily hit by crisis, thereby leaving a free way for American imports, or by obstacles placed in the way of trade between the Marshall Plan countries and other countries refusing to submit to it.

The national reconstruction plans give place most often to provisions slowing down the economic and industrial development of the countries subject to the Marshall Plan, aggravating unemployment and involving social regression for the working class in those countries.

In order to impose this policy of regression and misery, the monopolists demand of the governments the violation or liquidation of the workers' liberties.

Thus the Taft Hartley law in the United States, not yet repealed, in spite of the electoral promises of Truman.

Thus the liquidation of the free trade union organisations in Greece and the murder of militant workers.

In France and Italy it is the systematic employment of police violence, the murder of strikers and the imprisonment of thousands of workers.

In the enterprises, it is the repression carried on against leading trade unionists, their arbitrary dismissal and the obstacles of all kinds which are placed in the way of the normal functioning of the trade unions.

However, the working class is reacting vigorously against these attacks of the capitalists.

Since the Congress of the WFTU the strike movement has not ceased to grow.

In the United States, Italy and France in particular, thousands of strikers have taken place involving tens of millions of strikers.

These strikes took place in spite of repressive action and the manœuvres of the strike breakers.

In Great Britain, the strike movement for better conditions of pay and work becomes increasingly more extensive in spite of the frequent opposition of the right-wing leaders of the trade unions who, in order to support the policy of the Government, declare illegal the majority of the strikes and fight against them.

The working class is perfectly well aware that its social and economic demands can be realised only by systematic, persevering and sustained action against the reactionary forces which at present direct the policy of the capitalist countries.

The success of its struggle depends on its capacity to carry out the slogan launched by the London Conference and the Paris Congress : *"to ensure the unity of the working class and to effectively combat those who disrupt this unity."*

It is for this reason that, in spite of those who organised the split, the WFTU remains the great world trade union centre of the united working class, irrespective of political opinion, race or religion.

The leaders of the trade union centres who prepared and carried out the split in January 1949, tried to justify their disastrous action by

claiming that the WFTU no longer concerned itself with the economic and social demands of the workers.

This is obviously nothing but a pretext.

They are thereby trying to justify themselves in the eyes of their members who remain attached to labour unity.

In order to drag them in their wake in the division of the workers, they had to and still must hide the true motives for their splitting activity.

If we examine the attitude of the different National Centres towards the economic and social programme of the WFTU, it can be observed that it is precisely those who remained faithful to it who have most actively supported the action of the workers in favour of this programme, while those who took the initiative in the split are most often *opposed to the action of the workers in the different industries of their countries for these demands.*

If they act in this way it is because they have given in to the campaigns and invitations of their respective governments. It is because they have abandoned the path mapped out in common in London and Paris.

It is because they have ranged themselves at the side of the reactionary governments who are fighting against the economic and social programme of the WFTU.

In supporting the policy of the governments in the service of the capitalists, it is they who have abandoned the defence of the economic and social demands of the working class in order to back up a policy of social regression.

They talk of the independence of trade unions from the governments but they demonstrate strikingly that they are the faithful servants of their own governments.

It is for this reason that they condemn strikes for wage increases or for any other demands while at the same time the governments attempt to break them by violence.

This is why they join in most often in the concert of slanders from the enemies of the working class against these strikes.

By organising the split, they have caused the greatest harm to the working class of their own countries. They chatter about economic and social demands but, in fact, they are fighting against them.

Our Congress must draw up its programme and the WFTU's mode of action for its implementation bearing in mind, on the one hand, the efforts of reaction and its determined struggle against the working class and, on the other, the latter's will to fight.

I think that the essential bases of an economic and social programme are contained in the documents adopted in London and Paris, but in my opinion, it would be a good thing to complete this programme bearing in mind the experience and evolution of events, and to simplify it by clearly formulating our demands.

This programme must be widely publicised, including in those countries in which the trade union leaders decided to break with the WFTU.

We must pursue without respite our policy of unity, making special efforts as regards the workers and trade unionists of the United States

and Great Britain in order that they themselves assist us to abolish the split in their own countries.

The economic and social programme of the WFTU is a programme of unity.

It corresponds to the interests and desire of the workers of all countries, whatever their race, religion or political opinions.

In its essentials, it is realisable in all countries. But we must tell the workers that its fulfilment is possible if there is vigorous and sustained action on the part of all the forces of the working class against the forces of capitalism.

The effectiveness of this action cannot be conceived without the unity of the working class on the national and world scale.

This is why the WFTU, does not content itself with chattering about the demands of the workers, but keeps in the front rank of its preoccupations the achievement of the unity of all the workers.

We know very well that the trend of events does not follow the same path in all countries; we also know that the workers do not all think in the same way about all problems.

The enemies of the working class skilfully attempt to utilise these differences of opinion to separate them one from another in order to suppress them one after another.

All the members, all the militants of the WFTU, have the duty of fighting against these attempts at discrimination.

Nobody in the WFTU has the intention of imposing his political opinions or religious beliefs on the other workers.

We affirm that unity is possible and necessary to achieve the aims which are common to all the workers particularly that of the improvement of their working and living conditions.

In continuing to defend the economic and social demands of the working class in international bodies the WFTU should call on all its affiliated Centres to make a special effort in each country for the success of this programme.

I think it is also necessary to take measures to actively support the struggles of the working class, including in those countries where the trade unions are, for the moment, outside the WFTU.

The international solidarity shown to the French miners is a good example in this sphere.

Finally, in opposition to their colonialist governments, the trade unions in each capitalist country must give solidarity and support to the colonial peoples and defend their economic and social demands.

I feel that this report can be concluded by affirming our complete confidence in the possibility of ensuring the success of the workers' struggle to impose our economic and social programme, in spite of the difficulties of this struggle.

The development of technique and the new conquests of science can make it possible to give much better conditions of existence to all people. But for this to be achieved it is necessary that this progress and this technique should be utilised in the interest of all peoples. Now, at the present time, they are being utilised in the capitalist countries for the benefit of a small minority of parasites.

This is the reason for the poverty, the unemployment and the

incredible sufferings which is the lot of the majority of the globe's population.

The World Trade Union Congress of London in February, 1945, then the Paris Congress in September-October of the same year saw correctly when they demanded in the WFTU's programme "legislation to prevent the formation of monopoly to control and regulate it where it exists, or to eliminate it completely by the transference of the industries in question to public ownership."

Those who are attempting the split no longer dare to invoke these joint decisions which aroused so much hope and enthusiasm among the workers of the world.

Today when the facts demonstrate with so much clarity that we were right, we at least remain faithful to the common pledges solemnly undertaken in the name of all the workers.

We wish to lead the working class to victory. Our best means for hastening this victory is to devote ourselves to rallying all the workers of the world under the banners of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

(The Congress rose and heartily applauded the General Secretary of the French CGT.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V.V. Kuznetsov*). I now call on the second rapporteur on this question, Comrade Zawadzki of Poland.

***The action of the WFTU and the National Centres
for the defence of the economic and social interests
of the workers (Continued)***

A. ZAWADSKI (*Poland*). Comrades, the years that separate us from the first Congress of the WFTU represent a period of great achievements on the part of the trade union movement in the countries of Peoples' Democracy.

During the same period, the trade unions in the countries of Peoples' Democracy which during decades of class struggle had been divided internally and split up into many small organisations as a result of the influence of the capitalist governments and agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement, eliminated the splits in their ranks, developed flourishingly, attained a powerful drive in their activities and became an important factor in the life of their young countries.

At present the trade unions of our Peoples' Democracies are mighty and united organisations, ideologically and organisationally steeled. The trade unions are organised on the vertical industry principle.

The trade unions, year by year, working and fighting, achieved, despite the war destructions and the consequences of the criminal policy of the Hitlerite invader, a significant improvement in the material and cultural conditions of the working class and the labouring intelligentsia. The trade unions struggle for a social order free from the exploitation of man by man.

During the years since the first Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, our trade unions achieved such a growth in numbers, that they became the mass organisations of the working class, recognised by the government, state and society. They have become the sole

representatives of the daily interests of the working class and labouring intelligentsia.

It is true that our trade unions did not immediately achieve such unity of their ranks and such an important role as they at present hold in the Peoples' Democracies.

The role and tasks of trade unions in our countries were shaped in the stubborn struggle and work to overcome gradually the reformist, narrow, craft, right wing and syndicalist tendencies in the trade union movement, inherited from capitalist society.

In this educational work and ideological struggle our trade unions became consolidated and strengthened. The level of consciousness of the masses, organised in the ranks of trade unions, rose immensely. The role, tasks and authority of the trade unions in the People's State increased. The most important feature, however, is that the trade unions became conscious of what harm was done in the past by the reformist tendencies in the trade union movements and by the split in its ranks. The workers became convinced of the great value and force of working class unity. Another fact is worthy of emphasis. The great majority of pre-war reformist trade union militants recognised the value of trade union unity and today they are working with the former representatives of the left-wing section of the trade unions in the united trade union ranks for a common cause.

That is why today our working class unity, organised in its mass social organisation, namely the trade unions, is inseparably linked to its political unity, achieved thanks to the birth in our countries of united Communist and Workers Parties.

The united working class is playing a leading role in our society which aspires to a happy future—to socialism.

It is for this reason that the trade unions have won a role of considerable importance in the determination and fulfilment of the economic and social policy of our governments. We can say without fear of contradiction, that there is no economic, political, social and cultural sector of the life of our peoples in which the trade unions do not participate and do not wield influence.

What are the changes in the social structure which make it possible for our trade unions to play such a role today and to record such great achievements? The two most decisive and fundamental reasons are as follows. First the fact that our people liberated themselves from the domination of national and foreign capital, that they abolished the power of capitalist and landlord and that the masses of the people, led by the working class took power into their own hands. The reason which follows from the first is the great social reforms—the nationalisation of industry and the dispossession of the great land owners. In addition we should mention the great cultural revolution in our countries which was realised as a result of the above changes.

We, in the countries of Peoples' Democracy are only laying the first foundations of the socialist system. Our planning embraces increasingly wider fields of production, and the socialized and cooperative economy both in the class struggle and in the endeavours to overcome difficulties, achieved success after success over the elements of speculation, usury and exploitation, winning over to its cause at the same time, wider circles of poor and middle peasants.

On the basis of these new social relations, born as a result of the far-reaching economic and political changes in our countries, the role of trade unions fundamentally changed. This is the natural result of the fact that in the system of the Peoples' Democracy, the working class, which not so long ago was exploited and persecuted, has become, in alliance with the labouring peasantry, the class that exercises state power. Once the basic means of production passed to social ownership, the working class as the co-owner of the country, naturally changed radically its fundamental attitude towards production. In the same way, once the bourgeois state machinery of oppression was substituted by the worker-peasant state, the working class fundamentally changed its attitude to the state of which it is the co-founder.

The splitters who are trying to break the unity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, on this and the other side of the ocean, both those who hold high positions in the capitalist state apparatus and those who have found themselves comfortable positions in working class organisations in a number of capitalist countries, reproach us, stating that our trade unions are not free and that they have become organs subordinated to governments. Naturally there is nothing more false than this assertion.

We need not look for special arguments in order to refute these contentions. It is sufficient to become acquainted with the practical daily activities of those trade unions in the interest of the constant improvement of the living conditions of the toiling masses, who are building a new life and a new future for themselves. We need only examine the new legislation of the countries of Peoples' Democracy. It is obvious that I should first describe facts concerning my own country since the comrades present, representing trade unions of other countries of Peoples' Democracy, will, in contribution to discussion, present in a better and more detailed manner, their own successes and experiences. Allow me therefore to quote from the draft of the law, approved at the Second Congress of the Polish Trade Unions held a month ago and then introduced by our Trade Union MP's into Parliament. Article one of this draft states as follows :—

“ In order to legally secure the most favourable conditions for the development of the trade unions, as established by the people's power in Poland—to consolidate the victory and gains of the working class—to strengthen the people's power—and to build socialism in Poland—

“ 1) Workers by hand and brain are guaranteed the right of voluntary association in trade unions, and the most active participation in the exercise of popular rule.

“ 2) All laws and regulations inherited from Capitalist governments limiting the right of workers by hand and brain, to voluntary association in trade unions *subjecting the activities of trade unions to administrative control* and instrumental in splitting the trade union movement, are all hereby abolished. ”

Article three of this same bill states :—

“ *The Constitutions of the Association of Trade Unions in Poland, and of the Trade Unions belonging to this association, define in detail the tasks and aims and field of activities of the trade unions.* ”

It is therefore not the State, but the Trade Unions themselves who, in their own constitutions, adopted at their Congresses and Conferences, determine the tasks, aims and field of their activities.

The trade unions in the People's Democracies, possess full freedom to organise and pursue their activities. And just because we enjoy our freedom, we consider it imperative in the interest of the working class, to adopt a positive attitude to our worker-peasant State. We consider it as imperative to work together with the State and its organs, directed to an increasing extent by people from the working class to cooperate in the fulfilment of the common aims and tasks, in the development of our socialized economy, in the constant raising of the material and cultural level of the working class and intellectual workers and in the building of socialism in our countries. We are doing this, and we have no reason to hide this fact, as do many of our reformist opponents who conceal behind a smoke-screen of misleading phraseology about trade union liberty and independence, their cooperation with the bourgeoisie and its state.

Working together with our democratic People's State and its organs, we both wield influence on it and we participate in shaping its character, tasks and strength.

In other words our States see in the trade unions which group in every one of our countries almost 100 % of the working class and the labouring intelligentsia, the mighty pillars on which the Peoples' Government is based, while our trade unions see in their governments the mainstay which strengthens both their force and their role and objectives within the Peoples' Democracies which they determine for themselves in complete independence.

In the enormous development of the organisation, rights and achievements of our trade unions, we are profiting from the experience gained by the trade unions of the USSR while adapting them to our own special conditions. The Soviet Trade Unions were developed and educated in the fire of sharp struggles carried on by their working class to abolish Czarism and the power of capitalists and land lords. They are enriched by the experiences gained in the war against the counter-revolutionary armies of the White Guards and against the British, American, French and other interventionists. They are also enriched by the experiences of the victorious years of building socialism and then by the experiences of the Second World War and the victories won by the USSR against the Hitlerite invaders, which saved the world from fascist slavery and barbarism and they became strengthened ideologically and organisationally as no other trade union organisation in the world. Thanks to this, the Soviet trade unions have become the leading force and an example for the international trade union movement. They became the mainstay of the struggle of the world trade union movement to unite its ranks and to achieve international solidarity of the working class.

Recently the Tenth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions was held, which presented to the world a magnificent picture of their achievements during 32 years of Soviet power.

As this Congress proved, the Soviet Trade Unions today represent a mighty organisation, numbering 28,500,000 workers by hand and brain. Since their foundation, the Soviet Trade Unions have waged a

stubborn struggle to consolidate Soviet power and to improve the existing conditions of the labouring masses. Even in the most difficult war endeavors against the Hitlerite invader, when the Soviet Trade Union dedicated all their strength to mobilisation of the working class for the war effort, they did not forget the daily needs of the working class. The period of post-war reconstruction is at the same time a period of fast growth in the standard of living of the labouring masses. In the USSR, thanks to the planned reduction in the price of consumption and industrial articles and thanks to the currency reform and the abolition of the rationing system, the real wages of the labouring masses increased significantly.

The workers of our countries understand today that the socialist economy is responsible for the enormous improvement in the material and cultural conditions of the working class and the intelligentsia of the USSR. The essence of this economy is that increased production and labour output, march hand in hand with increased consumers' earnings and with social and cultural investments. This fact explains the enthusiasm of the Soviet working class in the realization of the plan for the development of the national economy, working in their own country and for themselves—to raise their own welfare. This is the reason why in Socialist emulation of labour, more than 90 % of workers, engineers, technicians and other employees of the USSR participate. This emulation developed by the Trade Unions aims to fulfil the Five Year Economic Plans ahead of schedule and constantly to raise the output of labour.

The Xth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions demonstrated the scope of the activities of Soviet Trade Unions in the development and popularization of culture among the labouring masses. The trade unions build their own clubs. "Palaces of Culture", sanatoria, stadiums and sports grounds. Facts and figures from other fields can also serve us as examples.

The All Union Central Council of Trade Unions owns five scientific research institutes and 12 laboratories which carry out research into labour safety and hygiene. Special care is paid to the protection of labour in establishments employing women and young people.

900,000 members of commissions, working with factory councils participate in the supervision of legislation on labour protection.

Commissions to supervise workers housing work together with the factory councils. 650,000 trade union militants participate in these committees.

550,000 active trade unionists take part in the social control of canteens and commercial enterprise. There are 1,200,000 delegates on the social insurance committees. The Soviet trade unions fully control all the funds allotted by the State for social insurance.

The almost universal development of emulation of labour, the stimulation of the militant spirit of millions of workers and administrative personnel have assumed tremendous proportions; the general and stubborn work of millions of trade unionists to educate themselves and to raise their ideological and cultural level—all this shows us and the whole world the new moral aspect of the Soviet people, devoted patriots of their Socialist country, human beings of a new type created in the last 32 years by the Soviet system.

The trade unions of the Peoples' Democracies benefited and continue to benefit in their work from the rich experience of the Soviet Trade Unions.

The experience of the Soviet Trade Unions constitutes an unusually valuable help for the trade unions in our country in the building of the socialist economy. They make it easier for us to overcome the natural and inevitable difficulties of our start and they help us to assimilate the new tasks and take up the role of builders of socialism. At the same time the trade unions in the countries of popular democracy work closely together and exchange experiences. The cooperation between the trade unions of the USSR and the countries of Popular Democracy and with the trade unions of the capitalist countries, as carried on within the framework of the WFTU is permeated with the most noble spirit of proletarian internationalism and constitutes an important contribution to the unity of the international trade union movement.

The trade unions of the Peoples' Democracies are in a position to present to the Second Congress of the WFTU a positive balance sheet of their achievements in raising the material and cultural level of the living conditions of the working masses. Under a socialised economy, where the working class does not work for the capitalist but for the People's State, i.e. for itself, the struggle to improve its living conditions is inseparably connected with the struggle to raise the output of labour, production and the national income. It is on the basis of this consciousness and because of the experience of working under the new conditions of the People's Democracy, that the spontaneous movement of competition of labour grew among our working masses. This movement was born in the USSR, and has revolutionised Soviet production and technique. In the countries of People's Democracy this movement was born as a result of the aims of our working class to reconstruct and develop our national economy as rapidly as possible and thus to increase the welfare of the labouring masses. The trade unions in our countries pay a lot of attention to the subject of emulation of labour. They surround with special care the participants in this movement and the shock workers. They try to create the best possible conditions for the further development of this magnificent movement.

This movement which has received a great impetus in all the popular democracies, and which was started in Poland on the initiative of the miner Patrovski, began in 1947. It quickly embraced tens of thousands of miners and textile workers, spread to all branches of production and has become a mighty movement including hundreds of thousands of workers, technicians, engineers and employees. Today in Poland, 65 % of the workers of the socialised economy participate in this movement.

The emulation of labour develops in the same way in the other countries of the Peoples Democracy.

The new attitude of the working class towards production and the People's State brought about in addition to labour competition, a broad movement of rationalisation of production and of inventions by workers. This movement is an important factor in raising the output of labour and the general technical development.

The movement of labour competition, rationalisation and inventions

transforms not only the technique, but also the consciousness of the labourer, directing him towards work and collective socialist spirit and energy. In this new era, it has brought forth property. It creates the heroic innovators and rationalisers, vanguard of the struggle for a socialist society. The people are in the forefront of the struggle for a socialist society.

The movement of labour for the rationalisation and of innovations is a mighty lever for the development of our countries. It contributes directly to the improvement of the living conditions of the working class and at the same time it creates the necessary material basis for the development of social insurance for the worker and his family as well as for the improvement of the working conditions of the workers.

Thanks to this movement, the Five Year Post-War Plan has been fulfilled in the USSR in four years.

Thanks to this movement, the production in the Peoples Democracies surpasses the pre-war level and their economic plans are fulfilled ahead of schedule. Thus in Poland the Three Years Economic Plan will be fulfilled several months ahead of schedule and as far as industrial production is concerned as early as May 1948 it had surpassed the pre-war level by 39 %. In the same way in Czechoslovakia, the level of production at the end of 1948 surpassed by 10 % the pre-war production by 37 %, in Albania by 300 %.

In the struggle for economic and social reconstruction in our countries and to build the foundation for socialism the alliance of the working class and the masses of the toiling peasantry is strengthened. The slogan "more machinery and industrial products for the countryside and more foodstuffs for the cities" embraces and brings into action increasing numbers of people in the cities and in the country. In Poland, the movement of liaison between industrial establishments and the countryside grows and deepens every day. The trade unions take the most active part in the organisation of this movement. Committees for Liaison with the countryside are formed in the factories. Workers' brigades go to the country to help the toiling masses of the peasantry in production and cultural and political questions, to lend a hand in their struggle against exploitation by the rich peasants and to support their efforts to transform the agricultural economy in accordance with the new cooperative principles. In this way the workers-peasant alliance, the basis of Democratic Peoples' Power is strengthened.

On the basis of the upward movement of production in the Popular Democracies and the wide perspectives of their future economic development, cooperation and mutual understanding between the working class and the intelligentsia, especially the technical intelligentsia, is being more and more extended. The intelligentsia, full of admiration for the enormous achievements of the new democratic power in the hands of the people, having learned by the experiences of the past few years that they now possess unlimited possibilities to use their initiative, labour and knowledge, have increasingly thrown in their lot with that of the working class for the building of socialism.

Engineers, technicians and administrative personnel take an ever more active part in emulation of labour, work on the improvement of

production processes and technical equipment and participate in the active work of trade unions. Our trade unions set themselves, as one of the important tasks, to improve the conditions of the intelligentsia and ensure them their rightful place in the leading trade union organisations. At the same time, new young cadres—an intelligentsia coming from the people—is growing up thanks to the opening of the higher educational institutions to working class and peasant children and the educational work of the trade unions.

The progress in reconstruction and the development of the national economy has allowed the standard of living of the working masses in the Popular Democracies, to be substantially improved. After the difficult period of the first post-war years, real wages are gradually but systematically growing, and are now higher to a greater or lesser extent than pre-war levels in all countries of People's Democracy. The wages system is constantly being improved and is increasingly based on the socialist principle—payment according to the amount of work done. Unjustified inequalities in wages, which existed during the initial post-war period, are being wiped out. In our countries, the principle of equal pay for equal work for men, women and young people is compulsory. The wage reform carried through in January 1949 in Poland, gave the working class an average increase of 10 % in real wages. Basing themselves on the labour legislation now in force, the trade unions conclude collective agreements for the individual branches of the national economy. These agreements deal with problems of wages, conditions of work, holidays, social facilities, etc.

The standard of living of the working class, in our countries, however, is not determined as it is in capitalist states by earnings alone. Many other factors, apart from wages, play a part in determining the standard of living of the working masses.

It is necessary to emphasise above all, that in the countries of Peoples Democracy, as in the USSR, unemployment is a thing of the past. Not only is the working class not threatened by unemployment, but the possibilities of social advancement, unknown in any of the capitalist countries are open wide before them. The trade unions concern themselves with the development of trade qualifications and thus help raise the earning capacity of the working masses. The trade unions are the schools of administration and government and promote their best militants to leading positions in the country's economy, in administration and local government. Thus, in Poland for example, more than 15,000 workers, including a substantial number of women, now hold leading positions in industry. In addition, many occupy responsible positions in national and local government and in social agencies.

Our trade unions have to their credit important achievements in the development and improvement of labour safety, hygiene and in the protection of labour conditions of women and young people. They take the initiative of working out laws and instructions regulating conditions of labour, rest facilities and social service benefits. A fundamental change has been made in labour legislation, in protecting the interests of the working class. On the initiative of trade unions and with their participation, new laws have been worked out to regulate workers' health protection. The trade unions decide which categories

of jobs give the right to safety clothing, special food and...
provides advice in the nature of the work. The trade unions...
a great deal of attention to workers' housing. The building and...
of houses is controlled by the trade unions. Rent in...
countries represents a much smaller percentage of the family budget
than in capitalist countries. Profiting from the experience of the USSR,
the People's State extends social insurance with the most active participation
by the trade unions, which are represented on the insurance
Boards and which nominate trade unionists to work on the administrative
side.

Social insurance covers medical aid, sickness or accident, old age
pensions and medical care and social service benefits for pregnant
women. They also cover money loans. The far-reaching reform of
social insurance in Czechoslovakia after February 1948 is well known,
as well as that in Rumania of 1949. In Poland women have the
right to 12 weeks' leave on full pay during pregnancy. An important
achievement of the working class in Poland is that they pay no
insurance contributions, the cost of which is entirely borne by the
employer, as are family and wife allowances. Thus for example, in
Poland a worker receives 1650 zloties monthly for one child, 1950 zloties
each for two children, 2250 zloties each for 3 and 1200 zloties
monthly for his wife. These sums are paid out from the insurance
funds and are in addition to his earnings.

One of the most important achievements of the working class of
the Peoples' Democracies, is undoubtedly the establishment of rest
homes. The State allows very large sums for these institutions. In
Poland, important contributions are also made by the employer. The
worker pays on the average about 30 % of the cost. In this way the
workers are able, at small cost, to spend their holidays in rest homes
in the most beautiful districts of the country, with good food and
cultural recreations. The organisation of holidays undertaken and
managed by the trade unions is developing year by year.

In Poland, rest-home holidays for 500,000 trade union members
are envisaged for 1949. Priority will be given to workers most in need
of rest. During 1948, 250,000 workers benefited from organised holidays
in Hungary, 200,000 in Czechoslovakia, 172,000 in Rumania, and
60,000 in Bulgaria. In addition to holidays, workers and employees
in our countries benefit on a large scale from medical care in sanatoria,
and in Albania, one worker in twenty spends his holiday in one of the
thermal stations.

The development of working-class child care constitutes one of the
most important tasks in our countries. In this sphere good results have
been obtained. The number of children's nurseries, kindergartens,
maternity and child welfare centres, etc., is constantly growing.

In Poland, the number of nurseries has increased ten times since
1939 and the number of children benefiting from them, twenty times.
The number of kindergartens and nurseries in Hungary grew ten-fold
between 1945 and 1948.

In Poland over a million children of employees and workers will
attend holiday camps and centres in 1949.

The trade unions organise and direct the campaign for workers'
gardening projects achieving important results in this sphere.

The trade unions are organising financial aid bureaus as a concrete form of material help for trade union members.

In these ways the trade unions are increasingly developing the social services campaign and are extending it to new spheres, helping substantially to improve the living conditions of the working masses. The part played by social service benefits for the working class is illustrated by the fact that in Hungary for instance benefits total 38.3 % of wages. Cultural work is of special significance under the new conditions of our trade unions' activities. By these means the trade unions raise the cultural level and the consciousness of the broadest masses of working people. The trade unions are now an important factor in educating the masses in the spirit of socialism, true patriotism and proletarian internationalism. They lead the masses to participate actively in their countries' cultural and artistic life.

The trade union organisations in the Peoples Democracies were faced, above all, with the task of educating new trade union cadres to replace the old cadres, most of whom were annihilated by the Hitlerite invaders, especially in Poland and Czechoslovakia. This problem was all the more urgent in that the trade unions were developing very rapidly thanks to the victory of the Peoples' Democracies. Without properly prepared trade union cadres, the trade union organisations would have been unable to cope with the tasks which faced them in the new situation.

The recent Polish Congress of Trade Unions published data which shows how trade union organisations solved this problem. During the last three years, 194,458 trade union militants were trained at various courses in trade union schools.

Factory clubs have become the normal thing in the Popular Democracies. The speed with which the number of these centres of working-class cultural life is growing is illustrated by the growth of the number of factory clubs in Poland, typical of all the Popular Democracies.

In 1945	600 clubs
" 1946	1500 "
" 1947	3187 "
" 1948	4152 "
" 1949	6770 "

In our countries cultural institutions of the trade unions have become not only centres which raise the cultural level of the working masses and places of cultural popularisation. They have also become centres where new cultural values are created with the participations of the broadest masses of the working people.

Our trade unions, concerned to restore the physical strength of the workers, and to educate a healthy young generation, have organised various forms of sport and physical culture on a very wide scale. In our countries sport is no longer an activity reserved for small groups of professionals, but has become a mighty movement of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers of all ages. The Popular Democracies allot large sums for the development of working class sport.

In Poland, for example, the unions receive 0.3 % of the wages bill for the development of physical culture; moreover the plans of large-scale undertakings include an allocation for the same purpose.

The trade union movement of the Popular Democracies has enormous possibilities of development, unknown in any capitalist country. During the pre-war period in Poland, the trade union organisations numbered a few hundred thousand members. At the end of 1945, i.e. a few months after the liberation, the united trade union had a membership of 1,084,000—53 % of the total number of those employed. In 1946 the Polish trade unions numbered 2,055,000 members, or about 60 % of the total number of those employed; in 1948, 3,382,000 and in 1949, 3,607,000 members, or nearly 100 % of those employed.

More than 3 million employees and workers are organized in the Czechoslovak trade unions. The Hungarian trade unions which before the war numbered less than 100,000 members, now have a membership of 1,650,000. At the Second Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions in 1948, delegates represented 610,000 members. In Rumania the trade unions have 1,716,000 members. In Albania there are 64,000 members whereas in 1945 there were only 25,000.

The magnificent development of the trade union movement in the Popular Democracies is the best confirmation of the growing importance and authority of the trade union organisations under new social conditions.

A specially important role in our countries is played by factory committees. Only workers are represented on them. Moreover, they constitute the basic and an immeasurably important unit of the trade unions. Our factory committees possess many legally guaranteed rights. They guard the daily interests of the workers and are concerned with the development of the factory or place of work. The works management is obliged to report periodically to the factory committees. The factory committees organise production meetings with a representative of the management where the most important problems of production, of the conditions and organisation of labour, of technical improvements and workers' inventions are dealt with. In this way factory committees became the organs of working-class participation in their tasks as co-owners of the factories and places of work.

The conclusion should not be drawn from what I have said that we have overcome all difficulties or that there are no shortcomings and defects in our work.

Above all, we in Poland consider that we have still much to do in the sphere of safety conditions and labour hygiene in our enterprises which were taken over generally in a neglected condition in this respect from the capitalists.

We have still much to do to improve social insurance, the functioning of our health services, medical care, insurance, sanitoriums, etc. For example, in Poland we still need about 50,000 more doctors to achieve the standards that exist in the Soviet Union.

Due to the ravages of war, our countries, especially Poland, still have a difficult housing shortage, despite the great sums which the State spends on housing reconstruction and building.

Many of the existing shortcomings we are endeavouring to overcome by improving the collective agreements. At the end of this year, two agreements will be the rule, one between the trade unions in the particular branch of industry or transport with the corresponding economic organisation and the second between the management of the place of work and the factory committee. This latter is of special

significance since it will enable the individual problems of each place of work to be taken into consideration. In these matters we base ourselves on the experience of the trade unions of the USSR which have achieved magnificent results.

One of our main tasks is to improve the work of the trade union apparatus itself, to fight against reviving bureaucracy in the trade union apparatus and industrial administration.

We desire to achieve a system of trade union work, that would enable the trade unions in their daily work to be closely connected with the masses and to be interested even in their smallest needs. The trade unions should be able with the support and understanding on the part of the Peoples's Government, to remove those grievances quickly.

Alongside these tasks we shall develop socialist emulation of labour and raise output, because we see in this, the condition for creating the necessary means for improving the material and cultural conditions of our working class and intellectual workers.

Finally, we must remember, among the trade union tasks before us, the development of increasingly effective protection of the industrial and agricultural workers employed in the remaining small capitalist enterprises, on church estates and by the rich peasants. In this sphere, we in Poland are pursuing the policy of applying the collective agreements which are obligatory in State enterprises.

Our countries and our trade unions have achieved great successes. Before us are greater and greater possibilities of future development of our economy and the further improvement in the living standards of the working class. Our countries are at present engaged in the realization of production plans which will transform them into highly industrialised countries. The Popular Democracies in achieving these plans; benefit greatly from mutual, increasingly close and fruitful cooperation. In this way they give an example of a new type of economic and political relationship based on the respect of the political and economic sovereignty of nations.

We will constantly improve the rational utilisation and mobilisation of our own material and technical resources, relying on the enthusiasm of the working class and the masses of the people, careful and economical controllers of their country. Our planned economy protects us from crisis and unemployment which oppress the working masses in the capitalist countries. We are not afraid of over-production, since the increased amount of goods produced is no glut on the market but increases consumption and allows the further development of our economy.

We have achieved our successes without Marshall "Aid" and without selling our sovereignty for a mess of "dollar pottage." The picture presented today, by the Marshallized countries, which are forced to fill the gaps caused by the growing crisis in the USA and at the same time to lose their economic and political independence, contrasted with the flourishing economic and cultural life of our countries, confirms that we have followed the right road.

To fulfil our further creative tasks we need above all, peace—a lasting and democratic peace—all over the world. That is why our trade unions are inflexibly in favour of the preservation of peace and therefore of maintaining the unity and strength of the WFTU. Our

trade unions are in favour of the widening and strengthening of the fraternal ties between the workers of the USSR and the Popular Democracies and those of the capitalist and colonial countries in their common struggle for common aims.

We consider that the aims that inspire the WFTU are the solidarity of the workers of every continent, nationality, race and colour, and their mutual help in the struggle for the improvement of living conditions and for a lasting and democratic peace between nations.

The unity of the world trade union movement creates a mighty barrier to the criminal desires of the warmongers, against the plans of Anglo-American imperialism to dominate the world, and to unleash a new world war.

If the Anglo-American imperialists and their agents in the trade union movement try to split this mighty bastion of peace—the WFTU—we trade unionists in the Popular Democracies, side by side with the powerful unions of the country of socialism, will do everything possible to strengthen it even further, to widen the scope of its activities and raise its authority in the world. We know from our own experiences what a split in the trade union movement means on a national and international scale. A split in the ranks of the trade unions always paved the way for reaction and fascism and made it easier for Hitlerite fascism to prepare and unleash a war.

The trade unions in our countries have often expressed in practice their deep solidarity with workers in capitalist countries fighting for the most elementary conditions of existence and given them moral and material help. In these activities we had the full support of the WFTU. This is why the trade unions in our countries consider it so important to strengthen and develop the WFTU, to popularise its activities among the wide masses of trade unionists, and to expose and condemn the splitting activities of the pseudo-leaders of the working class which can only serve the interests of capital.

We fight for unity of the international working class because we see in this unity a solid guarantee of the victory of the idea of a lasting peace—of the victory of the working class fighting for its existence—and for a better future. In our countries the struggle for the international unity of the trade union movement is inseparable from the struggle for peace. The trade unions in our countries have played a great role both in the preparation and in the reporting-back of the Congress for Peace, in Wroclaw, Paris and Prague.

Our people hate nothing more than war, and desire nothing more than peace. How can inhabitants of Stalingrad, Warsaw, Lidice and so many other cities and towns engaged in the urgent and self-sacrificing work of reconstruction help wanting peace? We labour to reconstruct our countries and we desire to devote all our strength to peaceful work to repair the ravages of war and to raise the living standards of the working masses. We fight for peace because we want to ensure for our children and for ourselves a free and happy life.

Because we ourselves fight for peace, we support whole-heartedly the peace policy of the USSR. That is why we work in our countries to strengthen the friendship and alliance between our countries and the mighty Soviet Union, the chief bastion of peace and progress and the best guarantee of our independence and freedom. That is why

we mercilessly expose the war preparations of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc. That is why we show the true nature of the Atlantic Pact, the Marshall plan and that so called plan to aid back-ward countries as instruments designed to subordinate the countries of Western Europe and the colonial countries to US imperialism, to increase the exploitation of the working masses, to limit and destroy trade union liberties, to rebuild German militarism and to attack the USSR and the Popular Democracies.

We are fully conscious that the development of production and the construction of the foundations of socialism in the Popular Democracies and the strengthening of our economic power are real factors in the struggle for peace now being waged in the world.

In organising our membership to fulfil and surpass the production plans, to struggle for more economical and higher quality production, by developing emulation of labour, the trade unions in our countries not only achieve an increased standard of living for the working masses, but make an important contribution to the struggle for peace, to the struggle of the international cause of the working class.

We are convinced too that our achievements belong to all the international working class and that they will give greater faith in victory to the workers fighting for a better life and for peace in the countries under the domination of their own capitalists and of the foreign imperialists.

Comrades ! We have all come to the 2nd Congress of the WFTU sure of our strength and convinced of the rightness of the cause we represent.

We know that our brothers who still have confidence in or submit to Deakin, Carey, Kupers and other splitters will, driven by their class instinct and their proletarian class-consciousness, rejoin our ranks.

(The Congress rose and heartily applauded Comrade Zawadzki.)

THE CHAIRMAN (V. V. Kuznetsov). I now call on Comrade Wickremasinghe to give his report on this question.

***The action of the WFTU and the National Centres
for the defence of the economic and social interests
of the workers (Continued)***

S. A. WICKREMASINGHE (*India and Ceylon*). Comrades,

In my report I shall deal with the action of the WFTU and the National Centres for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers in colonial and semi-colonial countries. For this purpose it is necessary to examine the general characteristics of imperialism today, as we enter the second half of the twentieth century, as well as the conditions that prevail with an almost monotonous regularity in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

I shall also deal in some detail with the situations in India and Malaya, because of their considerable significance as classic examples of the course of the struggle for freedom, and also because their delegates are prevented from being here. I shall also touch upon the situation in other Eastern countries, but the other colonial areas of the world will be dealt with in a more specialised way by delegates who possess an intimate knowledge of these regions.

My main task is to indicate how the struggle for full independence—economic as well as the so-called “independence” of paper constitutions—is vital for the social and economic interests of the workers of the colonies, and also for the workers of the exploiter nations.

Since the end of the war the imperialists, faced with the massive awakening of the more backward countries, have tried two main strategies: direct suppression of the freedom struggle, and indirect continuance of their economic hold through the medium of local, *bourgeois traitors*. The latter arrangements is important only as an indication of the strength of the independence movement and as a *tacit acknowledgement that imperialism is in retreat*. But it does not change the workers' material conditions.

There are the same goods in the shop, the same price to pay—only a different window dressing. The Nehru's and Bao Dai's, the Soekarno's and their like, do not represent freedom.

A correct estimate of the aims of the imperialists nowadays is conveniently to hand in a typically American indiscretion. Last week the “New York Herald Tribune” published this statement by one of their chief columnists, Stewart Alsop, who was cabling from Saigon, in Indo-China:—

“Every intelligent Frenchman here”—he writes—“Will tell you that two years ago... the French should have offered them (the Indo-chinese) that right” (the right, that is to say, to manage their own affairs) “under an authentic, nationalist, non-Communist leadership. Then the French would have been able to retain every important commercial, cultural and political tie, losing only the outer trappings of colonial rule.”

There you have it—to surrender “the outer trappings” and retain the commercial, cultural and political interests, with “cultural” standing for propaganda in favour of capitalism and the alleged “superiority” of the West for opium dens and for all the sordidness that imperialism has introduced to the East.

In passing, Mr. Alsop mentions that this sort of arrangement is “precisely what the French are now attempting to do”—and so are all the other imperialists.

Those are their aims—now, what is happening in practice?

The level of economic and social development of the colonial countries is a long way from corresponding to their potentialities in the way of resources and labour organization. The war caused an appreciable acceleration in their industrial development and parallel with this was a strong awakening of class consciousness and of national feeling among the oppressed peoples. The imperialist powers had banked on that hope and had lavished misleading promises on the peoples whose loyalty and economic and military help they had to have to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

But afterwards it was a different story; all the efforts now are lavished on crushing the democratic, national liberation movements everywhere and on trying to re-establish and even to consolidate imperialism's hold.

But it is no easy task to oppose the enormous resistance potential of hundreds of millions of workers who, though as yet ill-organised,

are beginning to be clearly conscious of their rights. That is why we are witnessing a progressive shrinking of the areas still open to imperialist exploitation and a sharpening of the difficulties of this exploitation.

This is particularly true in Asia: the now almost-completed victory of the Chinese People's Army, the stubborn fight of the Viet Nam people, the dogged resistance in Malaya and Indonesia, the growing awareness of the real situation by the people of India—all these entitle us to forecast the approaching end of the imperialists' sway over the continent.

But imperialism, as class-conscious workers have always forecast, will not let its main sources of profit be snatched from it without a struggle. On the one hand it has by no means given up Asia, but is trying to apply a new strategy, more compatible with the present conditions in the west than is colonial warfare. On the other hand it is turning its attention to countries where it can still find both inexhaustible sources of raw material and a backward population crushed by dictatorship or military oppression.

That is why, during the last few years, imperialist powers have been seen to be engaging in methodical and intensive exploitation of the countries of Africa.

The situation of the countries of South America differs only at first sight from that of the Asian countries: although they have long since passed the *political* colonial stage, imperialist *economic* exploitation is everywhere apparent. In this area, as in many Asian countries, it employs indirect methods of annexation of all the resources and undertakings, with the complicity of the hireling national pseudo-Governments.

It is useful to consider some of the economic and social characteristics found in all countries that come within the scope of this report. Firstly, on the *economic* plane, these are the distinguishing characteristics:—

The economy is essentially an agricultural one and the soil is generally cultivated by very primitive methods, by poor tenants for the profit of rich landowners; but for commercial crops, like rubber and tea, capitalist methods are employed on large-scale, plantation methods.

In industry, there is a marked preponderance of handicraft production over modern industry, though this tends to become less strong in the more advanced countries.

Mass investment of foreign capital, utilised under the direction and control of foreign experts, plays a major role in the industrial development.

In foreign trade, exports are composed essentially of raw materials and imports of foodstuffs and manufactured goods.

Unskilled labour is abundant and very cheap.

On the *social* level, the noteworthy characteristics are these:—

Low standard of living of the workers, which, on the whole has still further deteriorated since the war. Generally speaking, it can be said that the average worker's income is insufficient for the barest necessities and real wages are declining.

The more or less general existence of forced labour, either traditional serfdom or for the upkeep of public services (such as roads and irrigation systems) or to work off debts which are inevitably accumulated and passed from generation to generation as an unpayable heirloom.

The absence of manifest inadequacy of legislation controlling and protecting the work of children and women.

Intervention by the Governments and by foreign powers in trade union life, revealed in anti-working class repression, the setting-up and backing of pseudo-unions and anti-strike legislation.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, from its foundation, has fully understood how important are the problems which the workers of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and South America must face. For the principles of international solidarity were never so urgent as now. The low wages in force in the exploited territories are a threat to the standard of living of the workers in the more advanced countries.

In addition, it is the workers of the exploiter nations who are paying the money for the troops and the state apparatus that is continually being called into use against the colonial peoples.

British, French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese workers are paying to suppress their fellow workers for the purpose of safeguarding their own capitalists' profits. Colonialism is merely a form of bleeding the European working class to maintain their own masters over them—the workers' taxes to ensure the bosses' profits.

The expenditures are helping to impoverish the European nations, to burden their peoples with unnecessary costs, are helping to employ in non-productive, destructive labour the potential workers of Europe who waste their lives fighting imperialism's battles, are helping to create a crisis of under-consumption owing to the absence of markets in the oppressed countries. It is in the interests of the European workers, as much as of those of the colonies, to see freedom as widespread as it morally should be. Working-class leaders in Europe must reinforce this lesson to counteract the propaganda that colonies are necessary to Europe's standard of living and that capitalism's battles in the colonies are also the workers' battles—which is completely untrue.

The WFTU was the first international trade union organisation to put the colonial and semi-colonial countries on exactly the same footing as the more advanced nations and it is for that reason that colonial workers will support it.

The Constitution and the resolutions of the Paris Conference of 1945 specifically condemn colonialism and we must never waver from that standpoint.

This policy has been put into practice by constant actions by the WFTU in the ILO and the Economic and Social Council of UNO. All the same, it is undeniable that the WFTU's activities have not had the scope that the unanimous decisions of the Paris Congress led one to expect. The causes lay essentially in the opposition of certain national trade union centres to the WFTU's policy and have been made public since the TUC and CIO leaders' departure.

The colonial struggle will become sharper in the future, because

it is clear that world imperialism is seeking to solve the crisis it is now entering at the expense of the workers and peasants of the colonial and economically backward countries in the first place; putting the burden of direct repression and diminished living standards on their own workers only afterwards. As a result, France is this year devoting more than eighty thousand million francs to the war against the people of Viet Nam; Holland has four-fifths of her armed forces in action in Indonesia and Great Britain, in Malaya alone, is using half of her expeditionary forces, including a huge proportion of technicians and even the King's Guards who had never been so far east before, even during the war against Japan.

Parallel with this open military action, there is the preparation of a series of "plans" and "programmes." They usually are claimed to be aimed at "raising the standard of living in the backward territories" and at bringing their peoples the "benefits of civilisation." But quite often they also cynically reveal their true aims.

For example, the White Paper of the British Government on its "Four-Year Plan" openly declares: "The plans described contemplate a large increase in the contribution of the colonies to European recovery." Britain has brought into force a so-called "Colonial Development and Welfare Act" under which £120 million will be spent during the next ten years on the building of roads, the enlarging and modernisation of ports, water-supply, etc., so as generally to facilitate, especially in East Africa, the export of raw materials needed by the imperialist powers and to allow private enterprise to intensify its exploitation.

Similarly, a "Colonial Development Corporation," with a capital of 100 millions, has been set up to "provide funds and expert aid, and sometimes to co-operate with private enterprise, to ensure development, basically commercial."

An "Overseas Food Corporation," with a capital of 50 millions, has been created to develop food production outside the United Kingdom.

Finally, and above all, the "Four Year Plan" insists that the production of raw materials must be increased in the colonies and sets targets of as much as a 100% increase in exploitation.

None of this, of course, will in any way assist the industrial development of the countries concerned and still less the condition of the inhabitants. It is all strictly within the framework of colonialist exploitation; intensive production of raw materials, to be bought at the lowest possible price and, with few exceptions, processed elsewhere.

Although Britain is, on the administrative field, the largest imperialist, the United States is economically the major power and is busily moving in on Western Europe's territories in the business world. Already evidence of clashes of economic interests are visible and it is obvious that they will increase in the future. They are taking place beneath the surface of a joint international line-up against the Soviet Union and the forces of democracy in all lands, but they exist nevertheless.

Imperialist strategy today is taking two main forms: the using of local renegades to carry on the old relationship and, where these are not available, or where the people are too widely aware of the true

issues, by direct armed force. In order to examine these tactics I propose to deal with two typical Asian countries whose own representatives have been prevented from attending here to-day—India and Malaya. I shall also touch on the situation in other countries, but later speakers will, I know, be speaking of South America, the Middle East, Africa, the West Indies and China in greater detail.

Firstly, then, let us look at India, where a full-scale “Stolypin reaction” has been let loose in a multi-pronged attack against the trade union movement.

Every important trade unionist has been subjected to terror tactics by the Nehru-Patel Government. Many leaders whose names will forever be linked with India’s struggle against imperialism are in jail or in prison. Our own comrade, Dange, a member of the Executive of the WFTU, is held without trial.

Not only has the Government dragged from obscurity all the opportunist elements it could lay hands on; even the leaders of the now-defunct Federation of Labour, which was subsidised by the British Government to carry on anti-Congress propaganda, are being used by that same Congress Party leadership to undertake anti-trade union work.

Economically, conditions are even worse than during the last years of direct British rule. With the pre-war years as a 100 basis, the cost of living in Bombay in December, 1948, was 310, even on the basis of official figures. Even the Eastern Economist, the journal of the Indian bourgeoisie, admits a decline since 1939 in the value of real wages.

Some idea of actual wage rates may be had from the fact that the average pay-package of the underground workers in the highest-paid coalfield in all India is 1 rupee, 8 annas a day, about 2 shillings a day. The lowest wage in the coalfields, for unskilled surface workers, is 9 ½ annas a day—which is about 1 shilling. The real wage of a miner, even on the basis of Government figures is below that of 1939 when the Indian miner was the lowest paid worker in the world.

Three hundred thousand miners, the same number of jute workers and over one hundred thousand municipal workers are in receipt of starvation wages. The wages of a million tea plantation workers are still lower and social relations there are those of serfdom. Seventy million agricultural workers—the largest group—are working under inhuman conditions, unprotected by the law and at the mercy of India’s semi-feudal landlords. Their plight is, perhaps, the most ghastly of all the Indian workers.

Unemployment has risen steadily from five hundred and seventy thousand in 1946 to about 1 ½ million in 1949—and these are only the figures of registered unemployed; thousands more are not on the Government records, as registration does not oblige the Government to secure employment or to pay unemployment allowance.

Although India is in urgent need of industrialisation, factories in many areas are closed down.

In the midst of this social misery, profits are doing well. The Eastern Economist reports that, taking 1928 as a base year (i.e. a year of capitalist boom) profits in 1946 were 159.4%—a rise of more than 50%, Bombay textile millowners made £16 million sterling profit

last year, 1 ½ times the total invested capital or £78 sterling per worker per year.

This economic situation is, of course, reflected in the vast surge of strikes that are the only weapons left to the Indian workers. And the sordid attempt to keep capitalism going has resulted in the Indian Government introducing the most vicious attack on the workers' organisations.

Police firings on workers' demonstrations have been too numerous for anything like a complete list to be given here. There have been mass arrests, detentions, raids on union offices, torturing of union leaders, confiscation of union records. A state of emergency virtually exists permanently in India and the spearhead of the terror attack is directed at the All-India Trades Union Congress.

During the last two years every provincial government has enacted and is ruling with a so-called "Public Security Measures" Act. Under these Acts, any policeman of the rank of sub-inspector or above can arrest, without a warrant and merely on suspicion, any person he pleases and detain him for an indefinite period without any trial or inquiry being set afoot. Of the 25,000 people arrested in the last 15 months, the overwhelming majority have been held under these acts.

Detainees are entitled to ask for a statement of the charges against them. The general accusation is that they are "likely to disturb the public peace."

Some of the accusations are even more ridiculous. A charge made against some detainees was that they were "good speakers."

Such is the blanket terror of these Security Measures that no sooner is an arrested leader replaced by a deputy than the deputy is arrested. This form of persecution is particularly severe in West Bengal and Madras.

In the early days of the repression a few individuals managed to win actions in the High Courts for their release, so empty was the case against them. The police waited on the steps of the Court to re-arrest them as they emerged, making High Court procedure a farce.

It is a penal offence to contribute to a relief fund for a strike that is declared illegal. Any dispute can be referred to compulsory arbitration and any strike pending the findings of the tribunal is "illegal." The arbitrators' decision is binding and there must be no strike against it for at least three months. Arbitration proceedings have been known to last as long as 13 months.

There have been countless instances of owners deliberately flouting the awards of arbitrators. But not a single owner has been brought to court. Not only the big industrialists, but also the smaller manufacturers ignore the decisions. And the law never interferes.

For instance, in Madras the Industrial Tribunal awarded the workers at the Madras Pencil Factory three months' wages as bonus. The proprietor paid only 15 days' wages. Representations having failed, the workers staged a protest demonstration in the factory. The management declared a lock-out. The workers went to the Government Offices to present their case to the Labour Minister. The law was, in theory, on their side. But their four leaders were arrested and the gathering was baton-charged with injuries to more than 25 workers. And such incidents can be multiplied many times.

Any industry can be declared a "public utility concern" or an essential service and any strike in such an industry is automatically illegal.

Such has been the sweeping use to which this has been put that in the United Provinces the sugar industry and in Bengal a factory like the Alkali Chemical Corporation (a branch of the British international monopoly, Imperial Chemical Industries) are declared "essential services." Mass arrests followed both these declarations.

Even where legal strikes have been declared, *every single one* has met with wholesale repression. For instance, in the legal railway strike in March this year there were 3,000 arrests in anticipation of the strike and military took over the railways two or three weeks before the strike—immediately after the necessary strike notice had been given.

No cynical manipulation or even disregard for the law is shunned by the Indian bourgeoisie in their all-out attack on the unions. A new series of amendments is scheduled to be introduced in the Indian Parliament soon to make the trade union movement totally subservient to the ruling, capitalist class and to mould it into the pattern of the Nazi Labour Front. It aims to restrict the right of the workers to choose their own leaders and to form their own constitutions. Minor Government officials will have the power to close down unions and freeze their funds and enforce any stringent, anti-working class conditions on the unions that they may care to.

It is now illegal in almost every town (including some where there has been no unrest) for more than four people to meet together. In one case, even an indoor meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union was broken up, under this law, by armed police.

The session last month of the All-India Trades Union Congress was at first forbidden but later, after mass protests, permitted as a "private" session of delegates. Even during the session a delegate was arrested and detained, a baton charge was made and for a whole day the conference hall lay under a siege from the armed police. The acting General Secretary, Manek Gandhi, was arrested a few weeks before the session.

The Government recently staged an "enquiry" into the representative character of the AITUC and, as expected, declared the scab Indian National Trade Union Congress (which is run entirely on owners' finances and Government patronage) to be more representative. The enquiry followed the arrest of all the best-known and experienced leaders and the sealing of hundreds upon hundreds of genuine union offices. The farcical nature of the enquiry does not need further exposition.

As to the nature of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, which has been set up by the Indian Government, it is sufficient to note that the European Tea Plantation Owners' Association in Assam even went so far as to ask for an undertaking from the Assam Premier that he would not permit any union but those of the INTUC to function on the estates. The promise was given, of course.

In the prisons, the treatment of union leaders is appalling. Illness

is ignored. Following the British example, prisoners are classified and detainees of working class or peasant origin are deliberately kept in inferior conditions.

Newspaper censorship has resulted in the closing down of over 80 papers and wholesale confiscations regularly take place. Even a progressive bookshop in Calcutta has been closed down by the police.

In the countryside, conditions are exactly the same. Wherever agricultural workers and peasants have demonstrated, as in the provinces of Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, Madras, etc., they have been attacked barbarously. The record of brutality in one area—Andhra—will give a good picture of the situation.

1,000 villages have been raided, 10,000 houses searched. 25,000 people have been batoned and 5,000 arrested. Looted and destroyed property totals 500,000 rupees. 300 homes have been burnt down, 30 municipal councillors arrested, six people killed by police firing and 15 women raped. And all this in only one area of one province.

The history of the last two years of working class struggles has shown to the class enemies that their offensives have failed to crush the AITUC or its unions and the working class they lead. With the economic crisis deepening, the capitalist class, like a wounded beast, is sure to attack with still greater ferocity and to employ its breakaway unions.

The General Secretary of the AITUC summed up the present mood of the people in these words at the Bombay Congress last month. He said : " In judging the workers' and toiling peoples' resistance to repression, old standards just do not apply any more. India's working class, no longer pulled back by any illusions of secure life, is not afraid of the Government terror, not only of its over-flowing prisons, but also of its countless firings... The experience of the last two years has unmistakably proved that notwithstanding the most unprecedented, ferocious and sustained repression and disruption, the Indian working class and its only fighting central organisation, the AITUC, have emerged stranger, nationally and internationally... This growing strength is securing ever wider support... from its allies like the rural proletariat, the middle class employees in towns—the clerks and teachers—the students, etc. "

The perspective before the AITUC therefore, is one of the partial struggles growing into a general all-India struggle of workers in all industries, battling for the basic minimum demands of a living wage, full compensation for the rise in prices, security of service and the right to work, right of trade union work in the factories, immediate release of all leaders of the workers and repeal of all anti-strike and repressive legislation, etc.

The AITUC, at its session last month, appreciated fully that its historic role is to unite all workers, irrespective of their political differences, for a struggle for their demands, against the disruptors parading themselves in false colours and has warned them that the only way in which they can fail is not by the strength of the bourgeoisie overwhelming them, but rather by the deceit of the agents of the Delhi and Washington Governments, disuniting them in their struggle.

But the people of India will not fail to recognise these truths for themselves.

That, then, is the situation in a country where the bourgeoisie of India. Now, let us consider the situation in Malaya, where a compromising organisation could not be found.

After twelve months of warfare against the workers and peasantry of Malaya the situation has developed into a crisis for British imperialism. The British Government has employed mixed armies of British troops, Borneo head-hunters, Gurkhas from India's north-east frontier, Siamese fascists, ex-Palestine policemen, members of the Ceylon Pioneer Corps (who have mutinied on three occasions) and a small number of local quislings. The daily expense to Britain is about £31,500 apart from special votes of money.

The Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions has been suppressed since the 1st of June 1948. This means virtually the suppression of the trade union movement, as 91 % of the trade unions are affiliated to it. The remaining 9 % are Government-sponsored "yellow" unions.

An example both of the attitude to the colour bar and of the mood with which the British re-occupation was carried out, even in 1945, is furnished by this incident : All the Europeans received back pay for the three-and-a-half years of Japanese occupation; the Malayan workers received nothing, although they were the ones who carried on the heroic underground struggle against Japanese fascism.

The trade unions led frequent struggles for wage increases, better food rations, housing and social security. Between 1945 and 1947 no fewer than 3,000 strikes took place.

The economic background to these actions can be seen in the fact that prices rose between 1941 and 1945 by between 500 and 600 %. The Government stubbornly resisted demands for wage increases on the grounds that they would increase inflation ! Eventually, in July 1947, as a result of consistent pressure by the workers, they authorised a wage increase of 92 % of 1941 wages, which was wholly inadequate.

The first action in the British Administration's undeclared war on the people of Malaya was the banning of the trade unions.

It was followed by mass arrests and deportations of men and women, with their young children, to almost inevitable deaths in Kuomintang China.

Latest figures indicate that 2,300 people have been thus deported (including Malayan-born Chinese and Indians) and 7,000 arrested without trial. In one swoop alone 500 villages were taken for deportation early this year. The police admitted that the victims consisted in the main of old men, grandmothers, wives and children, as most men between 15 and 50 had fled before the round-up. The others had believed there was no need for them to escape. The families were given one hour to pack all their belongings and, according to the British-owned "Straits Times," even infants had their fingerprints taken so that after deportations there would be no chance of their ever returning.

British imperialism's motive in remaining in Malaya is not hard to find. There are British holdings to the value of £68 millions in the two main industries, rubber and tin, and British owners monopolise the iron, manganese and oil-palm industries. The estimated nominal

value of British investments throughout the country is £100 millions. The profits, however, are higher out of all proportion to the investments. Malaya earns more dollars for the sterling area than even Great Britain itself.

Numerous attempts have been made to form a rival trade union centre, but all have failed.

Among prominent trade union leaders who have been killed by the British is Mr. A. Ganapathy, for the "crime" of possessing a gun, and Mr. Veerasenan, a former president of the trade unions.

In spite of the huge wave of repression and murder, in March this year over 1,000 workers at rubber packing factories in Singapore went on strike in protest against a reduction of their wages from 25s a week to 23s.

The war that Britain is fighting against the people of Malaya has not even the facile justification of a local traitor to be paraded as a national leader. There is not a single leader that they have been able to find to shroud their true aims in a mask of quasi-respectability. It is simply an open imperialist war against a subject people, carried on with all the brutality familiar to students of the story of British imperialism—burning of homes, round-up of innocent people, unscrupulous lying for propaganda purposes, proclamation of high moral intentions, constitutional juggling and elections on farcically restricted franchises.

Malaya gives the lie direct to the stories of the British Government that imperialism is dead. It is highly-important example, to all colonial peoples, of the role that imperialist nations are still prepared to play when they find their capitalists' holdings to be in danger.

Similar situations have existed in Indo-China and Indonesia for the last four years. In both these countries the initial resistance to the independence movements came from British troops at a time when French and Dutch imperialists were unable to supply the garrisons.

They were accepted, at first, by the people, because of their newly-won prestige as the troops of a Social Democratic Government, with its noisily-declared principles. It was also due to the influence of the trade unionists who sat in the ranks of the Parliamentary Labour Party that the Indonesians were prepared to trust the British to the extent that they did. But, instead, at a time when the WFTU was calling for support for the Indonesians, Citrine, who is now a Lord and who was Deakin's predecessor on the WFTU, was supporting a Government that was fighting grimly to smash the possibility of an independent nation in East Asia that might be an example to the other colonies.

He used his association with us to bolster British prestige to the Indonesians. Citrine, sitting around the table with us, had blood on his hands as he swore fidelity to our principles. While he was uttering empty words of support, Bevin, who with Citrine, led the British trade unions, had already given a very concrete promise to help restore Dutch sovereignty in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Soekarno and Hatta, the Indonesian leaders, were just waiting to make a deal with the Dutch that would give them sufficient standing to gratify their egos, regardless of the result to the people. That is what they have now done and the fact that it is

obvious to us that the Dutch will liquidate them as soon as they have served their purpose does not alter this situation.

The Indonesian trade unions built up a membership of nearly one and a quarter million. Today they are in a semi-legal situation, with most of their leaders in prison, as a result of the action of the Hatta Government. In Indo-China, too, the trade unions are not allowed to function freely in the French-held areas.

In Burma the situation is different to the extent that the British *were realists enough to know that (as in India) they had no hope of holding the country by open rule in 1945: so they tried to hold it in other ways—through the same type of opportunists who had supported first the Japanese and then, when they felt stronger and the Japanese were obviously losing, they helped themselves.* Today, in spite of the attempts of feudal elements, backed by British agents, to incite insurrection on the basis of group differences, the mass of the workers and peasants are united with the progressive movement.

The All-Burma Trade Union Congress called several strikes, among civil servants and the workers at British-owned oil installations and in other industries, in order to safeguard their workers' interests. They were all repressed savagely by the Burmese Army, under the command of British officers. Here too the trade unions are now illegal since the arrest of the General Secretary in March, 1943.

The lessons of all these incidents are of prime importance to all of us. We must recognise that from the standpoint of the working class—which is the standpoint of us all—a bourgeois nationalist or a right-wing trade union leader is not, in the long run, a friend of the workers to be relied on and that it is only our own efforts that will, over a period of time, be fruitful.

Before leaving the subject of Asia, I want to refer to two countries which are at present away from the main stream of limelight.

Far to the north-east of India, tucked away in the Himalayan mountains, is the state of Nepal, for years a storehouse of British cannon-fodder. It is from there that the Gurkha troops are recruited.

After the end of the war, and under the influence of the sweep of the liberation movements in Asia, political consciousness grew rapidly in Nepal. The people demanded civil liberties, democratic rights and the abolition of feudal autocracy. In 1947 a working class organisation was built in Biratnagar. The workers went on strike in April, 1947, for the first time in history. They demanded better living and working conditions. This lighted the spark for a real mass movement.

Because of its strategical position, Nepal, since 1947, has been the object of special American attention. The USA made a trade agreement with Nepal, there are numerous American engineers and scientists in the country and it has been reported that the whole of Western Nepal has been leased for 30 years to an American firm.

The country is off the beaten track, but it has not been missed by imperialism. But neither have the people failed to learn from the struggles taking place on their southern border, nor from the massive example of the Soviet Union and China to the north.

The other country Ceylon is larger, more advanced, but because it is not such a rich country as Malaya, British-promoted repression has

been less violent. Nevertheless, we have a history of struggle which is today embracing ever wider numbers of workers and peasants as political understanding grows.

There are no industries and of the two main products, 80 % of the estates (which are very lucrative) and 60 % of the rubber plantations are British owned. The entire banking, insurance and foreign trade is controlled by the British.

There are 750,000 workers who are Indian immigrants, brought to Ceylon (like the Chinese in Malaya) by British imperialists with the active collaboration of the Ceylonese and Indian capitalists to be exploited and kept in a state of semi-slavery. The workers never earn enough to be able to pay their passage back home to India. They are condemned to a life in barracks known as "coolie lines" and have no right to invite anyone even into the compounds of these places, not even a trade union representative. If they are discharged from their plantations they are forced to evacuate their homes within 24 hours, by the law of the land.

These workers are now, for the first time, organising themselves into genuine trade unions under the leadership of our trade union federation.

The trade unions are fighting against legislation which denies the immigrant workers citizenship rights, while granting them to British proprietors. The workers are at present liable to deportation merely by decision of the Ministry concerned.

The Ceylon Government is even more reactionary than the London one. It recently turned down an offer from the Soviet Government to buy the whole rubber stock at a price above that prevailing at the time, giving political grounds as a reason. The price of rubber has declined since this time, due to Wall Street price manipulations and the number of workers on rubber estates is to be reduced, by arrangement between the Employers' Federation and the Government, by 40 % to save money on wages. The work-load on the remaining 60 % will be correspondingly increased.

The average wage of a worker is about 1 rupee, 50 cents for a man and one rupee for a woman in a country where a pint of milk or a pound of rice or a pound of bread costs 40 cents. Armed police are employed to intimidate and beat-up the workers and wholesale arrests and mass evictions are taking place to break up the strike struggles on the plantations. Only 50 % of the children of plantation workers attend school and even these have only one teacher to every 520 pupils.

The Ceylon Trade Union Federation was organized at the time of the outbreak of the Second World War and is the first genuine trade union movement in the island. During the war and after workers and peasants were inspired by the great heroic achievements of the Red Army and the Soviet people. British imperialists and their lackeys, the national bourgeois leaders, were getting alarmed at the development of anti-imperialist forces in Ceylon. The national bourgeois politicians entered into a conspiracy with the British imperialists. While negotiations were proceeding for sharing political power in order that their vested interests might be safeguarded, a general strike broke out in the island, partly on economic issues and partly in defence of

government workers, who were (and still are) denied full trade union rights.

Police fired on demonstrators and emergency legislation conferred powers of absolutism on the British Governor and his police. After five weeks of heroic resistance the workers were defeated, owing to the plantation workers, who were then under reactionary leadership of a communal organization, failing the support them.

Ruthless victimization followed and further repressive legislation is now under consideration.

All British vested interests are protected by special legislation. The British have Army, Naval and Air Bases in the country. American labour and naval attachés are active. Large scale construction works are being carried out near the huge naval base of Trincomalee, which was used during the war as a replacement for Singapore and is evidently still thought of in that light by imperialism!

Ostensibly, the construction works are for irrigation and hydro-electric schemes—but they are carried out in strict secrecy.

A British Lord has been chosen as the Commander-in-Chief of the new Ceylon Army.

Economically, the national income is declining rapidly and the sterling balances are almost exhausted.

As in all post-war colonial administrations, the people with whom the British Labour Party chooses to seek power are black marketeers, war profiteers, feudal landlords and other criminal anti-social elements who have amassed new wealth, in the main. They are now helpless to tackle the many-sided problems that confront our country and are only too ready to invite foreign capital. They are rapidly forming joint enterprises with foreign capitalists to exploit the people, in their eagerness for quick profits, regardless of the future and neglectful of the enterprises essential for a sound economy.

Thus this is Asia, in various stages of subjection.

This picture would not, however, be complete without some sign of the trade union splitters. And in action they certainly are.

Meeting at Geneva, on June 19th, working class renegades from India, China, Iran, the Philippines and Indonesia announced that they were forming what they called an "Asian Federation of Labour."

The Federation was conceived at the 31st session of the ILO in San Francisco in July 1948 and was born in Geneva on the 19th of June 1949, in the silver and scarlet hall of Hotel Richmond. Such a birth, masquerading as "Asian," can only be a miscarriage or a monster.

There were no representatives from liberated China, Viet Nam, the Asian Republic of the Soviet Union, Burma, the Indonesian fighters, and none from the older and more representative unions of India—to name only the most obvious omissions. The representatives of Japan, Pakistan and Turkey refused to be nominated to the Provisional Committee or to take any decisions as they had no mandate. There were 13 left—and, of these, five were from the Indian Government unions, two from Chiang Kai Shek China (one of whom, ironically enough, represented the telephone workers of Shanghai) and three from Iran. There was one from Dutch Indonesia who confessed he had no repre-

sentative status, and two from the Philippines who admitted that they represented only a small section of the trade union movement in their country.

This so-called federation is not only unrepresentative of the Asian continent; but it is wholly unrepresentative of any country in Asia. It is just a farce.

But, nevertheless, the Nehru Government has seen fit to announce, through official channels, to the world the establishment of the 'organisation. This is evidence not only of the servile nature of the federation, but also of the depths to which the Nehru Government will sink in their effort to wear the garments of progress.

From Asia, let us consider, briefly, the African situation today.

The perspectives offered to the African people are those of an unprecedented exploitation. The Americans are moving in to assist the older imperialisms and Marshall Plan funds are to be used. Particular attention is being paid to the uranium reserves in the Belgian Congo, for whose exploitation they are to provide financial "aid."

Parallel with these economic measures, administrative measures are being taken. As early as September 1946, 63 African chiefs were brought together in a conference in London to receive the Colonial Office's orders. In June 1949, a meeting of the principal administrative staff of the 40 British colonies discussed plans aimed at accelerating and increasing production in their colonies.

In the French colonies the administration is entirely subservient to the colonialist monopolies, as you will hear later in detail from Comrade Le Léap.

I shall confine myself to stressing that the carrying-out of the "economic plans" of the imperialist powers, which take no account of the economic development of the country and scarcely even pretend to care for the fate of the inhabitants, will mean the tearing up of the very roots of African life, without anything to replace them.

The working class population will grow where it already exists, and an industrial proletariat will be formed of peasants uprooted from regions formerly devoted to agricultural exploitation. All this upheaval will produce wealth—but not for the Africans. On the contrary, they will plunge further into poverty, while the colonialists' dividends are excessively swollen.

Faced with such proposals, the African people cannot fail to react, and the WFTU will not remain impassive before this immense problem of human misery.

Africa is on the march. The recent strikes in North Africa, in French Equatorial African, Kenya, Zanzibar, Bulawayo, to quote only a few, the revolts on the Gold Coast, all point to the way she is marching.

The unions are already fulfilling their historic role of defending the workers. The WFTU must do its utmost so that they may fulfil this role without hindrance, and under the control of the workers themselves, without interference by the so-called "Labour Advisers" if the British colonies or the upper administrative staff of the French colonies, who try to divert the workers' organisations from their true fight.

The WFTU must continue to fight against racial discrimination which is one of the most acute problems in Africa, and to denounce forced labour which survives over immense regions. Applying the decisions taken at London and Paris, the WFTU must support the powerful national liberation movement which is already making itself felt in Africa.

The first steps were taken at the magnificent Pan-African Conference at Dakar in 1947. There, 60 delegates, representing 21 national Trade Union Centres, traced the broad outlines of a programme applicable to all colonial countries, which is printed in the General Report of Activity.

It is also necessary to note the special situation in South Africa, where the union movement and the working class in general must face conditions more and more clearly fascist in nature. In fact, as is shown by the Commission's terms of reference, its aim is to prepare the "legal" suppression of the trade unions and the constitution of a "Labour Front" on the nazi model, in conformity with the ideas of Hitler, of whom the present Prime Minister is an ardent disciple.

The South African trade union movement is in danger. The Government is preparing to intervene openly in the affairs of the federations and of the National Centre.

The role of the WFTU in South Africa must, therefore, be to aid coloured workers to organise to win improvement in their wretched lot, and to exercise its unifying influence against racial discrimination which, by dividing the working class serves only the interests of the mine owners and the powerful financial groups who today dominate the country.

What emerges from this review of the situation? The general political map of imperialism today may be described, I submit, in this manner :

In Asia, and to a lesser degree, in Africa, the subject peoples are in the main advancing from the position of direct colonies to indirect colonies—that is to say, their domestic policies are handled by the local bourgeoisies who are, in all the essentials, subservient to the war bloc.

So far as the workers are concerned this makes no difference to their social or economic position.

Imperialism, in its last stand to preserve its empires, has resorted to sharing power with feudal landlords, war profiteers and black marketeers of the worst, anti-social elements.

Faced with the economic and social problems of a general capitalist crisis which is sweeping all the non-Socialist countries, these reactionaries have to look to their Anglo-American masters for assistance and are prepared to join in all the war plans of the Atlantic and Pacific blocs to attack the Soviet Union, the Eastern European democracies and liberated China.

Faced with the awakening of their people, they have not only to be subservient to foreign capital, but also to practise massive oppression and terrorism against their own peoples. They are preparing and practising the shifting of the burden to the backs of the workers. Direct and indirect wage cuts, increased work loads, prolongations of

working hours, rationalisation and efficiency drives leading to tens of thousands of unemployed—these are the fruits of their policies.

All this presupposes repression for the future even more severe than we have witnessed up to now.

This brings me to the central point of my discourse. Allow me, comrades, to make a solemn appeal in concluding.

At the first Congress in Paris we established the framework of the WFTU. We laid down broad policies and paid homage to the highest ideals for human achievement and progress. We achieved much, but at the same time we left many urgent problems undecided. There was a tendency to live in the abstract and to postpone action under difficult and unpleasant conditions. Appeasement and compromise created a suffocating atmosphere.

We failed clearly to realise that we were on the verge of attack by the class enemy and we were consequently not well enough prepared. When they launched their offensive.

Our enemy was armed to the teeth and ready for action in all the dependent territories.

We failed to recognise our potential enemy and also to realise sufficiently clearly that there was another enemy, sowing disruption and making difficulties, here, within our very ranks.

Today we know our enemy. The workers of South East Asia, of Africa, of America, nor, indeed, of Europe, will never again confuse the enemy with their friends. Never again must we give international standing to malicious splitters and phrase-mongering, hypocritical opportunists.

They are already trying to spread their disruptive activities to Asia. Irving Brown, the agent of the AF of L, is joining with Maharajahs, Mandarins and Sultans in order to mobilise a so-called Labour Front for Asia.

The WFTU will be summoning the Regional Conference of Asian trade unions later this year. Non-affiliated, as well as affiliated unions, will be invited.

Let us make certain that now, nothing is allowed to stand in the way of making it a genuine, powerful organisation, worthy of tackling the burning problems of colonial peoples.

But, above all, I want to appeal to trade union leaders in *all* countries to support the peoples of Asia who are in the front line of the battle of the working class against international reaction. We ask you to drive home the lesson that our fight is your fight, that successful repression in Asia would mean the same repression of living standards and of freedom in the more advanced countries.

I call upon you to support our fight by every means open to you —because it is your fight, too. We need more actions like those of the Australian dockers who refused to handle war cargoes going to Indonesia. We need active, militant solidarity, to make this more than 70-million strong international of ours a living reality as a force in the world.

Today we are witnessing the mighty people of China shaking imperialism to its wretched foundations. The Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies are forging ahead with the building of societies that are the pride of workers of all lands.

But the imperialists are not standing idle. As we gain new victories, so does their savagery grow. Let us be ready for them, let us fight unitedly against them and bring to all peoples that freedom, that security and that peace which shall assuredly be the birthright of all generations to come.

(The delegates stood and warmly applauded Comrade Wickremasinghe.)

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 5th JULY 1949

5 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of V. Lombardo Toledano.

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, who has an announcement to make to the Congress.

L. SAILLANT (*much applauded on his way to the platform*). Thank you for your applause, comrades, but perhaps you may not feel so much like applauding when you have heard what I have to say. (*Laughter.*)

We on the platform have agreed that there is a great lack of discipline in the Congress. It is not a grave lack, but if it goes on we risk sitting on here in Milan until next January!

Let me explain: The speakers due to speak first on the reports that have been presented, are not present. They are being fetched.

There has also been a protest to the platform from the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, informing us that some speakers, without obtaining permission from the platform, speak for 20 minutes, 30 minutes and sometimes even 40 minutes, although they are only allowed 15 minutes.

If a speaker wishes to exceed the 15 minutes allotted to him by the regulations, he must ask permission of the Chairman of the Session who will consult the Congress as to whether or not he should be given permission.

Moreover, the comrades giving the reports should themselves set an example to the speakers. This morning—I say this in quite a friendly way—one comrade presenting a report spoke for only 25 minutes, although he had the right to speak for 45 minutes: that was comrade Frachon. Comrade Zawadzki spoke for an hour and five minutes although only 45 minutes had been allotted him. And comrade Wickremasinghe spoke for an hour and a half, that is just twice the time allotted to him.

I put this question to you as the Organising Secretary of Congress and on behalf of the Praesidium: comrades, what will happen to us if this way of going about things continues? It is impossible for the Praesidium to try to organise the work of the commissions, the plenary sessions, and of the Trade Department preparatory committees

if sessions are started a quarter of an hour after the time agreed, and if during the sessions speakers—even those presenting reports—stay up on the platform twice as long as they should.

This is not free discussion, this is not democracy,—it smacks of anarchy and is near neighbour to confusion, and if we wish the Congress to proceed in a satisfactory manner things cannot go on in this way.

So I am charged to ask you, in the name of the Praesidium and the Standing Orders Committee, whether you confirm the Praesidium's powers of calling to order those speakers who do not conform with its rulings.

The Praesidium intends to be firmer than hitherto, and it wants Congress's endorsement of this measure.

If Congress is in favour of this step we can return to orderly and regulated methods of work. And if you agree you will be making a major contribution to the success of our work. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*F. Lombardo Toledano*). I ask the Assembly to remember what comrade Saillant has just said while we continue our discussion of the three reports on item 8 on the agenda read this morning.

I call on Comrade Deter of the Berlin Workers' Organisation. (*Applause.*)

A. DETER (*FDGB, Berlin*). The towns reduced to ruins by German fascism have not been re-built, the tears caused by pain and misery have not ceased to flow—but already the war-mongers are stirring up a new war.

All the same the peace forces in every country particularly the Soviet Union, are increasing in strength. As they mobilise the masses they have so far been able to postpone the danger of a new war.

In the attempt to unleash a new war a special rôle has been arranged for Berlin: according to their own suggestions the imperialists are eager to make this city an advance-post and a bridge-head.

Berlin, with its four-fold division, forms a miniature battle-field on which the peace forces and the aggressive forces of imperialism confront each other. The German peace forces join battle for the unity and national independence of Germany as a whole. The Berlin trade unionists are taking an active part in this movement, and at the same time, are fighting to strengthen the antifascist and democratic order.

The WFTU's Report of activity gives us—in the passage beginning on page 439 of the English edition—an analysis of the trade union split in Berlin. This division was brought about at the instigation of the AFL agents, Irving Brown and Henry Rutz, with the open assistance of the American occupiers.

The so-called "free trade union organisation" or UGO has, in the same way and with the same methods as the splitters of the WFTU, tried to weaken the active, fighting forces of the FDGB. Finally, when the Americans judged that the time was ripe, the splitters left our ranks. In the American sector of Berlin the police occupied the trade union buildings and turned them over to the UGO. In the factories reprisals

were taken against our comrades; the militants were tracked down, arrested and thrown into prison. For a year the FDGB has been, to all intents and purposes forbidden in the American sector. In the British and French sectors our activity has been hindered. It is only in the Soviet sector—a third of the area of the town—that the FDGB can function freely and without hindrance, and has the recognised right to inspect and assist in the running of factories, the economy and the administration. In spite of continued American corruption by gifts of food-stuffs and dollars to the UGO, 400,000 workers and employees have remained faithful to the FDGB and hence to the WFTU.

The trade union split profits, not the workers, but the capitalists. In the Western sectors of Berlin the creation of owners' organisations has once more been authorised by the Americans; they are directed by former nazis and war mongers; and the UGO collaborates with them. At their request, the occupying powers have held up the expropriation of from factories and banks belonging to war criminals. By contrast, in the Soviet sector, 465 such factories have been transferred to the common ownership of the democratic municipality; they are now being run by our comrades to aid in peaceful reconstruction.

The unilateral monetary reform instituted last year in Western Germany inaugurated an offensive against the socialised industries and the administration of the Easter zone and of Berlin; it resulted in a hold-up of transport and communications. Instead of promoting conciliation the western powers organised the air lift. They brushed aside the Soviet military administration's offer to supply the whole of Berlin with food-stuffs. They announced they could feed Berlin by air, but in reality they pillaged the industries of Western Germany. The blockade has been lifted since May 12th, but West Germany still suffers from the political consequences of the air lift—which is still in operation—and of the Marshall Plan.

Factories closed down as a result; there are 155,000 unemployed—that is 20 % of the working population. On June 16th, the American-licensed press reported that, out of Western Berlin's two million inhabitants, one million were living in difficult economic circumstances.

This situation is also the result of the split which has been an unmitigated misfortune for the population and is the cause of all our woes. In Berlin, too, it is not only the trade unions which are divided, but the administration, food control, the currency, social insurance—everything in fact. Berlin has two currencies: the western mark and the eastern mark. The movement of the western mark is quite arbitrary, and is fixed by the Americans in accordance with political considerations. Hundreds of thousands of Western Berliners work in the Soviet zone and vice-versa; frontiers have been set up in their own town. For West Berlin four monetary categories have been established. That means that four workers in the same factory and doing the same kind of work for the same salary can be paid in four different ways. This method aims at setting the workers against each other, while being very profitable to the capitalists, whose insolence in West Berlin is growing. They are reducing the workers' rights, and increasing their exploitation of the labour-supply by using the unemployed as a reserve army.

The Berlin workers desire their town to be unified, they want to

have one monetary system and one rationing system. The FDGB leads their fights. On May 1st 800,000 workers demonstrated behind the banners of the FDGB and for the slogans of the WFTU, while the Americanised UGO only managed to rally round it—on its own admission—150,000 demonstrators.

The enemies of unity, the imperialist warmongers and their lackeys neglect no opportunity to weaken the workers' front in order to gain their own criminal ends.

The provocative activity of the UGO at the time of the Berlin railway workers' strike is a typical example. Never has the press so twisted and distorted the truth as at the time of this so-called strike. By falsely alleging that the UGO was carrying out a just strike with just demands they were trying to deceive public opinion and prove that the FDGB were acting as strike-breakers. The responsibility for the introduction of the Western mark falls on the Western powers and the Western Berlin municipal authorities, who evaded their obligation to exchange, mark for mark, the railway workers' wages into western marks. Whatever the cost, the railway workers' distress had to be exploited for political reasons so as to influence the Conference of Foreign Ministers taking place in Paris. Here are some facts to prove it :—

The UGO paper said, on May 3rd, that the railway strike had become a problem of high politics, because "it reflects the serious differences between the occupying powers."

The "Neue Zeitung", American military government newspaper, said, on May 29th, that "the cessation of work is a political strike, whose aim is not only to win payment in western marks but to conquer Berlin for the second time."

The "Tagesspiegel", appearing under American licence, stated, on June 13th, that the military governor, General Hays, had declared to 44 American war correspondents that the strike of the metropolitan subway workers of Berlin had important political repercussions.

This is certainly the reason why they aimed at bringing to a standstill the most important socialised enterprise directed by our comrades. Indeed, the railway is the only means of connecting the four zones. What really happened?

On the first day of the strike announced by UGO, only 2,553 railway workers out of 35,000, of whom 18,000 live in the western sector of the town, stopped work. The services were almost normal and the strike so far was a failure. But there came into action strong, well organised groups of saboteurs and terrorists, who did not belong to the railways and who were obviously directed by military elements. These people set fire to coaches, destroyed points, pulled up rails, and cut electric cables. Armed groups, bearing a strong resemblance to the SS and SA, terrorised railway workers and the travellers, and, aided by the German police and English, American and French police forces, brought traffic to a standstill.

We have circulated photographs of this among the delegates. These show what violent methods were used to stop the traffic.

Is it not surprising that the American occupying power should instruct its generals in Berlin to play the part of protector of democracy,

of trade union freedom and of the right to strike, while in the United States the Taft-Hartley law prevents strikes, undermines trade union freedom and restrains the activity of progressive trade unions?

To put an end to any doubt remaining as to the nature of this pseudo-strike, it is only necessary to know that immediately after the end of the Paris Conference the generals representing the western occupying powers gave orders for the strike to be brought to a halt. The pro-American UGO leaders hastened to obey the command. They know very well that this was to be their way of paying for the dollar subsidies and all the little Mother Carey packages.

In the June 30 number of the "New York Tribune" James Carey of the CIO declared that the German trade unions ought to have more influence and that the AF of L must, through its agents, do more to make the American way of life stronger in Germany. We have had enough of the American way of life, under which the FDGB has been banned for the last year in the American sector of Berlin, where the right to organise, the right of assembly together with similar rights, no longer exist. No, Mr. Brown and Mr. Carey, we have no desire at all to see you in Berlin. We would like to see these gentlemen, together with General Howley and his collaborators disappear as quickly as possible from the Berlin scene. Then Berlin will breathe again and in freedom and order will turn to reconstruction and become a bastion in the cause of peace.

The FDGB following the decisions to be taken by the 2nd WFTU Congress will strengthen its efforts to bring back the workers misled by the UGO, to re-establish unity of action of all workers and employees in joint effort with the intellectuals to fight for the unity of Germany and of its capital, for our country's national independence, peace and friendship among all peoples, a free and better way of life and a happy future.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*F. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Invernizzi, General Secretary of the Milan Trades Council.

G. INVERNIZZI (*Italy*). Comrades,

In order to understand the importance of the victories wrested by the Italian workers from their bosses in the last few years, it is necessary to know the conditions under which the trade union movement in our country was reorganised.

The trade union movement had no chance of free development in our country for more than 20 years. The fascist "trade unions" were trade unions only in name: in reality they were merely organisations set up by the bosses and the fascist government to control the working class.

During the liberation a great united trade union movement was born in our country. It brought together huge numbers of workers, without distinction of party or opinion, welcoming the labourer, the specialised worker, the employee, the technician, etc.

This united and free trade union movement, which at the beginning was not strongly organised, mobilised all the Italian workers and played a very important part in the international workers' movement.

One of our workers' biggest victories was the banning of dismissals in North Italy. The Italian workers, who had spent two years heroically fighting nazis and fascists to save their factories, while the industrialist were collaborating with the Hitlerite enemy, obviously were not going to stand being thrown out of the factories they had defended. An agreement was made between our General Confederation of Labour and the Industrial Confederation to stop dismissals of workers, that is, that they could not be sacked without the approval of the works committee. Today, we are fighting especially in the provinces of North Italy against the sackings called for in tens of thousands by the bosses.

The struggle against sacking is one of the most important battles undertaken by the working class, which has won and is still winning important successes in this field.

Moreover, our workers have also been able to insist that the bosses sign on partisans and soldiers returned from the war, men whom reaction would have liked to use against the employed workers and against trade union organisations as it did after the first World War. All soldiers and partisans have been given employment.

Moreover, the Italian trade union organisation, the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) has successfully insisted that conscripts' jobs should be kept open for them.

For all those workers who, because of lack of work, have to work shorter hours or not at all, we have won the right to receive 66 % of their normal wages.

Another important victory for the workers was the cost of living bonus and the application of a sliding wage scale. The importance of this victory will be more appreciated by those who remember the immediate post-war situation in Italy, with its inflation and continually increasing cost of living. The sliding wage scale has enabled the workers to keep constant the purchasing power of their wages and to raise it every time the development of production made it possible. During the summer of 1947 we won increases in wages varying from 35 % to 55 %.

The Italian General Confederation of Labour is particularly concerned with the position of women and young people who were paid very low wages. It was not so long ago that women were earning wages 50 % lower than men, and the fascist régime did nothing to remedy this injustice. Now, thanks to the CGIL, women are earning 80 % of the wages paid to men, while the rates of pay to young people have also substantially increased. We have forced the bosses to concede that women and young people have the right to equal pay for equal work, but it is a concession that the bosses are trying not to honour. However, the workers in the factories are fiercely defending their rights.

Pregnant women have been granted three months' leave before and two months' leave after the birth of their child, on 66 % of their normal wages. These conditions have been improved in some industries, for example the textile and chemical industries.

We have also won for the workers 200 extra hours' pay at the end of each year. The manual labourers are also demanding that, like the employed workers, they should get this extra month's wages.

must add that this extra month's pay has also been granted, not without difficulty, to the workers in Italy, thanks to the activity of the CGIL.

Moreover, the demand of pay for those state holidays other than Sundays, has been satisfied. There are many such holidays in Italy, about 11 a year. Workers will receive full pay on these days and also on the four days now recognised as national holidays—such as May 1st, November 4th and April 25th (Italy's Liberation Day).

The wage-earners' holidays, which in 1945 were 6 days, at the maximum are now at least 12 days, however long they have been working. But different trade federations have improved on this so that the Italian worker may have at least 15 days paid holiday a year.

The long-service bonus, calculated on the number of years worked, was not granted if a worker quitted his job. Now our Confederation has won for the worker his right to 50 % of this money, if he has worked there for 5 years, 75 % up to 10 years, and 100 % of it if he has been there longer still.

The workers have also fought to get canteens in the biggest factories, and they have won the right to a mid-day meal.

Uniformity on this issue has not been completely won, because of frantic resistance from the owners, who still consider canteen and factory refectories as temporary; but 4 years after the end of the war, the workers are not inclined to give them up. When, for technical reasons, it is impossible to have a canteen, for example, when the factory has no space for one we have obtained lunch allowances.

But one of the finest victories of the Italian workers has been in social insurance. Now the employer has to pay the full contribution. The struggle for this was long and bitter especially in Milan, which only achieved victory after a huge demonstration on May 14 th, 1946, involving a march through the streets by 300,000 workers.

The industrialists wanted to do nothing, the government likewise, to grant the workers their demands. And in order to understand the full import of these victories you must not forget that these demands were obtained for the most part during the Anglo-American military occupation. The Anglo-American forces were no friends of the workers; they were continually putting obstacles in the way of trade union organisation. During workers' demonstrations the military with their machine-guns and tanks always lent their presence to intimidate the workers.

The cost of living bonus was won when the Anglo-Americans were still in Italy, and despite the opposition of AMGOT, for "economic reasons." AMGOT claimed to have frozen prices and wages, but while prices rose non-stop, wages stayed put.

Other important victories were won by the land-workers, especially the share-croppers. Previously 50 % of their produce had gone to the boss, the rest they kept. Now they can keep 53 % of it; while the boss gets 43 % and 4 % goes to the funds for rural improvements.

Or again, a national scale now fixes the amount of labour to be hired: in the province of Milan, for example, the employer must take on one hand for every 2.93 hectares.

A list of all the victories won by the Italian workers in each trade and profession—industry, agriculture, commerce, banking, insurance, etc.

--would take up too much time, and that is not available. We will limit ourselves to the most important :—

Increase in health and life insurance, family allowances, sick benefits, pensions, and guarantee of payment owing to workers in industries in the process of liquidation.

Then we have :—

Employment of people disabled in war and at work.

Reduction of taxes on earned income and raising of the tax-free minimum.

Agreement on the functioning of the Works Committees: individual cases of dismissal to go before an arbitration board.

From this list of victories of the Italian working class, Congress delegates can well understand why the Italian industrialists have recently adopted an intransigent and reactionary attitude. Since the bosses cannot overcome the workers, they have passed to the offensive and are using all the means in their power. After having overthrown, by a campaign of lies and intimidation, the government which represented the workers, they set to work to break up the trade union organisation by using Messrs. Pastore, Parri and Canini. And, although it is true that these splitting attempts have affected to some small extent the solid front of the working class, they have done more by way of encouraging the bosses to fight against the workers' claims. That is why the fight for our demands has become increasingly more bitter and drawn-out.

But if it is true that the sacrifices called for from the working masses have become ever heavier, it is also true that the Italian workers have always known how to bear them with fortitude and bravery.

A magnificent example was given by the agricultural workers, who, after 37 days of struggle, won victory over land-owners, police and government. It was a struggle that roused the solid support of all workers and won the sympathy of the whole population.

The maritime workers also put up a good fight. By refusing to give in to the menaces of the ship-owners and the government they gave us a very fine example of the workers' unity against the capitalist exploiters.

As for the fight of the chemical workers it lasted almost 3 months and shows, as do the other fights, that the Italian workers are determined to continue their advance towards a better way of life.

Certain categories of workers—insurance workers, clerks in the Bank of Italy and the National Institute of Social Insurance, among others, thought they would win their claims in an independent union. But recent experience of the struggles bravely carried out by trade union workers, even if sometimes not completely successful, proves that the only way to strengthen the workers' hopes of success is through trade union unity inside our great Confederation.

Under the banner of the Italian General Confederation of Labour and the World Federation of Trade Unions, Italian workers, by fighting together with the workers of the whole world for their daily bread, are defending democracy, liberty and peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). You will now hear Comrade Zupka of Czechoslovakia.

P. ZUPKA (*Czechoslovakia*). Comrades,

In their reports comrades Frachon, Zawadski and Wickremasinghe have discussed in detail the defence of the economic and social interests of the working class.

In the name of the Czechoslovak delegation, I wish to express our entire agreement with those reports, which dealt with the different economic and social questions in each country.

Everywhere the aim of trade unions is to raise the living standards of workers and employees. But there are different ways of reaching this objective.

In the reactionary capitalist countries the working class is engaged in major social struggles for the defence of its most elementary human rights. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it has to fight for its very existence. In the progressive democratic countries the working class, together with the other workers, is building a new economic and social order.

We are happy that Czechoslovakia belongs to the camp of progress and democracy.

We have won remarkable successes in our social policy. I would like here to mention a few of our social measures, by way of adding to the reports of the above comrades our experiences in the Czechoslovak popular democracy.

We have kept the unity of our trade union movement. Through this unity we achieved, immediately after the war, a substantial number of social and economic reforms, such as nationalisation of the banks, mines, and a large part of industry. By this nationalisation, the conditions for a planned economy were created. Our trade union organisation cooperated in drawing up the two-year plan, whose main function was to raise the living standards of the working population. We realised that in the chaotic conditions of the post-war period, and at a time when the capitalist economic system was bankrupt, we could save our workers from poverty and unemployment only by a planned economy.

Our two-year plan of economic reconstruction was launched on January 1st, 1947. In it we undertook great obligations. The working class accepted a large share of responsibility in the direction of our economic life, and revealed itself capable of filling this role.

Gradually, we overcame our post-war difficulties and achieved good results, taking advantage of the ravages caused by the war.

The hopes of reaction, which believed that the working class would be incapable of managing the economic life of the State, proved vain. Alarmed at our successes, reaction threw off its passivity and began to organise active resistance, attempting to sow confusion and to sabotage our reforms. It also tried to demolish the unity of our trade unions and sought to create conflicts between workers, employees and civil servants. In this despicable work it had the support of international reaction. In agreement with the latter, it provoked the government crisis of February 1948. In the chaos which they expected to follow the crisis, they hoped to be able to take power.

Our trade union movement promptly countered these attempts. It called a national Congress of labour committees and trade union groups. This great Congress made impossible the plans of reaction and demanded that nationalisation be extended. This response of the working class had the approval of the great majority of the nation and especially that of the workers, peasants and intellectual workers. The united forces of the entire working class drove traitorous reaction from all key positions in our political and economic life.

We have nationalised all establishments employing over 50 people. The export trade has also been nationalised. The big estates were divided among the peasants. Today, our Republic truly belongs to us; it belongs to the working class.

Since the February victory of the working masses of Czechoslovakia, only sixteen months have passed, and yet we can already prove that a nation which gets rid of its capitalist exploiters lays the foundations of working-class prosperity.

Our trade union movement is in a position to exercise control over the whole economy, both production and consumption. In our country, the interests of the workers are considered first. Now that the bourgeoisie can no longer intervene, our planned economy is advancing rapidly. Our new Constitution guarantees everyone the right to work. We have no unemployed, no beggars. The working class knows that it is working for itself. Joyfully it has set out to build socialism.

The initiative of the working masses is evident everywhere. There is socialist emulation between individuals as well as whole industries. The workers themselves propose so many innovations and improvements in production that we can raise output figures at the same time as reducing the physical fatigue of the worker.

There are many examples to prove that the working masses have potentially great talents, but these talents can develop only under a régime where the worker is no longer exploited. Thanks to this new system, we were able to fulfil the two-year plan in 22 months. Free labour overcomes all obstacles and achieves what a capitalist economy cannot.

On the basis of our experiences during the two-year plan, we launched our five-year plan in January 1949. The five-year plan brings greater benefits to the working masses and raises their living standards considerably. It also helps us to abolish differences in living standards and economic structure between Bohemia and Moravia on the one hand and Slovakia on the other. Slovakia and certain other economically backward regions are being industrialised. In this way a planned economy also strengthens the unity of the State. This is another thing capitalism would be incapable of doing.

The Czechoslovak trade unions are voluntarily and enthusiastically taking part in the socialist reconstruction of our country, for we know that in this way we are speeding the coming of a better and happier future for the working class.

A planned economy raises the living standards of the working class. We have put an end to wage discrimination against women. We have put into practice the principle of equal pay for equal work. And the starvation wages that capitalism had imposed on large sections of workers, such as the farm-workers, builders, woodcutters and young

workers, are now only a bad memory. Our Popular Democracy has improved the standard of living of most of these categories. If we compare the real value of one hour's wage with the pre-war figure, we find the following increase: 1939, 100 %; 1946, 113.1 %; 1947, 138.7 %; 1948, 148.6 %.

The workers receive more, not only in the form of wages, but also by a continuous extension of our social policy. After the defeat of reaction, a law on social insurance was passed. It comprises sickness benefits, old-age benefits, and disablement benefits. In addition, this scheme offers a great number of benefits of different kinds, such as maternity benefits, grants to cover funeral expenses. Christmas presents, and of course widows' and orphans' pensions.

The law applies to 95 % of the population. Old age pensions are now being paid to 239,680 people who have reached the age of 65. I stress that the beneficiaries of this insurance never paid a penny for it; they draw the pension simply because they have reached the required age. Under the capitalist régime there existed a plan for social insurance; but the pensions were paid for by the subscribers. In 1938 a disablement pension was on the average 1,730 crowns. In 1948, it was 18,400 crowns, or eleven times as much. Pensions for workers' wives have increased almost fifteen times, from 890 crowns before the war to 13,620 crowns in 1948.

You can see that our Popular Democracy does not leave in want those citizens who through old age, accident or sickness can no longer work.

Another important achievement is the law on paid holidays. Holidays are the same for all wage-earners, whatever their type of work. After nine months in a job, the wage-earner gets two weeks' holiday with pay; after 5 years he has the right to three weeks', and after 15 years to four weeks' holiday with pay. Miners have the right to an extra week.

Our trade union movement has some very comfortable rest homes at its disposal. This year more than 200,000 workers went, free or for a very small cost, to rest in places where they could really profit by their holiday. Apart from that, the national insurance scheme sends an average of 15,000 insured persons a month for treatment in various spas. The most modern hotels and the best-situated thermal stations in the Republic, formerly only available to the bourgeoisie, are now reserved for the health and holidays of the workers.

Of our advanced social legislation, I would like just to select for mention the family allowances. For the first child the wage-earner gets 150 crowns a month. For each subsequent child the sum increases by 50 crowns, so that if the worker has two children he receives 150 crowns for the first, plus 200 for the second. For the third child he will get 250 crowns more, and so on up to the eighth child. After that he receives 500 crowns a month for each new child.

I would like to mention also the nurseries in the factories and the canteens where three-quarters of the factory workers—who number about a million in all—have their meals. Substantial allocations from our budget are allocated to the well-being of the mothers, children and young people, who have modern hotels and sports grounds reserved for

them. In all the larger factories, our trade union movement has instituted labour schools where the workers can get vocational training. Many of them have thus been promoted to posts such as general manager or works manager. Many workers now go to technical colleges and universities.

To sum up, we can see at every step how the Popular Democracy means the beginning of a new and happier life.

I have given you a few examples which clearly show the superiority of the planned economy of the Popular Democracies over the capitalist economy. Our superiority will increase as we approach socialism. The reports and speeches made to this great international Congress confirm our conviction that every country which gets rid of its bourgeois parasites achieves remarkable results. The platform I am speaking from has become a tribunal of accusation against capitalism. Capitalism leads to poverty and unemployment; it is the cause of fascism and war. Socialism drives away poverty and guarantees work to all; it strengthens democracy and a lasting peace.

That is why we as trade unionists clearly see the path we must follow in the historic struggle now taking place all over the world between the capitalist past and the socialist future.

The 2nd Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions has brought irrefutable proof that we must take our place everywhere in the building of socialism. International reaction fears the truths that are spoken here. That is why it would like to crush the WFTU. It doesn't want the workers to come here; it doesn't want them to hear the truth. But I am convinced that after this Congress, the World Federation of Trade Unions will carry on its mission to even greater effect.

In the name of the Czechoslovak delegation, I affirm that we will do all we can to strengthen the World Federation of Trade Unions and the international solidarity of the working class.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). Comrades, we are going to receive a delegation of Postal, Telegraph and Radio workers of Milan.

(Loud applause.)

A WOMAN DELEGATE OF THE MILAN PTT WORKERS. The workers of the Milan Postal services enthusiastically greet the 2nd World Trade Union Congress, and express their warmest desire that international solidarity and fraternity of all the peoples of the world reveal itself more powerful than ever.

The postal workers, who remain in great majority faithful to the great world organisation of the workers, are convinced that we must affirm the solidarity of the whole working class above all sectional interest, because we must stand not only for the unity of all the workers, but for social justice and peace throughout the world.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

LONG LIVE TRADE UNION UNITY !

LONG LIVE THE BROTHERHOOD OF PEOPLES !

(Prolonged applause. Congress rises.)

THE CHAIRMAN (V. Lombardo Toledano). I now call on Comrade Kuznetsova. *(Loud applause.)*

K. KUZNETSOVA (USSR). The Soviet delegation approves the action of the WFTU in defence of the economic and social rights of the workers.

The WFTU energetically backs the economic struggle of the workers. It has brought the principle of equal pay for equal work before the United Nations Organisation; it has given its support to the workers of different countries fighting for their living standards; the Federation has been the organiser of the international movement of solidarity and help to the French miners on strike, the Canadian seamen and other sections of the working class fighting to better their conditions.

The Federation has more than once brought before those countries which possess colonies the problem of help to the trade unions of the colonial countries in their struggle to improve the economic and social situation in the colonies.

But in this respect the WFTU would have been able to achieve much more satisfactory results if its efforts had not been hampered by the anti-working-class position of the leaders of the National Trade Union Centres of Great Britain, the United States, and certain other countries who followed their example.

The post-war period brought new privations to the workers in the capitalist countries.

Even in those capitalist countries which suffered little or not at all from the war, unemployment is increasing, prices are rising and taxes mounting.

The owners and the governments of the capitalist countries are throwing on to the workers' shoulders the entire weight of the approaching economic crisis and the mass unemployment which is bound up with it. The offensive against the standard of living of the working class is accompanied by the introduction of anti-worker legislation, the banning in certain countries of the right to strike, of savage repression against the democratic unions and against every attempt by the workers to defend their economic and social rights.

A striking illustration of the tendency of the Anglo-American monopolist circles to exploit the working masses and enslave the governments of Western Europe is the Marshall Plan, which brought the workers of the capitalist countries new privations and mass unemployment.

The Marshall Plan contradicts the decisions of the London Trade Union Conference on the economic restoration of Europe. In the London Conference's resolution on post-war reconstruction and the immediate tasks of the trade unions, it is specifically laid down that loans by way of aid or reconstruction must in no case be used as a political weapon, and that their distribution must give grounds for no discrimination of race, nationality or political convictions.

In reality, we see that the Marshall Plan, in the hands of Anglo-American imperialism and Western European reaction, has caused a serious decline and the liquidation of certain branches of the national production in a whole string of countries of Western Europe, thus menacing their national independence.

The Marshall Plan has brought the workers of the capitalist countries fresh privations and mass unemployment.

The delegates who have spoken at this Congress have quoted many facts confirming this state of affairs. In this respect Britain and America themselves are no exceptions.

In Britain we see, side by side with a continual growth of capitalist profits, a marked worsening in the situation of the working class.

According to data given by UNO's Statistical Bulletin, the number of unemployed in Great Britain increased between July 1948 and January 1949 from 307,800 to 412,900. In addition, the number of partially unemployed is very high. This increase in unemployment arises in the first place because of the cutting down, on American orders, of shipbuilding, film-making, etc.

In 1948 taxes increased by 36.5 % over 1947.

The Labour Government has proclaimed the principle of the wage-freeze, that is of banning any rise in wages, in spite of the rise in prices. Meanwhile retail prices are continuing to go up, thereby cutting the workers' purchasing power. The leaders of the General Council of the TUC entirely support the policy of the wage-freeze, and when the workers try to win increases by strikes, these leaders explain them away as "Communist plots" and oppose them by every means in their power.

The measures taken by the Labour Government to freeze wages, while prices and taxes are increasing, are causing a serious aggravation in the situation of the British workers, whose real wages are steadily falling.

Speaking in support of the Marshall Plan, the leaders of the AF of L and the CIO have declared to the American workers that this plan permits the economic reconstruction of Europe, guarantees world economic equilibrium, avoids the threat of post-war crisis, and guarantees the working class of the USA a high standard of living.

These are the promises. What are the facts?

In the United States industrial production is falling and unemployment rising. No camouflage of the American statistical services can conceal the rapid growth of unemployment in the country. The number of unemployed, according to the official figures, is already over the 5 million mark, not counting the many millions of workers on part time.

Unemployment, irresistible inflation, rising prices and taxes, have all led to a serious decline in the living standards of the American working class. According to the data published by the "Economic Notice," the minimum living wage increased by 37 % between January 1945 and August 1948, while the average weekly wage of the workers rose by only 13 %.

These are the consequences of the Marshall Plan for the workers of the United States.

It may be added that in the United States there is no unified

Federal legislation controlling labour conditions and that, with the exception of two States, there is no health insurance. The anti-working-class Taft-Hartley law has practically deprived the American workers of their last possibilities of struggle to improve their lot; but even this state of affairs is powerless to rouse the leaders of the CIO to set to work to carry out the decisions of the Paris Congress on the defence of the economic and social situation of the workers in their country. Instead of fighting against the Marshall Plan; which is bringing enslavement and poverty to the workers of Europe and in the long run is worsening the situation of the American workers themselves, they treacherously left the ranks of the WFTU, thus weakening the efforts of the working class in its struggle for its immediate interests.

Under these conditions, when capital is multiplying its attacks against the working class, the unity and international solidarity of the workers and the fight for their vital rights are particularly important.

The WFTU and the affiliated National Centres must strengthen to the maximum their fight against the attempts of the capitalists and their governments to throw on the shoulders of the working class the whole weight of the threatening economic crisis: they must demand work for the unemployed and unemployment benefits; they must seek to obtain progressive social legislation, the introduction of equal pay for equal work for women and young workers; shorter hours of work without loss of pay; general social insurance financed by the government and the employers, etc. It is vital to intensify greatly the struggle for the repeal of anti-working laws, and to organise mutual aid between the workers in their fight for their economic rights.

The strengthening of the international solidarity of the unions faithful to the principles of the WFTU will without doubt play a decisive role in the struggle to improve the living standards of the workers.

Comrades, the post-war period has shown particularly clearly the advantages of the socialist economic system over capitalism. The situation of the working class in the USSR and in the popular democracies bears witness to this.

No country ever suffered such losses as ours, either during the 2nd World War or at any time in their history.

The total losses borne by our government and our population as a result of destruction and pillage during the war on the territory of the USSR are estimated at 679 thousand million rubles. This is an astronomical sum, hard to imagine even. The German invaders destroyed hundreds of towns, together with their factories and workshops, and their cultural institutions. In many towns the houses were entirely destroyed. Tens of thousands of localities were burnt to the ground.

We began to rebuild before the war was over, as the Soviet Army freed our territory from the German occupiers. During the post-war period, the Soviet people tackled the solution of the fundamental problem of reconstruction and future development of the economy, with the objective of outstripping the pre-war level in a few years and of ensuring for the whole population a rise in its standard of living, on the basis of the State five-year plan of reconstruction and development from 1946 to 1950. The efforts of all the workers in our

country are so directed as to aid as rapidly and completely as possible the re-establishment of the economic and cultural life of the devastated areas. The result of these efforts has been the fulfilment of the first three years of the five-year plan by 103 % for the total industrial production of the USSR. Total industrial production in the USSR in 1948 was higher by 18 % than the 1940 level.

The plan for the first quarter of 1949 has been fulfilled by Soviet industry by 100.2 %; industrial production has increased by comparison with the first quarter of 1948 by 23 %. Our rural economy has won immense successes; the total harvest for 1948 was higher than pre-war.

Wherein lies our strength ? It lies in the socialist structure of our State.

In our country all the instruments and means of production belong to the people. We have suppressed for good the exploitation of man by man, ended crises, unemployment, poverty and mass pauperisation. All our citizens enjoy the effective right to work, to rest, education, insurance in case of ill-health, disablement, or old age. We have carried out the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, age, race or nationality.

In capitalist countries the fear of starvation compels workers to sign on under conditions of slavery, to accept any job at rates insufficient to keep body and soul together.

In the Soviet Union every man is free to follow the trade or profession of his choice and to improve his qualifications.

In the USSR there are no contradictions between the State and the workers, for the Soviet State incarnates the interests of the workers. The Soviet worker can see that the government takes all steps for the constant improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the masses of the people. It is the consciousness of this fact which is the main stimulus to the development of socialist emulation in which the overwhelming majority of the workers participate.

The successes achieved in the national economy allowed the Soviet Government to abolish rationing in December 1947 and to fix official retail prices at a lower rate. This measure considerably raised the purchasing power of the population. The wages of the Soviet worker in 1948 were more than double 1947.

In March 1949 the Soviet government announced a new cut in official retail prices for articles of mass consumption.

The State social insurance scheme, whose budget doubled between 1940 and 1949, is a powerful lever for raising the cultural and material well-being of the workers of our country.

Every citizen of the Soviet Union enjoys free medical aid. In addition, all workers and employees have the right, at the expense of the State insurance scheme, to holidays with pay, grants for temporary incapacity and pensions in case of disablement. Women have the right to maternity leave before and after the birth of their child.

The management of the social insurance funds is on democratic lines, being entirely in the hands of the trade unions.

An important part of the work of the Soviet trade unions, in so far as social insurance is concerned, deals with the organisation of holidays for the workers and employees and their children. For this they

have at their disposal sanatoria and rest-homes. In 1948 nearly 2 million people stayed in the trade unions' sanatoria and rest-homes alone, with expenses paid by the social insurance.

The workers pay only 30 % of the transport costs. In many cases they travel free, with their ticket paid for by the social insurance.

The Soviet trade unions accomplished an enormous task after the end of hostilities for the reconstitution of their cultural institutions.

The German invaders, in the territories they occupied, had demolished and destroyed more than 1,500 clubs and Palaces of Culture, all the libraries of the factory and workshop clubs. The trade unions' sport installations suffered the same devastation.

The number of clubs and Palaces of Culture of the Soviet trade unions is now higher than pre-war (nearly 8,000 against 6,600 in 1940).

A decisive factor in the uninterrupted rise in the well-being of the Soviet people is the increase in housing construction, which went on even during the war. In three years of the five-year plan, tens of millions of square metres of housing having been built or rebuilt in the workers' towns and cities. The Soviet government is also giving every support to the building of individual houses by workers and employees. These latter receive land in perpetuity; they can buy building materials and receive help in transporting them. The five-year plan's figure for the building of individual houses has already been exceeded in a little over three years. The Soviet trade unions are giving their maximum aid to the achievement of the housing plans. They have organised public control of the rate of building, supervise the quality of the work, take part in allocating the land, and see that the best workers, ex-servicemen and war-wounded get priority.

The decisions of the Paris Trade Union Congress on the post-war tasks of the National Centres stress the necessity for paying attention to the demobilised soldiers and the disabled. A special law has been passed in our country guaranteeing demobilised soldiers a job not inferior to the one they had before they were called up. This law guarantees work to all ex-servicemen. All disabled persons have a State pension.

The facts prove that the socialist régime is the most progressive, the best adapted to life, guaranteeing uninterrupted improvement in the material and cultural life of the workers.

That is why it is natural that socialism is winning the support of wider and wider masses of the people. That is why the successes of the socialist régime give the capitalists no respite. That is why there is a sharpening of the struggle between the two economic systems and an increase in the attacks of the imperialist camp against the camp of democracy, whose chief strength is represented by the peoples of those countries where it has entered on the path of socialist development.

Comrades, let me assure you that the Soviet trade unions will continue to take an active part in building socialism in their country.

They will give all their strength to organise the masses of Soviet workers to reinforce the economic power of the country of socialism, to fulfil and exceed the plans for the national economy, and on this basis to raise the standard of living of the masses of the people of the Soviet Union.

The successes won by our country are not only our successes. They

are the possession of the workers of the whole world, who see in the USSR the rampart of peace and democracy.

Our common strength lies in our unity. We must guard it as the our most treasured possession. We must consolidate it, for it is our main weapon in the fight for economic and social rights and for the democratic liberties of the workers of the whole world.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS UNITY !

LONG LIVE THE INCARNATION OF THAT UNITY, THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). Comrades, a delegation of women workers of Bologna, a town which has the highest percentage of organised workers for its size, has come to present the Congress with a Peace Banner.

A DELEGATE OF THE WOMEN WORKERS OF BOLOGNA. The women workers of Bologna offer the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the name of the Italian workers, this Banner of Peace, and assure them that they will continue, with all the workers of the world, to fight against the war-mongers. Italian mothers and women workers will never again allow American imperialism to transform the blood of their children into dollars. *(Applause. Congress rises.)*

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Salvador Ocampo of the Chilean delegation.

S. OCAMPO (*Chile*). Comrades, in the name of the Confederation of Workers of Chile, I would like to say a few words on the magnificent report of comrade Frachon.

The proletariat of my country has in its past a whole history of struggles for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers and people of Latin America.

As a result of these great struggles and of the sacrifice of many thousands of militants of the revolutionary working-class movement, my country was one of the first to deal with the workers' demands into its social legislation.

I will speak here only of the legislation of my own country, for I have not the time to speak of that of other Latin American countries.

Introduced with this legislation were some of the measures later embodied in the Italian Labour Charter in force under the fascist dictatorship of Benito Mussolini.

A few improvements were nevertheless won, for example in social insurance, sickness, disablement and accident insurance, and overtime pay. All these improvements were won by bitter and bloody struggle.

The Chilean Labour Code forbids the organisation of Industrial Federations and decrees that only three factories in the same industry may unite, and then only to set up an organisation of a cultural or sporting character. But despite this the workers have always had organisations of an industrial character for the defence of their interests.

Neither National Federations, National Centres nor Trade Union

Centres are recognised by the law. Nevertheless, the Chilean workers created first the Workers' Federation of Chile, then the Confederation of Chilean Workers, which unite the majority of the proletariat, which *has suffered and still suffers the worst persecutions of the owners and the government.*

Despite its promises, the government has passed no legislation in favour of the agricultural proletariat, and the peasants' hopes for trade union rights were reduced to almost nothing by the owners and by legislative decisions.

Strikes in the public utility services or in organisations on which the country's economy depends have been banned. On this pretext they tried to ban the right to strike in the coal-mines, electricity, transport, water-services and municipal services, as well as in the copper, nitrate and iron mines, etc., on the grounds that such movements affected the national economy. But we must not forget that all these industries are almost entirely in the hands of foreign capitalists, especially Americans, who exploit not only the workers but the whole population.

In spite of these circumstances the workers and employees in the Public Services, thanks to their organisations, carry out protest strikes. In this way they have been able to defend themselves against the exploitation and persecution of which they are victims.

We have noted down some random examples of tragic events to give you an idea of the heroism of the militants of the working-class movement in a country where there are barely 5 million inhabitants.

Since the beginning of the century there have been several strikes : the Iquique strike, to win a definite currency for wages, where more than 2,000 workers were machine-gunned on December 21st 1907 on Santa-maria Square; the railway strike of Antofagasta in February 1906, for higher wages and shorter hours, which cost the lives of more than six hundred workers; the Valparaíso dock strike in 1903, where hundreds of strikers were killed or wounded; the struggle of the workers of Santiago in October 1905, which caused 120 deaths and more than 80 injured. The worst was the strike at the San Gregorio works in 1921, where nearly five hundred workers fell in combat, murdered by the government forces.

Shortly afterwards, in the Coruña mines in 1925, as a result of a strike in all the nitrate mines, three thousand comrades were murdered, as well as two hundred trade union leaders.

At Lonquimay, where the peasants and the Indians claimed the land on which their ancestors had worked for hundreds of years, more than five hundred of them were massacred with their leaders.

The massacre of the workers of Punta Arenas, where more than six hundred workers lost their lives, shows the ferocity of the bourgeoisie. These comrades were shut up in a hall which was set on fire. Those who tried to escape from the flames were shot down by the government forces. Later, many workers were also murdered at Ovielle, at Copiapo, at Vallenar.

This is why it seems impossible to us that men like Carey, Tewson, Citrine, Ibanez and Romualdi should be on our side.

At the present time we are fighting a government which has betrayed its people. I will speak in detail of this betrayal in another report, but I must stress the anti-democratic, anti-national measures passed by

the present government, which rouse great resistance in all working-class circles of our population and daily provoke fighting in the streets of our country. The Chilean government uses these repressive measures under the pretext of fighting communism and in order to take its place alongside those countries who seek to make war on the Soviet Union.

Under these laws thousands of workers were thrown into the street, police and officials go from factory to factory asking for the names of militant workers and crossing them off the registers. In this way there are thirty thousand workers who have been struck off the electoral register and cannot vote.

I would now like to say a few words on a point in comrade Saillant's report.

I want to say something on the International Labour Organisation. The workers of Latin America have demonstrated their feelings towards the I.L.O. which is an organisation which includes owners and governments which have never kept their promises. As comrade Saillant has said, we have no illusions about this organisation, which is not of a working-class character. We have our own organisation, the WFTU, through which we intend to do our fighting, but if this International Labour Office does not change its forms of work and its structure, or even the way in which the workers' delegates are chosen, it will have no meaning for us in the countries of Latin America, for it is an organisation which betrays the interests of the working class. In any case we have noticed that in the nominations of workers delegates by the governments, the majority of those elected were not genuine representatives of the trade union movement.

That is why, while accepting the general lines laid down by the World Federation of Trade Unions, I permit myself to stress that we should study our future relations with the I.L.O. If the workers have the right to elect our representatives, we agree with it, but if the governments and owners have the right to send delegates, the Chilean delegation is not interested in sending delegates of this nature. If we send delegates, we must have a guarantee that they will be allowed to return to their country. These are some points I wanted to clarify with regard to Comrade Saillant's report. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I call on Comrade Georgi Stoica of Rumania.

G. STOICA (*Rumania*). Comrades, the trade union delegation of the Peoples' Republic of Rumania has listened with very great interest to the reports given by comrades Frachon, Zawadski and Wickremasinghe.

In his report, comrade Zawadski has clearly shown that today, in the new democracies, where the working class is a leading factor in the control of the state, the trade unions play a decisive part in the economy of their respective countries as well in the achievement of the social and cultural progress of the masses.

Comrade Zawadski was right to point out that our conquests would have been impossible if we had not been guided by the experience of the glorious Soviet trade unions.

In his speech comrade Apostol told Congress of the struggles and achievements of the trade union movement for the raising of the material and cultural standard of living of our working class.

That is why I am going to deal only with certain aspects of our economy, with the obstacles raised against it by foreign monopoly capital right up to the liberation of our country, and with the necessity of giving material and moral support to the colonial and dependant countries. I shall deal also with the glorious future that opens out before us as we build socialism in our country.

Comrades, the situation in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, which has been described here, reminds us of the living conditions of our working class, of our people, before the liberation of our country from hitlerite fascism by the glorious Soviet army.

We have heard here the speeches made by the various delegates of workers in those countries enslaved by the imperialism of America, England, France and Holland and we have seen the benefits brought by so-called "cooperation": it means the closing-down of factories, the increase of unemployment, the ceaseless shrinking of wages, growing fear, poverty and hunger for the workers, and fabulous fortunes for the capitalists.

Our own experience enables us to understand the meaning of imperialist domination for those countries it has enslaved, to understand the meaning of the Clayton Plan for the Latin American countries, and of the Marshall Plan for the countries of Western Europe.

We have paid dearly for this understanding, for our experience was gained when our country was dominated by native capitalists who handed it over to the great international trusts. In this way, the major part of our country's wealth passed into the hands of foreign capital, which, with the connivance of native capital, exploited our working class with all the bloody violence of colonialism.

Our country was kept in a state of industrial and agricultural backwardness, although it possessed all the wealth necessary for the development of heavy industry. Foreign capital was not at all interested in the development of this important branch of industry in our country, because it would compete with foreign industry.

The big international trusts had cornered most of the banks and insurance companies, the telephone industry, manufacture of matches, and the tram and railway companies.

Petrol and coal were in the hands of American, English, Dutch, French, German and Belgian trusts.

During the last war the petrol companies set up by the trusts in Rumania, contributed to the Nazi war machine, and thus made enormous profits.

The Marshall Plan reminds us of the years 1929-33, the period of the great economic crisis that affected all the capitalist countries. It was then that, under pretext of a loan to stabilise our currency—this reminds us of the "aid" given by the Marshall Plan—the imperialists, in the most brutal manner possible, rode roughshod over our national sovereignty. The onerous conditions of this loan resulted in the reduction of wages, the firing of 200,000 workers and increasing poverty for the masses. The lot of the workers in our country had

become so hard that workers in different branches of industry organised campaigns to defend their interests. Their work reached its climax in the great strike of railway workers in February, 1933. when, on the orders of the trusts, 400 workers were assassinated while thousands more were thrown into prison.

The catalogue of the bloody repression of workers in the capitalist and Marshallised countries reminds us vividly of the time when we also had to submit to the benefits of "cooperation" with the monopoly trusts of Western Europe and overseas. They were generous with their promises as with weapons destined to assassinate our workers. The so-called aid of the imperialists meant for us illiteracy, famine, unemployment and the transformation of our country into a bridge-head against the land of socialism: it meant a criminal anti-Soviet war, into which our country was forced against the wishes of the people.

Comrades, today our Republic, like all the New Democracies, rates highest of all cooperation with all countries on condition that this includes no right of interference with our national independence, as it does in the relations between America and the countries that find themselves inside the orbit of the Marshall Plan.

Our economic relations with the Soviet Union are a living example of real and sincere cooperation. The USSR is lending us its help in order that we can transform our Republic into an industrial country with an advanced agriculture.

Under the old régime economic agreements with capitalist countries meant the export of our raw materials and the import of the finished goods from the country concerned. By contrast, the USSR has given us very real help by providing us with up-to-date machines, which our industry greatly needed. Thanks to the USSR we are now in a position to build a huge factory for making tractors. New factories are being built, while the old ones are increasing their output.

Our first State Plan envisaged a 40 % increase in our industrial and agricultural production for 1949. In actual fact this target will be well and truly beaten, as is proved by the figures for the first quarter.

Our economic relations with the Soviet Union are a real cooperative relationship based on the principle of equality between the parties concerned and on respect for national sovereignty.

Before our country, as before all the New Democracies, there opens the magnificent prospect of the development of our industry and agriculture at a new tempo. It is not only industry that is developing with us. We are laying the foundations of a mechanised agriculture and are also creating conditions favourable to the socialisation of our agriculture.

You know that we are about to start work on a canal to link the Danube with the Black Sea. This canal, which the bourgeoisie would not even have dared to dream of, is of the greatest importance for our industry, our agriculture, our trade and the whole of our cultural life. Regions hitherto barren will become fertile. New areas, towns and villages will spring up, while old ones will be expanded, electrified, etc. This great scheme will involve tens of thousands of workmen and altogether will help to raise the living standard of the workers.

Comrades, not only for our country, as comrade Zawadski has shown, but for all the New Democracies, the economic support given by the USSR guarantees our movement forward to socialism and still more.

The achievements we have just spoken of do not suit the imperialists who are conducting a campaign of hatred and lies against the New Democracies. In this campaign they are making use of fascists and reactionary war criminals, who had fled the country fearing the verdict of the people, traitors, and former agents of the political police who hunted down, threw into prison, tortured and even assassinated the most devoted militants of the working class.

Comrades, it is clear that all the imperialists' plans, whether it be the Clayton Plan, the Marshall Plan, or the Truman doctrine, are hostile to the interests of the workers; they bring poverty, unemployment, industrial and agricultural ruin to the "beneficiary" countries.

These plans cannot bring aid to the economic and social interests of the workers. There is only one way of bringing it—by united action inside the WFTU against the tendencies whose aim is the worsening of the living and working conditions of the working class.

The trade unions of the Rumanian Peoples' Republic, which are aware of the difficult struggle of the workers of the capitalist and colonial countries, consider it their duty to help the proletariat of these countries in their fight for improved living conditions.

As comrade Apostol has shown in his speech on the activity of the workers of the different countries, we have given these workers material and moral support.

We warmly support the creation of a WFTU international fund and we promise to intensify our efforts to make a larger contribution to it.

We entirely approve of the reports and suggestions made by comrades Frachon, Zawadski and Wickremasinghe and we agree to put them into operation.

It goes without saying that an active and effective solidarity of the workers on the international level—as has already been shown in the strike of the French miners, the Canadian seamen and the Algerian dockers—is the best way of assuring the success of working class activity in the different countries.

In the past, as comrades Saillant and Kuznetsov have shown in their reports, such actions have been sabotaged by disruptive elements.

The WFTU, like the old Amsterdam International, is world-wide in scope, for it brings together all workers without discrimination of race, nationality, religious belief, or political and philosophical outlook.

It is certain that, on the basis of decisions taken at its Second Congress, the World Federation of Trade Unions will be able to fulfil, better than it has done so far, its task of mobilising the oppressed and exploited workers of the world in their struggle for improved working and living conditions as well as for the defence of peace.

LONG LIVE THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND AGAINST THE WAR-MONGERS !

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). Before calling on the next speakers, I ask you to listen to comrade Thornton of the Standing Orders Committee who is going to make an announcement.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). Comrade Saillant has already spoken of the Praesidium's anxiety over the time-table. We have now to put a proposal before you. This is what we propose : first of all to hear the four speakers already down to speak on this matter. The committee will then study the results of this discussion immediately after it has been concluded. Comrades Gebert and Di Vittorio will therefore be able to present their report on the Trade Departments this evening.

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). Does Congress approve of the suggestion just put forward by comrade Thornton of the Standing Orders Committee ?

This proposal was adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN. I now call on Comrade Buckle of the Transvaal.

D. BUCKLE (*Transvaal*). Comrades, Comrade Wickremasinghe made reference to the deterioration of the social and economic standards of the African peoples consequent upon the intensification of the pressures of imperialism.

In order to understand the nature of these pressures and the extent to which they are applied it is necessary to examine in greater detail the underlying reasons for the present policies and actions of the imperialist Powers in Africa. And if I confine my remarks largely to territories controlled by the British Government and the other Governments of the British Commonwealth it is only because of the fact of the preponderating British influence on the African Continent.

British imperialist policy in Africa has two main objects :—

The creation of a largely self-supporting strategic base as part of the Anglo-American war design directed against the Soviet Union and the countries of new democracy; and the more efficient exploitation of the resources of the African continent in an attempt to alleviate the worsening economic situation in Britain itself.

At the same time the British Government hopes to counter the rapidly increasing penetration of American influence and to compensate itself for the loss of Egypt by gaining effective control of the ex-Italian colonies. Britain is left with no satisfactory base in the Middle East and South Asia with the doubtful exception of Singapore. She is, therefore, engaged in finding new methods for the retention of the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean sea route. In their search for new strategic bases for the air defence of these areas and for the disposal of military supplies evacuated from the abandoned bases British imperialist spokesmen have pointed out the advantages of Africa south of the Sahara.

Thus East Africa is to be the main military base and a huge base has already been constructed at Mackinnon Road, near Nairobi, Kenya. To this base has been sent most of the supplies and equipment evacuated from the former bases in the Middle East. Preparations are on hand

Mombasa into a naval base to replace Alexandria and a West African naval unit is being formed. West Africa is to serve as a supply centre receiving military supplies sent from the East. The chain of airfields built there during the war is being extended and many strategic roads are being constructed. South Africa and the Central African territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia are to become the war-industrial supply base. Considerable development of heavy industry much of it financed by American capital, has taken place.

Strategic considerations tend also to influence political forms. As any logical and economical working out of a scheme of African strategy is handicapped by the arbitrary nature of the territorial lines of demarcation, a growing demand is being made for measures of "Regionalisation," for "Closer Union" and for a united British Africa administered by a special Africa Office of the British Government. There has been even a demand for a union of all territories administered by the European imperialist Powers. A leading figure in the British Government, Sir Hartley Shawcross, has indeed pointed out that such a development would be a quite logical and natural consequence of the Marshall Plan.

Measures of Regionalisation have been constantly pushed forward and regular conferences of governors and high officials of African territories have been held. There have been moreover several instances of Anglo-French collaboration culminating in a conference in Paris early in 1948 to lay the foundations for much wider consultation and cooperation between the European Powers involved.

The schemes of cooperation are also affected by the ambitions of the Union of South Africa and, to a lesser extent, of Southern Rhodesia. Thus South Africa's claim to South-West Africa administered hitherto as a mandated territory has been supported at the United Nations by Britain and America as a necessary compromise in building the anti-Soviet bloc.

There are apparently three main lines of economic development :—

- 1) Great public utility, transport and hydro-electric projects—all closely linked with strategic plans—are being undertaken with Government capital.

- 2) Agricultural and raw material exploitation under the control of the Colonial Development and Overseas Food Corporations.

- 3) The financing by private capital of industrial enterprises and such mining and similar projects as may be expected to yield reasonably quick returns.

Most British Colonies have their own development plans all of which envisage the continued monopoly exploitation of foodstuffs and raw materials.

At the back of all the talk of Colonial development is the question of dollars. A Colonial Office Memorandum No 19 of October 1947 said :—

"The United Kingdom has every interest in forwarding the production drive in the Colonial Territories for the double purpose of

enabling it to procure from them commodities which it has now got to buy in dollars and so to diminish the disequilibrium of its dollar position, and of enabling these territories to earn more dollars and so strengthen the dollar pool of the United Kingdom and the territories themselves. ”

Indeed the frantic search for dollars has forced the imperialists to be more candid than is their habit. Listen to Sir Stafford Cripps addressing the Conference of African Governors in London in November 1947. He said :—

“ We have for a long time talked about the development of Africa but I do not believe that we have realised how from the point of view of world economy that development is absolutely vital. The economies of Western Europe and Tropical Africa are so closely interlocked in mutual trade, in the supply of capital and in the currency systems, that their problems of overseas balances are essentially one... The further development of African resources is of the same crucial importance to the rehabilitation and strengthening of Western Europe as the restoration of European productive power is to the future progress and prosperity of Africa. Each needs and is needed by the other... It is the urgency of the present situation and the need for the sterling Group and Western Europe both of them to maintain their economic independence that makes it so essential that we should increase out of all recognition the tempo of African economic development. ”

It is therefore against the background of this candid statement that one must evaluate such schemes as the much-advertised scheme for the mechanised production of ground nuts in Tanganyika.

This great enterprise was first placed in charge of the monopoly which is well-known throughout Africa as the most ruthless of exploiters, the United Africa Co. a part of the great Unilever Empire. The choice of such friends did not trouble the Government in the least. On the contrary, the Minister of Food Mr. Strachey exulting in the company of these friends, at a meeting in London in March 1947 on the subject of the new enterprises launched under the Colonial Development and Overseas Food Corporation, declared :—

“ I envisage this as the first of a large series of enterprises of this type, in which the national resources are mobilised to make vast development schemes possible. These enterprises are neither exactly Socialist nor exactly Capitalist enterprises. They are mixed enterprises of a very new sort, very typical of the kind of mixed economic system which we find ourselves building up together in this country—a curious and interesting mixture of the methods and motives of private enterprise and Government enterprise and finance. ”

All that this jargon means is that the African people are confronted with a new alliance seeking to exploit them as never before.

But it is evident even to the most hardened of imperialists that it will not be an easy task now to extract huge profits from Africa as they were able to do in former times.

World war II was the forcing ground of national liberation

movements and the wave of enthusiasm for liberty which it released did not leave Africa untouched. The African imagination was fixed by declarations such as the Atlantic Charter, bearing promises of social and economic equality and the right of people to order their affairs according to their own desires. These hopes have been dashed; but the thirst for liberty is if anything greater than ever.

The imperialists in spite of themselves have been obliged to take steps which have stimulated African social development. By the expansion of industrial activity as a result of war needs scope was provided for the introduction of modern industrial techniques into African society. Large numbers of Africans were recruited for the building of airfields and for the manning of factories and work-shops. And large numbers were recruited into the armed forces where they acquired training as artisans, skilled mechanics, technicians and clerks. About 100,000 men from West Africa and 120,000 from East Africa saw service abroad not only in Abyssinia and North Africa but in Burma and the Middle East. They had the opportunity of seeing the life of other peoples, getting to know some of the problems of the world outside their own countries and in so doing acquired a new sense of confidence in themselves. Their contact with the national liberation movements of India and Burma considerably developed their political awareness and understanding.

African ex-servicemen were among the leaders of the great strike at Mombasa, Kenya in January-February 1947 when the degree of unity, solidarity and discipline demonstrated was a profound shock to the Administration and the White Settler community.

The Gold Coast revolt in February-March last year began with the shooting down of the leader of a peaceful ex-servicemen's procession going to present a petition to the Governor for the payment of their long-promised war-service gratuities and for the relief of their state of acute unemployment.

Ex-servicemen have been among the most militant of the working class in the African colonies not only because of their experience gained abroad, but because the restricted colonial economies are unable to absorb more than a very small fraction of skilled workers and consequently those who are not prepared to return to a tribal mode of existence have only the alternative of unemployment.

Despite the refusal of the Governments in East Africa to give official recognition to African unions they continue to be formed and the governments have been forced to resort to subterfuges to render them permanently weak and to stunt their development.

Certain individuals so-called Trade Union Advisers are sent from Britain at the request of Colonial Governments to help allegedly in the formation of trade unions. To give you an idea of the type of individual a colonial trade union adviser is, allow me comrades to quote Mr. Patrick, Trade Union adviser for Kenya. Addressing a meeting of white settlers he said: "I cannot imagine anything more disastrous to the progress of a Colony than the development of trade unionism by uneducated people, and it will be my constant endeavour to prevent such a possibility." His biggest task, he told his hearers, was trying to restrain a variety of people—quarry workers, painters and so forth—who wanted to be recognised as trade unions and given

that status without the necessary qualities of leadership and organisation... Side by side with trade unions there was a need of employers' federations. Asked if he had met one African capable of being a real trade union official in Kenya, Mr. Patrick said, "Honestly, no."

So much was the concern of British imperialists of Kenya for African trade unionism that they let loose a goat as the guardian of a cabbage patch.

Is it any wonder that the newly constituted Trade Union Centre of East Africa refused the invitation sent by the British TUC to go to Geneva.

Perhaps Africans are not too well educated. The imperialists have seen to that. But they know that their social and economic interests are safe in the keeping of the WFTU.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*F. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade Bosi, of Italy.

I. Bosi (*Italy*). Speaking on the report of comrade Frachon, comrade Invernizzi gave examples of the activities of the CGIL in the defence of the Italian workers. I now want to speak of the union activity of one of the least protected categories of workers, the agricultural labourers.

The struggle of the agricultural labourers is among the most important ever waged in Italy. This struggle is a recent one.

In this category there are many workers who do different jobs, owing to the variety of types of agricultural exploitation in Italy. Some agricultural labourers live in great capitalist enterprises and have an annual contract. Others have a contract for 150 or 200 days' work a year. Others again, and the great majority, are day-labourers who work only 120 days a year.

A section of these workers is continually unemployed. Our organisation unites nearly one million members. It has however a great influence on those who are not members, usually because they cannot afford the subscription.

In many provinces, these workers haven't even any provincial collective agreement. But we must except the seasonal workers who for a period have a contract which fixes their wages. For the rest of the year, and particularly in Southern Italy, wages are controlled only by personal on-the-spot arrangements. Finally, certain workers receive only food and lodging in return for their labour. This last category is quite common in Italy.

To remedy this situation, many campaigns have been fought during recent years to win collective agreements. One begun this winter is still going on, with among its demands the organisation of hiring-offices controlled by the workers, and rotation of work to prevent competition among the labour-supply from cutting contract rates.

The Italian Confederation of Landworkers after large-scale consultation with the workers, decided to ask the Association of Agricultural Owners for the establishment of a national agreement to serve as a basis for the provincial agreements.

This agreement was to fix hours of work, a minimum wage, holidays

the payment of money on dismissal and the regulation of dismissals. These workers have by contract the right to work and lodging for a year. But they are blackmailed by the threat of dismissal. For them dismissal means displacement or separation from the family with no certainty of finding work again. With this threat the few advantages won by the labour contracts are endangered.

Other improvements were also specified in this national agreement, notably the extension of medical assistance to workers' families, increased compensation for accidents, increased family allowances, which are sometimes half the figure for industrial workers, unemployment grant to be extended to agricultural workers, and the land-owners to be compelled to spend a part of their income on certain improvements.

These demands to the employers' organisations have produced no result so far, since the employers have been refusing any meeting with our organisation for eighteen months.

This resistance on the part of the owners shows clearly that they have decided to attack the trade union organisation. For no economic reason prevented them from accepting the workers' demands, and they would have found it more profitable to give in than to let the strike go ahead.

During a short discussion held before the strike with the leaders of the trade union organisation, the employers' showed their hand. They declared that they wished to apply the Marshall Plan and follow the advice of the Americans, knowing full well that this would lead to an agricultural crisis and a reduction in the production of fruit and industrial goods. Moreover they revealed that, following American directives, they planned to replace the workers by machinery, which would increase unemployment still further. They gave the workers' delegates to understand that they were prepared to sacrifice the harvest until victory over the workers was won. In this they were sure of government support. And in fact the latter did nothing to prevent the strike which had been made inevitable by the fact that in certain provinces the owners' organisations had put forward proposals to cut wages and thus worsen the contract conditions.

Faced with this situation, our organisation decided that the agricultural workers should come out on strike, and defy the owners, the Government and the Marshall Plan. It was a matter of defending not only conditions of work but also freedom of association. We had confidence in the workers' capacity for struggle.

And in fact, after the half-hearted attempts at negotiation by the Minister of Labour had failed, and despite the decision taken by our organisation to postpone the beginning of the strike for 48 hours, the strike began on 18 May.

From the outset of the strike, our organisation won a great success by achieving unity of all the workers. The Christian-democrat unions joined the movement in the very first days.

The strike was proclaimed all over Italy but did not begin everywhere at the same time for various reasons.

In the regions of North Italy it was the workers engaged on harvesting the hay crop who began the strike, while the stable-workers continued working. In other regions of Italy, for example in the

centre and south, the struggle was waged by other means. An intermittent strike accompanied by great demonstrations began. Owners were compelled to engage unemployed workers to look after their unworked lands.

This method was particularly effective in the countryside of Southern Italy, causing substantial losses to the landowners and winning the land-workers the sympathy of all sections of the workers and of the population as a whole. In this way they avenged themselves on the owners for leaving the land unworked in the past.

Another characteristic of the strike was the fact that it was directed mainly against the big land-owners and against the middlemen. The order to strike was not given to workers who worked for small landowners, middle peasants, and, in some regions, wealthy landowners, so as to protect the working classes of the countryside and to keep the small landowners from feeling compelled to ally themselves with the big landowners.

These tactics put the agricultural workers in a better position with regard to the big landowners and was looked on favourably by the population.

From the outset, the owners' organisation took steps to break the strike. In some provinces, the owners' organisation had asked all landowners to contribute a certain sum of money by way of guarantee. If individual discussions took place between the trade union organisation and these owners the money was confiscated by the owners' organisation.

On several occasions during former strikes the landowners who had come to individual agreements with trade union organisations were deprived of all credit at the banks, which put them in serious difficulties, especially in the winter.

The owners' organisation had begun to constitute a national mutual aid fund to compensate owners for damages caused in the strike. An organisation was created to hire scab labour en masse. This organisation had substantial means of transport and propaganda at its disposal. The owners' organisation counted on recruiting these scabs from among the poor peasants of the Italian mountains and also among the unemployed of the towns. Tens of thousands of scabs could have been recruited in this way. The recruitment began at the beginning of the strike and was supported by the government, in spite of Italian laws on the hiring of labour which authorise the transfer of a workers from one province to another only after he has received a visa from the Ministry of Labour. This visa is granted only when it has been shown that all the labour supply of the province chosen is completely employed.

The squads of scabs were accompanied and defended by armed formations hired by the landowners and recruited from among the ex-fascists and the dregs of humanity, but they were mainly defended by the police which accompanied their lorries. Very often these latter were the property of the railways and as such belonged to the State.

From the proclamation of the strike intimidation was carried out by the police of certain provinces. In other provinces, old charges against the trade union organisations were brought up and many arrests took place. Certain trade union leaders were summoned to

police headquarters. There they were forbidden to continue their trade union activity under the threat of reprisals.

The activities of the police increased throughout the strike, revealing their brutal and illegal methods.

Faced with this situation, normal methods of struggle were inadequate. Ordinary strike pickets would have been powerless against the scabs, who were protected by the police. It is for this reason that the struggle against the scabs gave the opportunity to undertake mass action.

Around the agricultural centres where the scabs appeared, we grouped hundreds and sometimes thousands of strikers, who, avoiding police provocation and, as far as possible, rough-houses with them, exercised continuous watch and used patient methods of persuasion. Thanks to this they succeeded not only in preventing the scabs from working, but very often too, and particularly with the poor peasants, in persuading them to return to their own village. This first period of the strike can thus be considered as a failure for the landowners, who sought to create, with the help of the police, a mass movement of scabs. There only remained a few groups of ex-fascists, incapable of working on the land, and who were there only to try and intimidate the strikers.

Faced with this mass action, the landowners and the police unleashed a ferocious repression, not only on the strikers' columns, but also on small groups of isolated workers surprised along the roads. These groups were attacked without warning by motorised columns of police. The workers were savagely batoned and their bicycles smashed or locked up.

Indiscriminate mass arrests were made along the roads and in the villages. There was a sort of state of siege in certain regions during which the offices of the trade union organisations were searched. Nobody could move about, the right of assembly was suppressed, and trade union leaders arrested without reason. The police arrested everybody seen on the streets, and after marking their identity papers, let them go again. In certain cases arrested persons were beaten mercilessly : SS methods were applied. Old men, women and children were arrested as hostages. On their side the landowners took advantage of the police protection, and at the strikers' first movement towards the scabs, the police opened fire.

During the strike, five workers were killed by the police, hundreds were wounded, and thousands arrested.

Against these excesses the workers protested vigorously by strikes in which they were joined by workers in industry. There was a mass demonstration on so large a scale that the police attempts at intimidation were in vain.

In spite of the extensive use of fire-arms by the police, who were continually opening fire, the workers' resistance showed that they knew how to fight with the requisite courage during this strike, which was not simply a strike but a real battle. The strike, begun by the agricultural workers after the unemployment of the winter months, gave rise to a broad solidarity movement. In the countryside the small peasants, and even the rich ones who were unaffected by the strike, provided the strikers with wheat and other foodstuffs. They also hired

the workers in turn, thus allowing those who were striking against the big landowners to get in a few days work.

Among the town-workers a vast mobilisation of help to the strikers also permitted a broad solidarity movement, not only in the protests against police violence, but also as a result of the appeal of the CGIL. The factory workers gave an hour's work for the strikers: the number of gifts was sufficient to allow us to send lorryloads of food to the poorest areas of the countryside to stock the canteens which had been set up in many centres. Millions of lire were collected. The union used all its funds to back the strike.

Many children of strikers from the poorest areas were given hospitality by the workers in the towns and by other peasants, thus allowing the strikers to continue the struggle. The small traders and the cooperatives also gave millions of lire for the strikers.

Meanwhile, despite the government's anti-strike attitude and although the press in the service of the landowners did their utmost to weaken the strikers' resistance, a broad section of public opinion became favourable to them, and for this reason the government was obliged to modify its position to some extent.

In this way, after 36 days' strike, it was possible to win an agreement which gave the workers satisfaction on the majority of their demands. The employers also undertook to sign a collective agreement by November.

The workers won an increase in accident compensation, the application of the unemployment laws, and of a law regulating the dismissal of the wage-earner on annual contract, and an undertaking by the government to compel all agricultural enterprises to put aside a percentage of the value of their products for improvements.

It is only over the increase in family allowances that there has been resistance on the part of the Government and for the moment we have won no definite result. The workers know that they still have struggles to face, but they also know that by their action they have won a great battle in defence of their trade union liberties threatened by owners and government alike. In vain do the splitters say that the WFTU and the National Centres no longer defend the vital interests of the workers; the workers know well by experience that only the WFTU knows how to defend them against the offensive of imperialism.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(The Congress rises and applauds.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). The Standing Orders Committee decided a few minutes ago that discussion on Item 8 of the Agenda would be closed at 8 o'clock. I therefore declare closed the discussion on this point. However, there are still three names down to speak, from Yugoslavia, Spain and France. In the name of the Praesidium, I ask these comrades to pass their reports on to us and the Committee which is about to be named will take them into account in the resolution on the question. In addition, these speeches will be included in the general report of the Congress, exactly as if they had been made from the rostrum.

Is Congress agreed to the proposal to close discussion on this point at 8 p.m. ? If so, we can now proceed to the nomination of the Committee which will draft the resolution on point 8 of the agenda. We propose as members of this Committee the following countries : France, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, the Transvaal, Mexico, Tunisia and Ceylon.

The Committee as nominated was approved unanimously.

(The texts of the speeches which the delegates of Yugoslavia, Spain and France were unable to make as a result of the closing of discussion in accordance with the decision of the Congress are given below.)

M. PAVICEVIC (Yugoslavia). Comrades delegates, as a contribution to this discussion on the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions and of the affiliated National Centres in defence of the economic and social interests of the workers. I would like to give you a few details illustrating the situation of the working class and the social and economic activity of the trade unions in Yugoslavia, especially as Yugoslavia was the only popular democracy not mentioned in the report of comrade Zawadski.

Before the war Yugoslavia was a semi-colonial country whose entire wealth was in the hands of the bourgeoisie and of foreign capitalists. During the war of liberation and the people's revolution. The peoples of Yugoslavia, led by the working class deprived the capitalists of power once and for all and, by their measures of confiscation and nationalisation, took into their own hands the immense majority of the means of production. All industrial undertakings, the mines, banks and transport are today in the hands of the State. In other words the capitalist elements in these branches of the national economy have been entirely liquidated so that in Yugoslavia the socialist sector covers 100 % of the mines, transport and banks, and 99.4 % of the whole trade of the country. The socialist sector has also won firm positions in agriculture. The campaign for the socialist transformation of the countryside has, especially during the past year, made great strides. According to incomplete data covering the period up to 15 May 1949, there were more than 4,250 peasant labour cooperatives in Yugoslavia, with more than 210,000 peasant families in them and covering an area of over a million hectares. The socialist sector in agriculture, both State and cooperative, comprises, according to the data for June of this year, more than 20 % of the total cultivated area of Yugoslavia.

Thanks to these revolutionary changes the working class and the trade union organisations of Yugoslavia are no longer in a situation which compels them to fight in their country for the essential conditions of life of the workers. These changes have profoundly transformed the situation of the working class of Yugoslavia. For example, an annual holiday with pay of 14-30 days has been introduced for all workers and employees. Moreover, by a decree of the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, trade unionists and their dependents enjoy a 75 % reduction on all means of transport and a 25 % reduction on prices in the State hotels, which represents a total of 3 thousand million dinars for the current year.

The rights of workers and employers in the field of social insurance and health protection have been considerably extended; the expenditure on social protection and medical attention this year amount to over 18.5 thousand million dinars, or 15 % of the total budget of the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia for the year 1949. By way of illustration of what has just been said I would like to mention that expenditure on social insurance in 1948 was 21 times larger than in 1938, that is in capitalist Yugoslavia.

Special mention must be made of the rights won by the woman worker in Yugoslavia. In addition to free medical aid, grants in cash for the layette and special allowances for nursing mothers, women workers have the right to 90 days maternity leave with pay.

The activity of the trade unions to improve the conditions of the workers and employees (in control of the wage system, social insurance, rationing, workers' restaurant and the annual holiday), has strengthened the bonds between the trade unions and the broadest sections of the working class. The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia now has fifteen times as many members as existed in 1940.

The revolutionary changes in Yugoslavia have created a new attitude towards labour among the workers. The working class is fully conscious that its situation and material prosperity as well as its whole future depend only on itself, on its own efforts and successes in the struggle to build socialism.

Yugoslavia, despite its immense resources in minerals and raw materials, was a backward agricultural country, and to a certain extent remains so. Its wealth and the product of the labour of its people were for scores of years pillaged and exploited by foreign capitalists. From 1941, however, the peoples of Yugoslavia began to follow a different road. We want to put an end once and for all to the backward semi-colonial state of our country, we want to do away, in the shortest possible time and for good, with the causes which lay at the root of this semi-colonial condition of our country and the poverty of our workers. This is the great task undertaken by the people of Yugoslavia and in the first place by our working class. It clearly follows from the above that the campaign for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of industrialisation and electrification is the main task and fundamental preoccupation of the workers of Yugoslavia. It is at the same time the chief slogan of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia which, thanks to socialist emulation, is mobilising the working class to achieve the Five-Year Plan successfully.

By 1946 Yugoslavia had completed the reconstruction of its national economy, devastated by the war, reached the pre-war production level and liquidated the last vestiges of unemployment. By 1947 Yugoslavia had planned its economy and begun the campaign for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

In the campaign for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan and the building of socialism the working masses of Yugoslavia have won great victories. The plan for 1947 was fulfilled by 101.7 % and industrial production reached 167 % of pre-war. The Plan for 1948 was 60 % higher than 1947, and thanks to the enthusiasm of the working class was fulfilled by 100.8 %.

The workers of Yugoslavia are at present waging a campaign for the fulfilment of the third and decisive year of the Five-Year Plan. Hundreds of workers' collectives have fulfilled ahead of time the tasks required for the first quarter of 1949. According to information which has already come in we are in a position to say that the first half of the Five-Year Plan has been victoriously achieved. The workers of Yugoslavia have thus won another great victory in the struggle to build a socialist society in their fatherland.

To win these victories the workers of Yugoslavia have of course been obliged to overcome considerable difficulties. This is all the more obvious since we are dealing with a country which is liquidating, with its own strength and without help from anyone, the backward condition of its economy, and is building socialism. The working class of Yugoslavia is successfully overcoming all difficulties and is victoriously achieving the Five-Year Plan, conscious that Yugoslavia has no need to fear crises, unemployment, or cuts in wages or in the standard of living, as is the case in the capitalist and colonial countries of which comrades Frachon and Wickremasinghe have spoken.

Before the working people of Yugoslavia open prospects of a constant increase in the standard of living, a continued rise in real wages and in the standard of living, and of a socialist society, and it is this which gives the workers of our country the strength to continue ever more resolutely the struggle to build socialism. For they are convinced that the building of socialism in their country constitutes an important contribution to peace and democracy in the world, an important contribution to the victory of a social order in which the exploitation of man by man will be for ever abolished.

The working class of Yugoslavia is ready, in the future as in the past, to throw all its strength into the struggle being waged by the anti-imperialist and democratic forces all over the world, with the Soviet Union at their head, for a happy future for working humanity.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER LIFE FOR THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

J. MOIX (*Spain UGT*). The delegation from the Spanish UGT is in complete agreement with Comrade Frachon's report which it entirely endorses.

This item on the Agenda is of great importance to the Spanish UGT.

One of the fundamental reasons for the creation of the WFTU was the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers. If for the great majority of the Centres and for the WFTU the question of action for the defence of the workers' economic and social interests represents one of their fundamental tasks, it is so much the more so for the Spanish UGT because of the oppression suffered by our people and the unbelievable exploitation to which they are subjected, particularly the working class and the labouring masses.

You well know that there is a fascist regime in Spain which was established by blood and fire, against all the democratic rights which our people had won through years of struggle.

The working class and the workers have no trade union rights.

Our People's Houses, which were the glorious homes of our revolutionary class trade unions and democratically open to all the workers, are today occupied by phalangist organisations.

In place of trade union liberty there is what is called the trade union organisation law of the régime which makes trade union membership compulsory as well as the payment of subscriptions to the vertical phalangist trade unions, which sum is deducted from the wages of all workers in town and country.

The leadership of these trade unions is made up of phalangist elements in accordance with the law. It is impossible for the workers to become leaders at any level in the phalangist trade union hierarchy.

Individual and collective work contracts are forbidden. As far as phalangism is concerned, there are only labour relations and no class antagonisms. For phalangism there is no conflict of interests between the employers and the workers, between the exploiter and the exploited. There are only the different categories of labour, which, according to the phalangist expression are united in Christian and phalangist fraternity.

Under the fascist yoke of Franco and the Falange, the attempt to create a trade union in opposition to the phalangist organisations is punished by the military tribunals as rebellion liable to sentence of death.

The phalangist trade unions are an instrument of the régime for their policy of exploitation of the workers and peasants for the benefit of the privileged castes, the great industrialists and land-owners, for the benefit of national finance capital and for the benefit of the Anglo-American imperialists whose penetration into Spain is becoming daily more extensive.

Because of this reactionary policy, the wealth of the country is increasingly falling into the hands of a restricted group of exploiters, while in the workers' homes, misery, starvation and illness are raging.

The demagogy of the Franco régime does not deceive the working class or the mass of the people in Spain. The working class is conscious of the fundamental changes which have taken place as a result of the victory over hitlerism. It has before its eyes the shining example of the powerful Soviet Union which has for ever finished with the exploitation of man by man, which has victoriously achieved socialism and which liberated humanity from the nazi scourge. The Spanish workers understand why, in spite of the enormous sacrifice of human life and the ruins of the second world war, the Soviet Union has once more reached, and even exceeded, the pre-war production levels. They understand that it is because of socialism that the Soviet workers are able to enjoy higher living standards and greater well-being.

The Spanish workers have also a clear conception of the living and constant example of the forward march of the people's democracies, which overcoming all the obstacles placed in their way by internal reaction and the Anglo-Saxon imperialists, have laid the foundations of a socialist society and have succeeded in improving the living and working conditions of the labouring masses.

Consequently, the Spanish workers see the contrast between the countries which have suffered most as a result of the war and the hitlerite occupation and which, once they were liberated began to

reconstruct their country and improve the living conditions of the workers, and Spain where ever since the phalangist domination, misery and starvation have grown unceasingly.

Only a privileged minority, of capitalists, financiers, industrialists and big land owners have increased their incomes. 51 enterprises which in 1935, under the Republican régime, obtained 335 million pesetas profits, obtained 1,103,000,000 in 1947, that is to say 768 million pesetas more than in 1935.

While the cost of living has risen in proportion to these profits, wages have not risen to the same extent.

Taking 1936 as 100, in 1948 the cost of living stood at 613 while wages had risen by 75.

Thus in relation to official prices, the purchasing power of wages is equal to 28.5 % of the 1936 level. These same wages are equal to 14.5 % in relation to black-market prices.

This disproportion between prices and wages continuously grows. The actual index of prices of food-stuffs which can only be found on the black market has risen 12 times in relation to the 1936 prices, which means that the purchasing power of wages has fallen to 14.5 %.

The average wage of 12 pesetas in 1936 has risen to only 16 pesetas, representing a rise of 34 %. In 1936, a worker could meet all his needs with 12 pesetas, but today, with 16 pesetas he can only buy 800 grammes of bread or 3 kilos of potatoes, or 750 grammes of rice or half a dozen eggs. In view of the fact that the Food Ministry only allows 150 grammes of bread per day, the workers are forced to go to the black market to obtain a sufficient quantity, thereby reducing still further the possibility of buying other indispensable food-stuffs.

There is a tendency for the amount of food in general to grow smaller day by day. The ration for the week of May 30th to June 6th of this year was composed of the following articles and quantities : 200 grammes of oil, 100 grammes of sugar, 200 grammes of rice, 200 grammes of soap, 1 kilo of potatoes. It must be borne in mind that the rise in food prices is followed by a similar rise in the price of clothing, shoes, etc. There is also the housing problem which is a tragic one for the working class. The phalangists themselves are forced to recognise that the workers live in totally unhealthy and inhuman conditions. In Madrid, more than 400,000 people are living in caves and huts in terrible conditions. In Barcelona 150,000 people are living in the same conditions and the proportion is about the same for all the other towns of Spain.

The newspaper "Arriba", official phalangist organ, confronted with the gravity of this problem cried out on 16th December 1948 : "In face of the distressing problem of the suburbs, this problem must be considered with energy and in all its extent. Waste-land and huts covered with rotting tarpaulin, caves, cabin's built with bits of sheet metal. Lacking water drainage services, there are stagnant ponds which are just cess pools. The children live alongside the animals. The street and wasteland are the home of many inhabitants of the suburbs. Their economic misery is reducing them to the lowest human condition." In revolting contrast, another phalangist newspaper, the "Vanguardia" of Barcelona said on August 8th 1948 "In Madrid there are 40,000 homes without tenants because of their

high price." The newspaper "ABC" of Madrid of January 18th of this year said that in Saragossa, in view of the high rent, there are more than 4,000 homes closed down and whole districts of new buildings uninhabited.

To all this must be added the extension of unemployment which is affecting both industry and countryside. As a result, great masses of the workers are without fixed wages.

The régime does not give figures, in order to continue its demagogy. It wants at all costs to conceal the tragic reality of unemployment; but in spite of the official silence, the Franco régime cannot hide this problem.

The cotton, coal and oil industries etc are short of electric current. The countryside is short of fertilisers, tools, machinery; transport is short of rolling stock and trucks; in building there is not enough cement, iron, wood, etc. In the building industry, 180,000 workers are hit by unemployment. The shortage of electric power in July 1948 caused the total or partial unemployment of a million and-a-half workers. In industrial areas like Catalonia, the factories are working at half capacity. The textile industry only works two days a week. Instead of improving, this situation worsens day by day.

In the countryside, the situation is the same. The number of seasonal workers has never been as high as it is at the present time. There are 3,116,000 agricultural workers, 80.9 % of whom are seasonal workers and there are only 561,000 who are considered as regular agricultural workers.

The problem is so acute that even sections of the bourgeoisie, concerned by the economic crisis and the defence of their interests echo the profound malaise of the working class. Thus the Spanish technical and financial review "Economía Mundial" of 19th February 1949 said in a long article: "unemployment is increasing in the various branches. Dismissals are made using the actual labour regulations, or else it is small industries which are going bankrupt."

This manifestation on the part of large sections of the bourgeoisie is a proof that the small industries are moving towards ruin, absorbed by the industrial sharks and the rich landowners, who are taking advantage of the unemployment to wage a battle against the workers, by reducing their wages and taking away from them the few advantages obtained by struggle, such as the cost of living bonus, the setting up of works cooperatives, etc.

Under the pretext of fighting unemployment, the Franco régime has created an organisation inside the Falange for the purpose of enrolling the unemployed in labour units at the service of the State and the big employers. The real purpose of these units is to get the unemployed to do work which directly concerns the State because of their military nature or for other reasons of a national order.

These units are at present working on the Barajas aerodrome (in Madrid); on the building of the Sierra Umbria railway at Grenada; in the Orconera Iron Ore mines of Baracaldo (Bilbao), etc. The number of these workers is very small because of their resistance to enrollment. It is certain that Franco has not hesitated to recruit cheap labour from among the army of unemployed for the preparation of war in the service of the American imperialists. The social policy of the

Franco is sheer demagoguery. Social insurance for accidents at work, maternity, old-age and sickness are nothing but a legal procedure for increasing the number of phalangist bureaucrats who receive high salaries, deducted from the workers' wages. Another fact which shows the falseness of the Franco régime in regard to labour questions is that the Ministry of Labour budget is 253,260,000 pesetas, which represents 1.05 % of the total State budget, and the Ministry of Agriculture budget is 142,785,120 pesetas which represents 0.80 % of the total budget.

This tragic situation of the working class has profound repercussions on working youth. With an output equal to that of an adult worker, the young worker receives an average wage of 30 pesetas per week. A phalangist law permits the employers to dismiss young people as soon as they should be paid as skilled workers, in spite of their capabilities. In order to meet their daily needs, the young people are forced to work exhausting days and to work overtime.

This régime of exploitation does not spare the women. In order to be able to work in a factory or in other paid employment, girls are obliged to work for nothing for six months in so-called "welfare" institutions (*Auxilio social*), set up by the Phalangist Women's Commission.

The young people, like adults, have no recognised rights and enjoy no liberty. Working women are also victims of this savage exploitation. The régime issued the order that women must remain in the home. Women are deprived of all democratic and social rights won over many years of struggle. They are forbidden to work once they are married. By its fascist and class character, the régime intensifies the reactionary nature which the capitalist system has always had in Spain. It is a characteristic fact which identifies it with the American monopolists to whom it has mortgaged our country, in the same way as yesterday it handed over to Hitler, in exchange for the economic and military aid which Franco had received in order to betray the Spanish Republic.

Because it is an anti-national, anti-democratic and anti-people's régime, Franco must maintain a huge apparatus for terrorising and repressing the masses of the people and above all the working class which represents the most conscious, the most energetic and the most devoted social force in the struggle for democracy and national liberation, against the war plans and for peace.

In order to impose their policy of oppression and exploitation on the people and the working masses, to keep themselves in power in service of internal and foreign reaction, Franco and his régime have had to increase the repressive forces which are costing the Spanish people 7,924 million pesetas per year, that is to say 52 % of the State budget.

During one year, 22 patriots were murdered by order of the military courts, 21 were sentenced to death and are awaiting execution any day. Death sentences are demanded for 16 patriots imprisoned at Barcelona and 8 at Toledo. Between 5th August 1948 and 10th April 1949 136 patriots were murdered as a result of an outrageous law which authorised the armed forces to fire on prisoners who were attempting to escape. In the Franco prisons, in spite of the lying official declarations there are nearly 200,000 political prisoners. All social and political offences are tried by phalangist military tribunals and

the accused may not be defended. Judicial administration and police expenditure amounted to 2,974,000 pesetas in 1948 whereas in 1936, this same item amounted to 272 millions, which proves that the number of prisoners is considerably greater than in 1936 when there were only 38,700.

The vast majority of these 200,000 political prisoners are workers, peasants and intellectuals, and a great number of them were fine and devoted leaders of organisations in the labour and trade union movement. Their only crime was to remain faithful to the workers' cause, to the struggle for liberation from the régime of oppression, to the fight for the economic and social demands of the working masses, for an adequate wage, for better living and working conditions, for the introduction of social insurance guaranteeing a decent existence, to the fight for bread, work and a régime of freedom and democracy.

In view of the fact that the WFTU must make use of all the means of defending the trade union movement, its leaders and the persecuted and imprisoned workers, our delegation proposes to the Congress the creation in the WFTU of a legal bureau which would organise this defence and inform world opinion of the violence and crimes committed by fascist and reactionary governments against the workers in capitalist and colonial countries.

The constant terror, the absence of fundamental democratic liberties, unemployment, starvation and misery are some of the difficulties which the working class has to overcome in its struggle for the defence of its economic and social interests. Moreover, the years of fascist domination have meant the loss of thousands of our best trade union militants.

Despite these terrible conditions, our working class and the great mass of the workers have not ceased their fight for a moment, utilising the most appropriate methods of struggle at every time and in each situation.

It would be foolish to deny the changes which have taken place both on the national and international plane and in the ranks of the working class. Our methods of struggle are not the same as those in previous situations. Experience has shown us that we must fight in closer touch with the workers and must utilise even the limited legal opportunities of which we can take advantage in our clandestine struggle. It is in this direction that we are carrying on our work and our struggle in the factories, workshops and fields, everywhere, in all places of work and in all organisations to which the workers belong. We observe, from the results which we have obtained, that this tactic is correct and adequate in the present situation.

With this tactic we are able to unmask the demagoguery of the Franco regime and bring to light the duplicity of the conduct of the phalangist leaders who cannot conceal the discontent and protests of the workers and are finding themselves obliged to make proposals for improvements in the economic and social sphere. Faced with the refusal of the reactionary phalangist bourgeoisie to give satisfaction to their demands, the workers make use of very varied forms of struggle. Where labour unity makes it possible, a strike is launched. Common campaigns are carried on in the factories, production, machines and equipment are sabotaged; go-slows are operated. Agricultural workers and peasants

resist the delivery of their produce to the economic organisations of the Phalange. Women and young people protest.

All these forms of struggle have up to now proved to be effective. The phalangists and Franco himself have had to acknowledge this in their speeches, particularly as regards the perceptible decline in the labour productivity. In his end-of-year speech, Franco said : " At this time when we are making a rapid examination of the situation, I would like to bring to the notice of all productive elements the imperative necessity of raising labour productivity. The decline of labour productivity is harmful to everyone. If we want cheaper goods, more must be produced."

The reactionary review " El Economista " of August 7th 1948, pointed to the extent of the decline in the workers' productivity and said " The concern and anxieties of this great human mass are much stronger in the present than in the future. The fundamental problem of these people is continuity of work. The sight of the closing down of a work shop is for the manual workers the fore-runner of dismissal. In these conditions, a human sentiment of organised defence leads them to voluntarily reduce output. Individual or collective acts which in any way disturb the normality of production must be considered as crimes against the nation."

This threat launched by reaction to apply penal sanctions against the fall in production obviously shows the great concern of the phalangists and bourgeoisie in face of a method of struggle which is tending to become generalised and is creating enormous economic and political difficulties for the phalangist regime.

This is how the struggle of the working class and the working masses is waged to raise their living standards and to reconquer their democratic trade union rights and liberties. They are also fighting to win trade union unity on the national plane. They fight in the van-guard of all democratic forces of our country against the fascist regime of Franco and the Phalange, against all the agents of internal reaction and the American and British imperialists in the labour movement, the splitters and traitors to the glorious fighting tradition of our working class and our people.

We our profoundly grateful for the aid and solidarity which the WFTU and its National Centres have given us on every occasion in order to save from repression and death the beloved militants of our trade union movement, and for the mobilisation of the workers to our cause.

We hope that our proposal will be sympathetically studied and that its implementation may increase the assistance to the working class in all countries fighting for peace, trade union unity and, for the democratic rights of the workers.

LONG LIVE WORKERS' UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

J. LACAZE (*France*). On the suggestion of the CGT I was chosen by the workers of the great Renault motor factory, and I express here the opinion of the rank-and-file who are happy to be able to make their voices heard at the Congress of the WFTU. They thank the CGT and in future struggles, promises to show themselves worthy

of the confidence placed in them. They approve of the activities of the WFTU for its economic programme, from which our CGT draws its inspiration.

So it is, therefore, in the face of obstinate capitalist and reactionary opposition that the workers in the factories, in the yards, in mines and offices, from the labourer to the engineer, are fighting to free themselves from economic slavery and to obtain wages corresponding to their needs, their qualifications, and their efforts.

Despite the opposition of certain breakaway leaders like Jouhaux, sixteen industrial Federations have agreed on collective agreements. Among those who made this decision we find leaders of Federations of Christian Workers, the Managerial Staff and also the leaders of Force Ouvrière.

While in the Popular Democracies and in the USSR living conditions improve in proportion to the increase in production, we are struggling to guarantee the workers' purchasing power which only falls as production increases. Here also results have been won, thanks to unity of action over the demands to be made.

We are fighting against sabotage in the reconstruction of homes destroyed by the war.

We are fighting against the de-control of certain industrial products, which allows the capitalists to increase their profits even more, while wages are frozen and the workers are forced to work at an ever increasing tempo which means insecurity at work and an increase of fatal accidents. Security at work is sacrificed for capitalist profit. 25 miners were killed on 10 January 1948 in the Petite Rosselle Mines. 16 miners were killed at Courrières on 19 April 1948. At the Renault factory in the last six months 6 workers have died as a result of accidents.

The Marshall Plan is bringing ruin to our national industry. Unemployment is increasing. Aircraft workers are being thrown on the streets. In this industry also the fight is going on. The workers have occupied the factories, upheld by the solidarity of workers in other industries who are fighting for the return of the 40-hour week, without loss of wages, and for the freeing of French aviation from the American capitalists.

This fight is a fight against the imperialists who are preparing a new war on the Popular Democracies and the Soviet Union. For the young people and for the women who are even more exploited, we are campaigning for equal pay for equal work. We are demanding holiday travel allowances which will allow workers to recuperate in the fresh air of the country when their wages do not provide for the needs of themselves and their families.

When liberation came to our country, improvements were won in the field of social security. These victories are today being sabotaged by the employers and the reactionary government, who are trying to decrease more and more the employers' contribution and to increase the employee's share correspondingly, and at the same time to cut the benefits (sickness insurance accident compensation, pensions for the old, and so on).

All these demands are contained in the WFTU programme. As we carry out these campaigns with the support of our great CGT, we,

hope to gain the objectives of the WFTU. It was because of them that we were able draw together workers with different objectives during the miners' strike and that of the civil servants. These strikes forced the government to withdraw the repressive measures which had been taken, and this shows how well the French working class are campaigning for their freedom and their rights. It is this that enables us to develop unity of action daily, and which so stirs up the ire of reaction and its lackeys.

The influence of the CGT is daily increasing, as is shown in the elections recently held in every industry. Those whose ambition it was to wipe out the CGT, and to destroy its influence are today singing a different song like those who sought to undermine the WFTU. We will continue to unite the workers more and more closely. If the fight is hard and difficult, it is because the reactionary beast has been gravely wounded. The workers of France acclaim the success of the democratic forces in the world, and of their leader, the USSR. The working class of France will use its unity to improve living standards and to assure peace to the world.

It will thwart the splitters of the working class and will achieve complete unity of action with the powerful unions of the great socialist country, the USSR, and the progressive trade unions of the Peoples' Democracies.

LONG LIVE UNITY OF ACTION OF THE WORKERS !

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY !

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

THE CHAIRMAN (*V. Lombardo Toledano*). I now call on Comrade Di Vittorio who will present his report on Item 9 of the Agenda.

Implementation of Article 13 of the WFTU Constitution on the Trade Departments

G. DI VITTORIO (*Italy*) (*prolonged applause*). Comrade delegates, Item 9 of the Agenda deals with the implementation of Article 13 of the Constitution of the WFTU concerning the International Trade Departments.

The setting-up and the working of the International Trade Departments, dealt with in Article 13 of the Constitution of our Federation, is considered so important, both for our normal activity and for our very well-being, that the subject has already been touched on by many speakers in discussion of other reports.

In fact, it is clear to any sincere trade unionist that no Trade Union Centre can carry out its normal work if it is not organised on a trade basis. This holds good on both a national and international level.

Preceding reports have already clearly stressed that the first and most important job of every trade union organisation is to defend from day to day the economic interests of the workers, never losing sight of the final goal, and always acting in the best interests of the working class and of human progress. To carry out this task our WFTU must also be organised on a trade basis, for its aim is to be an even better direct and living expression of the world trade union movement; an even better guide and leader.

Without the Trade Departments the WFTU cannot fulfil its essential tasks : it cannot facilitate the exchange of experiences among the union organisations of different countries, and still less can it promote and lead those great trade union battles which can be waged only on a trade level.

We consider, comrades, that with the capitalist world in its present economic position, there are new tasks confronting the trade union movement in the international sphere, tasks which have not hitherto shown themselves in so clear-cut and urgent a fashion.

International trade, capital investment in industry and the essential services of the different countries, are being drawn more and more into the hands of a few of the big trusts of the most powerful capitalist countries, especially those of the United States of America. These trusts are no longer content with being king-pin of the colonial countries' economy. By means of the Marshall Plan and other plans of that ilk, they are contriving to gain control of the economy of those imperialist countries that are weaker than themselves. So it comes about that one single trust has direct or indirect control of one particular branch of industry inside a number of countries.

In these circumstances it is evident that the big trusts have the opportunity—and they are making the most of it—of stepping up production in some countries so as to be able to cut it in others, and thus provoke an artificial depression on the labour market aimed at forcing down the cost of labour, that is, the living standard of the workers.

Again, these same trusts can defeat the strike of the workers in an industry in some particular country, by supplying the market hit by the strike.

Faced with this state of affairs, it is clear that if it is to succeed, in the majority of cases the trade unions' struggle for the workers' immediate economic demands must be co-ordinated on the international level, and in some cases unified.

In these new conditions I have just spoken of it is easy to see that the capitalists' fight to lower the workers' living standards, as well as the proletariat's fight to raise them, will be waged more and more on the international plane. The ordinary, traditional reasons for international solidarity and help, which have for so long justified the existence and the work of the Trade Departments of the world trade union organisation are today reinforced by new and special reasons. These new reasons concern the effectiveness of the day-to-day struggle of our member unions everywhere to defend the workers' daily bread and their most pressing social and economic needs. This is why it is more than ever necessary for our WFTU to organise as soon as possible those Trade Departments that have not been already set up, and for all National Centres and militant unionists to give them their most careful attention and see that they have the necessary means to develop and fulfil to the satisfaction of the workers all the tasks that lie before them.

Comrades, allow me to draw your attention to the fact that it is on the level of the organisation and struggle *within each trade* for the workers' economic demands that we can and must strengthen and widen trade union unity. This is where it is most necessary for us

to achieve the greatest unity of action, and thereby inflict the most resounding defeats on splitters of all kinds.

Politicians heedless of the real interests of the working class have managed to bamboozle a certain number of workers, cut them off from the WFTU, and thus undermine world trade union unity, demagogically general "political" motives. But it is going to be much harder for these gentlemen to prevent the workers from co-ordinating and unifying the struggle for their joint *economic* demands.

Let me give you just one example. You know that the Canadian seamen have been on strike for nearly two months now. But unfortunately the strikers could not stop the Canadian shipowners from using blacklegs to man some of their ships. With these crews, three Canadian vessels got as far as Italian ports, and others reached England.

Well, we all know that the Canadian trade union centre left the WFTU, on the initiative of its leaders. But when the Canadian Seamen's Union told us of the strike and asked for our support, the Italian dockers did not ask themselves whether or not they should come to the aid of their brother seamen in Canada because of the divisionist attitude of the leaders of the National Centre of that country. No, the three Canadian boats were not unloaded, and they stayed in Italian ports. The reaction of the London dockers was the same, in spite of the opposition of their union leaders, who are well-known splitters.

Comrades, in this way, despite the split brought about by sectarian leaders who are quite cut off from the masses, the workers managed to achieve unity on a trade level in defence of their common interests. And it is through unity in action, as a number of comrades have already stressed, that we will achieve the basic conditions for correcting the harm caused to the international proletariat by the splitters, and bring about the complete unity of the workers in each country and throughout the world.

We must emphasise, too, that in the present situation of economic depression—a depression which very likely is the forerunner of a major economic crisis—the prospect before the workers everywhere is that of an increasingly bitter struggle in defence of their daily bread, their trade union rights, their democratic liberties, and peace.

Today the proletariat everywhere has had a great deal of experience, which clearly shows that the ruling capitalist classes have always done their utmost to escape economic crisis firstly by increasing exploitation of the workers, and even the middle classes, making these "lower" classes bear the brunt of it, and secondly by waging wars of conquest and plunder with the now openly admitted objective of reducing whole populations to slavery, and making them bear the crushing burden of capitalist crisis.

And this experience shows that it is impossible for imperialism to increase its exploitation of the workers and drag the peoples into a war of aggression and gangsterism without, at the same time, taking away their trade union rights and democratic liberties. And so we find ourselves faced with a new wave of fascist-type reaction, and with the danger that this reaction will grow more and more anti-working-class and anti-democratic.

That, comrades, is why the struggle in our trade unions, in the

capitalist and colonial countries, for the defence of our daily bread and for all the *economic* demands of the workers, is so closely tied up with the whole struggle for the defence of trade union rights, of democratic liberties, and world peace.

In the coming trade union struggles, each more wide-spread and more stubborn than the last, that can be foreseen on the international level, the Trade Departments of the WFTU are called on to play a decisive role. That is another reason why our whole trade union movement should help in every possible way to achieve the programme of the WFTU Secretariat for the setting up and development of Trade Departments.

Having said this, comrades, we have no desire to evade the serious question which every member of Congress has the right to ask the retiring Executive Committee : *why was it that the WFTU, in the long period between its first Constituent Congress in 1945 and June 1949, did not carry out Article 13 of its Constitution ? Why were Trade Departments not set up ? What is the reason for its serious failure to carry out its Constitutional obligations ?*

To these questions we will give a blunt answer : the organisation of the Trade Departments of the WFTU was sabotaged and prevented by the TUC splitters, slavishly supported by Kupers and others.

That is why, as comrade Saillant has stated in his Report of Activities, the splitters on the one hand sought to hold up the establishment of the Trade Departments and, on the other hand, charged the WFTU with being simply a trade union propaganda organisation, since it had no Trade Departments.

It would be very interesting to draw up a complete report on the actions characterising the sabotage of the Trade Departments by the splitters, because these facts prove that their treachery to international trade union unity was premeditated. But I do not want to take too much of Congress's valuable time. Besides, these facts are recorded in the minutes of the administrative body of the WFTU, and anyway are known to most comrades.

So it is only necessary for me to remind you that this question of the Trade Departments was never neglected, either by the Executive Bureau, the Executive Committee or the Secretariat, which tried several times to settle it; but they never succeeded, owing to ceaseless and increasing obstruction by the splitters.

Under normal circumstances, the obvious thing to do immediately after our Paris Congress was to proceed to call Trade Conferences for all the National Centres affiliated to the WFTU, as well as for any others interested, with the aim of setting up Trade Departments according to the principles clearly set out in Article 13. But the TUC representatives, right from the London Preparatory Conference of February 1945, and during the Constituent Congress in Paris, *demand*ed that the old International Trade Secretariats of the old Amsterdam International should be included, and that on that account we should come to an agreement with the ITS to call Constituent Conferences of the WFTU Trade Departments.

In vain did we point out to the British representatives the absurdity of this demand, for the old Amsterdam International, with its ITS, has been a dead letter for many years, and it was not worth trying to

revive a corpse and put extra difficulties in the way of setting up the Trade Departments.

We also pointed out to the TUC representatives that even if some of the former ITS had got going again, their supporters were drawn from trade organisations of only ten countries at the most, whereas the WFTU already numbered supporters in 52 countries; this brought out even more clearly how unjust and absurd were the TUC claims, which rated a tiny number of ITS bureaucrats above the vital interests of the workers and the desires of the vast majority of National Trade Union Centres.

The TUC representatives, supported by their friends, maintained their claim. And as this claim was put forward as a prerequisite for the achievement of international trade union unity, the other comrades, anxious to do their utmost to achieve this unity, were obliged to accept the demands imposed on them by the TUC leaders.

Then the Executive Bureau and the Executive Committee, by a unanimous decision, drafted a set of regulations for the calling of Trade Conferences and the setting up of Trade Departments, according to the principles of Article 13 of the Constitution, and on which negotiations with representatives of the old ITS were to be based.

This first draft put forward by the WFTU, and all the later ones, faithfully followed the principles of Article 13 and was inspired by the determination to make our WFTU a united, powerful and smooth-working organisation able to co-ordinate the different branches of its activity, while leaving to each of them freedom of action inside a framework of the general unitary guidance of the lawful directing bodies of the WFTU, as elected by Congress. The WFTU, then, defended sound organisational principles, aiming at making its work more effective and of adapting it to the great tasks before it, and so justifying the confidence placed in it by workers throughout the world.

On the other hand, the old ITS, right from the first negotiations, put forward the idea that each Trade Department should be completely autonomous and act as a completely independent organisation, so that instead of achieving real trade union unity, in one single WFTU, each Trade Department would have its own International, which would have been practically without liaison with the other Trade Departments and with the WFTU, so that international trade union unity would have been quite disintegrated.

Striking proof of the splitters disruptive plans was given by Oldenbroek, General Secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation, who played a decisive role in the old ITS' sabotage of the cause of unity. You remember that the 1946 Zurich Congress of this Federation, led by its secretary, set aside the agreement already made by its delegates with the WFTU, and openly proclaimed their complete independence, going so far as to claim the right to act independently of the WFTU and, if necessary, in opposition to it, on matters of general policy. That, we believe, is striking proof that, if they had been compelled to take part in establishing international trade union unity, under the irresistible pressure of the masses of the workers, who had high hopes of liberation raised by the victory over fascism and nazism, the splitters were already planning to break up that unity when the time came.

The good faith and the good will of the WFTU in its efforts to iron out all difficulties was also shown by the fact that it charged the then Assistant General Secretary, Schevenels, who was in the confidence of the ITS leaders, to carry on negotiations with them.

The WFTU's efforts to bring about an agreement with the ITS are shown too by the fact that the Executive Bureau and the Executive Committee many times modified the regulations concerning the calling of Trade Conferences and the working of the Trade Departments, and accepted most of the ITS' requirements. But with every new concession the ITS made new demands. They even rejected the regulations drawn up and unanimously passed by the Prague General Council in June 1947.

Now, comrades, it is set out in our Constitution, and healthy democratic principles require, that no-one has the right to change anything in a resolution adopted unanimously—and I underline the word—by the General Council, which, after Congress, is the highest deliberative body of the WFTU. Despite that, the Executive Bureau in November 1947, and the Executive Committee at its Rome meeting in May 1948, took on themselves the responsibility of altering the regulations adopted at the General Council to the requirements of the ITS. Could anyone ask more of the WFTU's desire for conciliation?

However, we went even further. At the meeting of the Executive Bureau in Paris in September 1948, I myself made a suggestion aimed at completely overcoming all the difficulties, given good will on both sides. My suggestion, based on obvious democratic principles, can be summarised as follows :—

Abolish all regulations concerning the setting up and working of the Trade Departments, as well as the relations of each with the WFTU;

Call international Trade Conferences and leave the workers' delegates completely free to draw up in a democratic way the Constitution of their own Department and decide on its relations with the WFTU.

Well, this very democratic suggestion, which gave the workers themselves the right to settle the whole business, was immediately approved by comrades Saillant, Kuznetsov, and Le Léap, but was thrust aside by Deakin, Carey, and Kupers, that is, by the splitters, who could not find a single worth-while argument to justify their attitude. Kupers, quite incapable of explaining his attitude, declared that Di Vittorio's suggestion came too late, but that he would have approved it if it had been made earlier. Why "too late"? Isn't it true that it's never too late to do the right thing?

Yes, it was too late, because the splitters had already made up their minds to paralyse or break up the WFTU and trade union unity. Indeed, at the joint meeting which took place in Paris between the members of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU and the ITS representatives, the latter declared that they were breaking off all relations with the WFTU, and in this way quite shamelessly unmasked their splitting intentions.

From all these facts it can be clearly seen that the splitters had long premeditated their action, always ready to submit to their own imperialists' policy. In these circumstances they considerer it better to hinder the setting up of the Trade Departments, which would have entailed the incorporation and disappearance of the ITS. They wanted

to hang on to their ITS as a base for the new break-away organisation which they were already thinking of and have recently tried to set up.

On the other hand, the ITS are all, by some coincidence, completely dominated by men with the same old reformist and conservative outlook. Now, given the great changes that took place in the world trade union set-up, these gentlemen knew very well that they would find themselves in the minority in most of the Trade Departments. They would have found themselves forced—since our WFTU has a democratic structure—to share the leadership of the Trade Departments with comrades of different outlooks and different races. But that is exactly what the splitters did not want. These men want to be sole lords and masters of the trade union organisation, just as they are at home, where not a single dissident voice is tolerated in their directing bodies, while in our WFTU, based on democratic principles, all outlooks are and always will be represented.

Comrades, I must apologise for this dry account, which I found nonetheless necessary. It may be that we were wrong to undergo for so long the obstructionism of the old ITS and its supporters in the Executive Bureau and the Executive Committee. Perhaps, before their sabotage had shown itself so brazenly we should have decided, by a majority vote, to set up the Trade Departments without further delay.

We will merely draw your attention to this fact: that if we did tolerate the splitters' obstructionism, we did so solely with the idea of saving unity. Perhaps we were wrong, but at least we proved, by our attitude over the Trade Departments, that we were willing to make the greatest possible sacrifices in the cause of the unity of the workers. In any case, it is for Congress to judge us. If we did wrong we will take our share of the blame. What we have to do now is to regain lost ground. The WFTU has already set to work with a will. As soon as the obstacles I have spoken of had disappeared the Executive Bureau and the Executive Committee all agreed to set up the Trade Departments of the WFTU at last, and draw up a definite plan of work for them.

The WFTU Secretariat has begun to act on this, and has already achieved excellent results. Three Trade Departments have already been set up. Others will be created immediately after our Congress, and there will be more in the months to come. By the end of the year twelve Trade Departments will be set up and working.

Comrade Gebert, who has been asked by the Secretariat to give special attention to this task, will be giving you more detailed information about this matter.

Our great WFTU is at last taking definite shape, and is beginning to have at its disposal the machinery most essential for its work: such as the Trade Departments, which will develop specific trade union activity in all branches of labour throughout the world.

I would like to end my report with a declaration of faith in trade unity and in unity of action of the workers, for the defence of their daily bread, and of their rights, and for the raising of their living-standard. I believe in the necessity and the possibility of complete trade union unity on the national as well as on the international, scale. Like our socialist comrade Jarblum I refuse to believe that the split brought about last January is final, for I refuse to believe that the

English and American workers can approve the splitting and disrupting policy of their leaders.

We are firmly convinced that, through the Trade Departments of the WFTU and their trade union activity, we will better achieve unity in action and strengthen trade union unity. Some of the ITS have called their International Conferences, expressly excluding all those national trade organisations which are not headed by reformists of the same outlook as the ITS leaders. The WFTU's answer to this sectarian act was to send out its invitations to Trade Conferences to all existing national organisations, without exception, with no political, racial or religious discrimination. The same will be done for all future conferences. The WFTU and its Trade Departments are, and always will be, open to all.

The slogan we from this Congress send our Trade Departments is this : be united and always work to bring together all the workers in your trade ! Every time a trade organisation of any country appeals to you for support do not ask yourselves whether it is a member of your Trade Department, or even of the WFTU, nor what kind of outlook its leaders have : help it : always help workers who are fighting, always support them, never discriminate.

The WFTU and the Trade Departments have no enemies in the ranks of the workers.

The WFTU is not only a powerful instrument of struggle in the hands of the international proletariat, an instrument for achieving its well-being, for liberty and for peace; it is also the banner to rally the workers of the world for unity, for solidarity and for brotherhood.

(Congress rose and gave a long ovation to the speaker.)

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 6th JULY 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of J. Kolsky.

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). I declare the session open, and I call on Comrade Gebert to give his report on the creation of the Trade Departments.

Implementation of Article 13 of the WFTU Constitution on Trade Departments (Continued)

B. GEBERT (*Assistant General Secretary of the WFTU*).

Comrade delegates,

Comrade Di Vittorio has given us a vivid picture of the history of the struggle for the practical application of Article 13 of the Constitution of the WFTU. He has given facts proving conclusively that the WFTU offered many concessions to the International Trade Secretariats in order to reach an agreement for creating all-inclusive Trade Departments.

The negotiations with the International Trade Secretariats lasted nearly four years and came to a deadlock. This handful of trade union bureaucrats encouraged and supported by Deakin, Green and others never had any intentions of really joining hands with the WFTU in proceeding with the actual creation of Trade Departments on a broad democratic basis, uniting trade unions of all countries without discrimination as to nationality, race, colour, political opinion, philosophy or religion.

At its meeting in January 1949 in a special resolution the Executive Committee of the WFTU instructed the Secretariat to convene International Trade Conferences with the objective of establishing Trade Departments and to invite each of the International Trade Secretariats to join its efforts with the WFTU. As you know, the International

Trade Secretariats rejected once more our proposal of forming all-inclusive Trade Departments. This, however, did not stop the WFTU from proceeding to the execution of the decision to form Trade Departments just as the walk-out of Mr. Deakin, Carey and Kupers did not stop the general activity of the WFTU. Without much loss of time, we took practical organisational steps towards the accomplishment of the objectives which were unanimously adopted at the first Congress in 1945.

The aim of the Trade Departments is to unite in their ranks not only trade unions whose National Centres are affiliated to the WFTU, but national as well as local trade union organisations regardless of the affiliation of their National Centres. Thus, the objectives of the splitters to draw a line of division between the trade unions of different countries are counteracted and their manœuvres exposed. The conditions are created for extending and broadening unity and solidarity between trade unions of a given industry in all the countries of the world.

We are fully aware of the fact that the question of unity is not an abstract matter for the workers. On the contrary, it is closely connected with their daily struggle for the improvement of their economic and social conditions, with the struggle for their democratic rights and in defence of peace. By cementing unity in the factories in a given country, unity can be carried forward on to the national and international level. Yes—the unity of workers from the factory to the international level is the aim and objective of the Trade Departments.

The Trade Departments will embrace not a few European industrial countries but trade union organisations of all continents. This will strengthen fraternal cooperation and class solidarity of the workers of all lands. The Trade Departments will become centres of unity and centres of struggles for improvement of the economic and social conditions of the working men and women everywhere. The trade unions affiliated to the Departments faithful to their programme and in execution of it will lead the struggle for higher standard of living, for full employment, equal pay for equal work, insurances against unemployment, illness, accidents at work, for old age pensions, paid holidays, for shorter working days, for safety and hygiene at work and for adequate accommodation for workers. They will fight for special care for young workers and women as well as for the mother and child, for technical progress to be utilised to improve living and working conditions and not to increase the profits of capitalists to the detriment of workers.

The economic and social programme of the Trade Departments fully reflects the desires and objectives of the workers in all lands and therefore will rally them around the Departments including those countries where the National Centres are not at the present time affiliated to the WFTU.

The Trade Departments will defend the interests of the workers against attempt to curtail social and trade union rights and democratic liberties of the working men and women. The Trade Departments will unite workers all over the world in this struggle for economic

and social demands and in the fight against reaction, warmongers, and for lasting peace. The Trade Departments will coordinate and therefore strengthen the action of workers in a given industry. Such coordination and unity will also strengthen the struggle for the accomplishment of the programme of the WFTU. The Trade Departments will be channels through which workers in their struggle for partial economic and social demands—demands which are understandable by all workers, including those who are not fully class conscious—will be linked with the struggle for the general objectives of the working class.

It is in the light of these objectives and tasks, that I would like to report to this Congress and evaluate the results of the first three International Trade Conferences of the Metal, Textile and Leather workers that have been held just a few days ago.

The preparatory work for these Conferences began when the Provisional Organising Committees met in the first days of April in Paris and issued calls for the Conferences. The invitations and appeals, together with the draft agenda and other documents were addressed not only to the organisations whose National Centres are affiliated, but also to many individual, national and local unions in many countries regardless of their affiliation. In a number of countries—in spite of the short space of time—the calls received wide publicity, workers discussed the issues confronting the Conferences at mass meetings in factories.

However, in some countries insufficient attention was paid to the preparatory work for the Conferences, the objectives and aims, indicated in the calls for the Conferences were not sufficiently popularized.

There were also other countries such as USA and Great Britain where the news of the convening of the Constituent Trade Conferences were not made known at all to the workers. This news was suppressed by reformist trade union leaders because of their fear that workers by learning of those Conferences would put into an embarrassing position the mis-leaders of labour.

The Metal, Textile and Leather Trade Conferences were successful—in spite of all these difficulties. They were attended by representatives of a considerable number of countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well as Australia. Thus, from the very beginning, these Conferences assumed a world-wide character. The foundation for the extension of their activities and the securing of additional affiliations has been laid. At all Conferences, proper leadership for the Trade Departments were elected, general regulations adopted, as well as an economic and social programme, embracing the basic demands of the workers of those industries. The Conferences also issued manifestos calling in simple and comprehensible words to the workers of a given industry for unity of action, to obtain better working and living conditions, to preserve democratic liberties and to ensure a better future by winning the battle for peace. The manifesto urged workers of the Metal, Textile and Leather Industries to strengthen the trade unions and to work for collaboration with the Trade Departments, which are open to all trade union organisations—national and local—without any exceptions and on the broadest democratic basis—because all the workers have the same aspirations and nothing divides them.

I am confident that this Congress will be interested to know some details of the Conferences already held.

The Constituent Trade Conference of Metal and Engineering Trade Industries held at Turin, was attended by 62 delegates from 17 countries, representing a total of 7,536,700 metal and engineering workers. The following countries were represented there: France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Trieste, Luxembourg, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Australia, India, Venezuela, Czechoslovakia, Holland, USSR. In addition, representatives of metal workers of Great Britain, Canada, Finland and Belgium attended the Conference as observers. The delegates of China, South and North Korea and Japan could not attend the Conference because they had not received Italian visas. The same applies to the delegates from Bulgaria. The delegates elected an Administrative Committee of 11 members. The President of the committee is Comrade Roveda (Italy), the Vice Presidents are Comrades Berezine (USSR) and Thornton (Australia). The Secretary is Comrade Jourdain (France). The headquarters of the Department will be in Paris.

The Constituent Conference of the Trade Department of Leather Workers was held in the same time at Gottwaldov in Czechoslovakia. This Conference was attended by 35 delegates and 16 observers from 16 countries. The delegates represented 691,750 organised workers coming from the following countries: France, Italy, Germany, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, USSR, Bulgaria, South Africa, China, Mongolia, Uruguay, Viet-Nam. The Leather workers from the USA, Guatemala and Korea sent telegrams of greetings, declaring their solidarity with the decisions of the Conference. An administrative Committee of 9 members was elected. Comrade Maurice (France) is President and Comrade Pfeiferova (Czechoslovakia) is Secretary. The headquarters of the Department will be in Prague.

The Constituent Conference of the Textile and Clothing Workers Trade Department took place in Lyon. This Conference was attended by 40 delegates of 11 countries and by 2 observers representing 3,115,417 trade unionists. The countries represented were the following: France, Italy, Holland, Spain, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Venezuela, South Africa. The delegates of China, Germany and Yugoslavia could not attend the conference as they had not received French visas. Bulgarian and Albanian representatives were also unable to come; these five countries, however, sent telegrams declaring their complete solidarity with the decisions of the Conference. An Administrative Committee of 11 members was elected, at the head of which as President is Comrade Tereza Noce (Italy), as Vice-Presidents, Comrade Mouraviova (USSR) and Comrade Aubert (France), and as Secretary Comrade Burski (Poland). Warsaw will be the headquarters of the Department.

The leadership elected at these conferences include representatives of the countries of five continents. If for one reason or another the representatives of a given country were unable to come to the Conference a place for them has been reserved—or the Administrative Committee was empowered to co-opt additional members. This clearly indicates, that the delegates of these Conferences were conscious of

the fact, that they are laying foundation for a movement which is to embrace trade union organisations of the whole world.

The delegates at all these three conferences discussed freely all their problems, the problems of workers of a given industry. In addition to it, the delegates brought forward issues and problems common to all the workers. Delegates from different trade unions discussed questions of defence of peace, democratic liberties and the struggle against reaction and fascism. They pointed out that international solidarity between workers is indispensable in the struggles that the workers are confronted with—and is particularly necessary in view of the growing danger of war and economic crisis.

At the Textile Conference, for instance, where I had the honour of representing the Executive Bureau of the WFTU, Comrade Alice Brisset, Secretary of the French Federation of Clothing Workers, told the Conference about the disastrous effects of the Marshall Plan for the clothing industries of France. She pointed out that in 1945-1946, according to the Monnet Plan, the elementary needs in clothes of a French citizen after the years of war were established in the following way : 2 sets of underclothes, one dress and one working dress a year, one suit every 2 years, one coat every 3 years. In order to cover those elementary needs it would have been necessary to engage 150,000 additional clothing workers.

But instead of the Monnet Plan, the Marshall Plan was accepted, the plan for the reduction of French industry in favour of imported American products. And because of this policy of shrinking the internal market a well-qualified French worker can now afford a suit every 4 years, a coat every 10 years and sheets for his bed only once every 20 years. But even those scarce needs are covered—due to the Marshall Plan—not by products of French industry, but by imported American articles. Thus, Alice Brisset, laid down very clearly, that the Marshall Plan is the cause of mass unemployment and misery among the French clothing workers.

Those and similar facts are now well understood by the rank and file trade unionists in France, as well as in other capitalist countries—regardless of their political affiliation. This example clearly indicates, how political maturity of the workers is growing in the process of their every day struggle for economic demands. The Trade Departments, by giving appropriate form and means for such struggle on a world-wide scale, will become very important factor in raising the political consciousness of workers to a higher level.

The Conference of Textile and Clothing Industry Workers was fortunate in that a large number of workers' delegations came to greet the Conference directly from the shops. In greeting the Conference, they informed the delegates at the same time about their problems and their demands, thus indicating quite clearly that the workers of Lyon saw in the creation of the Trade Department a rallying centre for unity and struggle. This also greatly stimulated the work of the Conference itself.

The task that follows from the Conferences is very clear. The decisions reached at the Conferences must be broadly popularized among the workers everywhere. Special pamphlets and other documents must be issued at once. It will assist trade unionists of Great Britain, USA, Scandinavia and other countries which were not represented at the

Conferences, as well as those whose delegates attended the Conference, to clearly understand the aims and objectives of the Trade Departments of the WFTU. It will therefore rally support for the Departments and for their programme. The necessity of the Trade Departments as an instrument of international trade union solidarity needs no elaboration at this Congress.

I am happy to inform this Congress that immediately after its adjournment the Constitutive Conference of the Maritime Trade Department will begin in Marseilles. At the same time the Miners Conference will be held in Florence and the Building Trade Conference here in Milan.

Besides this, from August 12th-16th in Warsaw will be held the International Conference of the already existing Teachers Trade Department of the WFTU. This fact should not be underestimated. It shows clearly, that intellectual workers, such as teachers, are joining their efforts with the working class in the common struggle for peace and social progress.

In order to proceed with the formation of further Trade Departments, provisional organisational committees for the convening of Constituent Conferences of trade unions in the petroleum, transport excluding maritime industry, agriculture and forestry, and food industries as well as postal, telegraph and radio workers will meet during this Congress in order to set time and place of the Conference and issue a call for it.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee which reviewed the Conferences already held for the creation of Trade Departments it was considered that the name "Trade Department" did not fully correspond to the tasks and aims set for these bodies. The Secretariat was therefore instructed to consider another name for these organisations and, in the name of the Secretariat, I have pleasure in proposing that in future these bodies should be known as. "Trade Unions International" (Trade Department of the WFTU) as for instance Miners Trade Unions International (Trade Department of the WFTU).

Comrades, as you can see from this report, the resolution of the January meeting of the Executive Committee is being put into effect. Before the end of this year we will have 12 functioning Trade Departments of the WFTU and preparatory work for other Departments will have begun.

I would like to take this opportunity to express appreciation to the National Trade Union Centres of these countries, where the Conferences have been held or will be held for their cooperation and valuable assistance in organising and carrying them through.

We already have experience of organising 3 Departments, a very valuable experience indeed. We learnt much from these Conferences and if there were some shortcomings, they can be very easily overcome in the future.

I address myself to all National Centres and to all those who want to realise international trade union unity in urging them to give maximum attention to the Teachers' Conferences and to the 5 others Conference that will be held this year. Without the assistance of the National Centres and of all the supporters of the WFTU, the Conferences cannot be as effective and fruitful as they deserve to be.

To assure the success of the Conferences it is an absolute necessity that appeals for the Conference and issues confronting them should be thoroughly, democratically discussed at trade union meetings in the factories and shops, and in the trade union press. On the basis of the proposals that will come from the workers the delegates from each and every country should bring concrete suggestions to these Conferences.

Such a procedure will immensely enrich every Constituent Trade Conference. It will focus the attention of the workers of different countries on the work of the Conferences.

In the preparatory work for the Conferences, not only the Secretariat of the WFTU, but every affiliated Centre, every trade union should find a way to inform trade unionists about those conferences in the countries where the leadership has broken the bonds of the international solidarity of the workers. They should urge the corresponding trade unions of those countries to send delegates or observers to such Conferences. We frankly and sincerely declare to trade unionists everywhere, that they are welcome to participate in such Conferences and to present their point of view. We feel that the exchange of opinions will help to eliminate misunderstanding and misrepresentation, which the splitters are peddling among the workers, sowing animosity against the overwhelming majority of the trade unions of the world.

Comrades, from all I have said it is clear that the WFTU has taken energetic steps toward realisation of the January resolution of the Executive Committee.

The formation of the Trade Departments is the fulfilment of the aspirations of the workers of the whole world, of colonial and capitalist countries, and of those of the People's Democracies and of the Soviet Union. The Trade Departments by strengthening the unity of the workers in the different industries are strengthening the foundations of our great organisation—the WFTU.

Forward to the building of powerful, all-inclusive Trade Departments of the WFTU!

Let us raise higher the banner of international working class solidarity and of trade union unity throughout the world!

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). After Comrade Gebert's report we shall open the discussion on the reports made by Di Vittorio and Gebert.

I call on Comrade Pfeiferova, General Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Leather, Shoe, Fur and Leather Goods Workers.

K. PFEIFEROVA (*Czechoslovakia*). Comrades,

The Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the initiative of the WFTU and its efforts to realise the 13th Article of its Constitution concerning the creation of Trade Departments. In the organisation of the workers of the individual professions and branches of production we see a great

possibility for the extension of the activity of the WFTU in the interests of the working people.

It will be necessary to explain to all workers, why the Trade Departments of the WFTU are being set up only today, four years after the creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We must make it clear to them that the leaders who remained faithful to the splitting traditions of the policy of the Amsterdam International, serving the capitalists, made all possible difficulties in order to maintain the bureaucratic apparatus of the old internationals, with the help of which they wanted to split the unity of the trade unions and to hinder the work of the WFTU.

I now want to say a few words about the newly created Trade Department of leather workers. Czechoslovakia had the honour of having the Constituent Conference of the Leather Workers Trade Department take place on its soil, in Gottwaldov, which is the centre of our leather industry. At the founding of the Trade Department of Leather, Shoe, Fur and Leather Goods workers, delegates from 16 countries and all continents were present. Four other countries sent approving cables and expressed their regret, that for difficulties prevailing in their countries they could not be present at the Conference. Those were the progressive trade unionists of the United States, Southern Korea and Guatemala. The delegates of Northern Korea could not arrive because of the lack of time and sent the Conference a message of greetings. The Conference received many fraternal greetings from various countries, from France, Germany and others. The Conference took place in a great spirit of international solidarity, friendship and mutual understanding and very seriously discussed the programme and Constitution of the Trade Department. It democratically elected the Administrative Committee of the Department, on which 9 countries are represented: France, Italy, The Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Uruguay and South Africa. The General Secretary of the French Union of Leather Workers, Comrade Maurice, that well-known and experienced trade unionist and devoted fighter for trade union unity was unanimously elected as President of the Trade Department.

The Conference sent an appeal to all leather workers of the world and we set out the tasks to be achieved in the immediate future.

The Conference resolved that the Trade Department of leather-workers should have its headquarter in Czechoslovakia and I can assure the Congress and all member of the WFTU, that our Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will assist the Secretariat of the Trade Department in its responsible work, to the best of its ability.

Comrades, the fruitful and effective work of the Trade Departments will require the closest cooperation between the unions concerned in the various countries. The workers of each country are vitally interested in the life and work of their comrades in other countries. They have many common problems and worries and that is why they understand each other. The Trade Departments of the WFTU must be a firm bond between them and above all, must be the organiser of solidarity in the struggle for a better life, for the right to work, trade union rights and social demands.

At this Congress, we have heard delegates from countries, where the people are fighting against the imperialist aggressors. We have heard of the sufferings of workers in the colonial countries. It will be the great task and honourable mission of the Trade Departments to acquaint the workers of free countries, but above all the workers of the imperialist States, with the life their class brothers are forced to lead in the oppressed countries and how they struggle for their very existence.

The great teachers of the international working class have always reminded us that the workers of countries oppressing other nations cannot be free themselves. This truth is now being brought home to the workers of America and England, where unemployment is growing and the best leaders of the working class movement are being persecuted. Therefore it is very much in the interest of the workers of those countries to express their solidarity with the oppressed peoples in the colonial countries and to contribute to their liberation.

The well organised work and activities of the Trade Departments, founded on collective cooperation and responsibility, will spur trade unionists of all branches to a still more active fight for the interests of the workers. Such work on the part of the Trade Departments will greatly assist the WFTU in carrying out its great tasks. It will help to unmask the warmongers and their profits, and will greatly contribute towards defending world peace. The old internationals were tools to sap the strength of the working class in the interests of the capitalists. The WFTU and its Trade Departments are the only true organisations of the working class and an expression of their solidarity. Let us do everything to ensure that the working masses will turn to the WFTU with confidence and that it may fulfil, what the working class expects from it. Let us strengthen trade union unity for our successful struggle for a better future for the working class.

Workers let us work for the development of the activity of the Trade Departments, under the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). I call on Comrade Yefanov of the USSR.

P. YEFANOV (*USSR*). Comrades,

Yesterday from this rostrum, Comrade Di Vittorio spoke about the creation of Trade Departments. He showed by examples the necessity for the Trade Union Internationals of workers by branch of industry.

As we know, the WFTU delayed the creation of Trade Departments for more than three years; creation which had been decided on at its Constituent Congress.

In connection with this fact, we must say a few words about the bureaucrats of the International Trade Secretariats and the bosses of the TUC and CIO. Everybody now knows that the delay caused in creating the Trade Departments is imputable to them. In fact, the leaders of the CIO absolutely refused to apply the decisions of the

WFTU Congress concerning the creation of Trade Departments. As subsequent events showed, they were simply engaged in attempting to sow division in the ranks of the WFTU and in destroying the unity of the workers.

Reviving the ITS, they secretly assisted their leaders to sabotage the negotiations with the WFTU concerning the creation of Trade Departments, and at the same time they declared that if the Secretariats did not participate in the work of the Trade Departments, the British Trade Unions would not enter the Trade Departments, and could not remain in the ranks of the WFTU.

By playing this double game, the leaders in question sought to find a pretext to leave the WFTU. The proposal made by the TUC General Council, which demanded that the WFTU stop all activity confirms this. The principal reason put forward as basis of this proposal was the refusal of the ITS to cooperate with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The leaders of the ITS, following the orders of the leaders of the TUC, made every effort to sabotage the creation of the Trade Departments. The WFTU on many occasions requested the ITS to make proposals, to say on what conditions they would agree to enter the Trade Departments.

In September 1948, during the meeting of the Executive Bureau of the WFTU, it would have been possible, together with the ITS, to solve the problem of the entry of the Trade Secretariats into the WFTU and their cooperation, but the leaders of the TUC and the CIO did not want hundreds of thousands of workers to be united in the Trade Departments for the defence of their vital interests. The splitters announced that the ITS did not agree to cooperate with the WFTU in this field. For some time already the representatives were not in favour of working with the WFTU. The proof of this is provided by the declarations made by the General Secretary of the Transport Workers' ITS, Oldenbroek, at the first World Trade Union Congress, in September 1945, where he stressed that the International Transport Workers' Federation and the other existing International Trade Secretariats did not wish to accept Article 13 of the WFTU Constitution.

In September 1948, Deakin and Carey categorically refused to transmit the question of the Trade Department Regulations to the International Conferences of the various branches of industry. Pursuing their splitting activity, the leaders of the ITS, the CIO and the TUC reached the point of banning the trade unions of the People's Democracies and of all countries which did not agree with their policy, from taking part in their Conferences.

Thus Chester, General Secretary of the Boot and Shoe Operatives ITS wrote on 6th November 1946, in a circular letter concerning the ITS Conference, that trade unions which had a different point of view from that of the leadership of these Secretariats should not be invited to that Conference.

The attitude of the leaders of the ITS clearly shows that they never wished to cooperate honestly with the WFTU for the defence of the workers' interests.

In January of this year, as soon as the sabotage of the leaders of the CIO and the TUC had come to an end with their departure from the WFTU, the Executive Committee of the WFTU immediately set to work on the creation of Trade Departments.

Four Trade Departments have already been created and are at work. They are those of the metal and engineering industries, textile and clothing, leather and hides, and teaching.

Trade Unions of the countries of Europe, Asia, America, Africa and Australia are taking part in the work of these Departments. For the first time in the history of the international labour movement, a real union of workers by branch of industry has been achieved.

The Constituent Conferences of these Trade Departments showed the importance assumed by their organisation at the present time for the defence of the workers' interests in the various trades.

Comrades, I took part in the Metal Workers' Constituent Conference in Turin. It worked in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. An organisation was created which unites nearly ten million metal workers.

The metal workers of Turin welcomed with enthusiasm the creation of the Trade Department. They organised a demonstration in honour of the Conference.

The Trade Departments have been created on a widely democratic basis and their doors are open to all trade unions. We call on the workers of the United States, Britain, the Scandinavian Countries, Belgium and other countries, to unite in the Trade Departments.

It is necessary to intensify the international activity of the trade unions for the defence of the workers' interests for at the present time we are witnessing a very considerable deterioration in the conditions of the workers in the capitalist countries. Unemployment is rising, wages are falling and the living conditions of the workers are growing worse.

The situation demands the creation of very powerful links between the workers in the various branches of industry in the different countries.

All trade union organisations which wish to unite their efforts in the common struggle for the defence of their rights, to whatever Trade Union Centre they may belong, must be able to enter the Trade Departments.

These latter must have the opportunity of showing proof of initiative in defending the economic and social rights of the workers. The activity of the Trade Departments must correspond to the aims and principles of the WFTU which represents the interests of the workers as a whole.

The Trade Departments must give themselves the tasks of :—

—defending the trade union, economic and social rights of the workers,

—fighting for the improvement of their living conditions; to obtain the guarantee of employment;

—fighting for the reduction of hours of work and for full employment;

—fighting against discrimination practised in labour legislation for reasons of race, sex, age, etc.;

—fighting for the introduction of a system of social insurance benefiting all workers;

—fighting to obtain annual holidays with pay;

—fighting for the improvement of working conditions in the enterprises and for the development of vocational training.

The Trade Departments which range themselves in defence of the essential interests of the workers, will draw in large sections of the workers; they will assist trade union organisations to develop themselves and the WFTU to rally round itself the working masses.

The Soviet delegation proposes the endorsement of the activity of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and the Secretariat relating to the creation of Trade Departments.

The new Executive Committee and the new Executive Bureau must, with the shortest possible delay, arrange for the holding of the Constituent Conferences of the Trade Departments envisaged by the Congress.

The Soviet delegation expresses its conviction that the creation of Trade Departments will make it possible for the WFTU to accomplish the tasks which fall to it still more effectively.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD ! LET US RAISE EVER HIGHER THE BANNER OF STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORKERS' LIVING CONDITIONS, FOR THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES AND FOR A LASTING PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD !

(Hearty applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (J. Kolsky). I call on Comrade Raynaud to make an announcement on behalf of the Credentials Committee.

H. RAYNAUD (France). Comrades,

After taking note of the documents placed at its disposal and after hearing the statements of the various delegations which were confronted with special problems of representation, the Credentials Committee, composed of Comrades Rjanov (USSR), Raynaud (France), Grassi (Italy), Ocampo (Chile), Harustyak (Hungary), Blokziyl (Netherlands), Stoica (Rumania), Maschke (Germany), and Bozicevic (Yugoslavia), drew up the list of national trade union organisations adhering to the 2nd Congress and confirming their attachment to the WFTU.

It is particularly happy to inform you that 47 countries or organisations, with the impressive total of 71,786,515 members, have adhered to the 2nd Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. *(Applause.)*

But the Credentials Committee finds that a certain number of important delegations, such as that of China, Northern Korea,

Southern Korea, Uruguay, Mongolia, the Philippines, Panama, Burma and Columbia have been placed in a position of being unable to be present at the 2nd Congress and, consequently, of making known their point of view on the questions on the Agenda. The situation is the same as regards Japan, since General MacArthur has refused passports to the delegates of 6,700,000 trade unionists in that country.

The Indian trade union organisation, the AITUC, has been placed in a similar situation. The Committee has not, in fact, found it possible to give the mandate to a member of that Centre who is present in Milan, since the latter was not elected as a delegate or as a substitute.

We have drawn up a special list of all those organisations which for reasons beyond their control, with which capitalist reaction is not unconnected, are unable to be represented. You are aware that certain of them have been held up in Prague and have not been able, in spite of all their efforts, to get as far as Milan.

The Credentials Committee has, as far as the organisations present at the Congress are concerned, found itself faced with a certain number of cases in which the representation, either as delegates or as substitutes, is greater than that provided for by the Constitution.

It is clear that this situation is a result of the convening of a certain number of Trade Department Conferences, and also, during the Congress, of Preparatory Committees of other Trade Departments.

While respecting the Constitution and allowing each delegation only the Constitutional number of delegates and substitutes, the Credentials Committee proposes that the Congress should, as an exceptional case, accept these additional delegates as guests.

In addition to the 47 organisations, with a total of 225 delegates, namely: 166 full delegates, 37 substitutes, and 22 guests, present at the Congress, the Committee has the satisfaction of informing you that 16 other countries or organisations must be added to this number, represented by 27 observers.

Therefore, in total, the 2nd World Trade Union Congress brings together—either as statutory participants, or as observers—63 countries or trade union organisations, with 252 representatives.

To these figures must be added 4 representatives and 4 substitutes of the Trade Departments which have already been set up, namely: those of the Metal Workers, Textile Workers, Leather and Hides Workers, and Teachers.

We would also point out that among the guests we have a representative from the International Labour Office, from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, from the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, from UNO, from UNESCO and from the World Federation of Scientific Workers. The Women's International Democratic Federation has not sent in its credentials to the Committee but it must be mentioned as it is present.

I shall now give the list of the organisations adhering to the 2nd Congress of the WFTU, with their membership and their delegates. I would point out that this list will be typed and distributed to all the delegates at the Congress.

LIST A.—Organisations adhering to the 11nd Congress of the WFTU

COUNTRIES	TITLE OF ORGANISATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	DELEGATES				AUTHORISED ADDITIONAL GUESTS
			STATUTORY		PRESENT		
			del	sub	del	sub	
SOUTH AFRICA..	Non-European Trade Unions	119,000	1	1	1		
ALBANIA	General Union of TU's	64,000	1	1	1	1	
GERMANY	FDGB	5,049,000	20	4	18		
AUSTRALIA	Council of TU's	625,000	2	2	1		
BURMA	TUC	20,000	1	1			
BOLIVIA	CSTB	45,000					
BRAZIL	CTB	150,000	1	1	1	1	4
BULGARIA	Workers' Gen. Trades Union	750,000	2	3	3		
CEYLON	CTUF	20,230	1	1	1		
CHILE	CGT	200,000	1	1	1		
CHINA	All-China Fed. of Labour	3,500,000	14	4			
CYPRUS	Pancyprian Fed. of Labour	13,200	1	1	1	1	1
COLUMBIA	CWC	200,000	1	1			
N. KOREA	Fed. of TU's	467,000	2	2			
S. KOREA	"	252,000	1	1			
COSTA-RICA	CTCR	50,000	1	1	1		
CUBA	CWC	500,000	2	2	2		
SPAIN	UGT Paris	31,250	1	1	1	1	
FINLAND	TU Confed.	260,000	1	1	1		
FRANCE	CGT	5,100,000	20	4	20	2	
GREECE	Gen. Confed. of Labour				1		
GUATEMALA	CWG	50,000	1	1	1	1	
HUNGARY	Central TU Council	1,600,000	7	4	6	2	
INDIA	AITUC	600,000	2	2			
ITALY	CGIL	5,588,366	22	4	22	4	3
ISRAEL	Gen. Fed. of Jewish Lab.	250,000	1	1	1	1	3
»	Arab Workers' Congress	20,000	1	1	1	1	
JAPAN	Zen-Ro-Ren	6,700,000	27	4			
LEBANON	TUF of Workers and Employees	25,570	1	1	1		
LUXEMBOURG ..	Fed. of Free TU's	10,000	1	1	1		
MEXICO	Gen. Un. of Workers and Peasants	500,000	2	2	2		
MONGOLIA	Central Council of TU's	28,000	1	1			

COUNTRIES	TITLE OF ORGANISATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	ELEGATES			AUTHORISED ADDITIONAL GUESTS
			STORY	PRESENT		
				sub	del	
NETHERLAND ...	EVG	170,000	1	1	1	
PANAMA	Workers' TUF	25,000	1			
PHILIPPINES ...	CLO	100,000				
POLAND	Cent. TU Commission	3,500,000				
N. RHODESIA	Mine Workers' Union	3,000				
RUMANIA ..	CGT	1,716,279				
CZECHO- SLOVAKIA	Cent. Council of TU's	3,000,000				
TRIESTE ..	United Trade Unions	80,000				
TUNISIA ...	USTT	33,000				
	UGTT	56,370				
USSR	AUCCTU	28,500,000				1
URUGUAY ..	Gen. Workers' Union	40,000				3
VIET-NAM ..	CGT	258,000				
YUGOSLAVIA	United TU's of Workers et Employees	1,500,000				
SYRIA	Workers' Congress	17,250				
		71,786,515				

I would remind you that the following are participating organisations which are unable to be represented—their delegations not being able to reach Milan :—

LIST B.—Affiliated organisations not present

COUNTRIES	TITLE OF ORGANISATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	NUMBER OF STATUTORY DELEGATES	
			del	sub
BURMA	TUC	20,000	1	1
CHINA	All-China Fed. of Labour	3,500,000		
N. KOREA	Fed. of TU's	467,000	2	2
S. KOREA	»	252,000	1	1
COLUMBIA	CWC	200,000	1	1
INDIA	AITUC	600,000		
PHILIPPINES ..	CLO	100,000		1
JAPAN	Zen-Ro-Ren	6,700,000	27	4
PANAMA	Workers' TUF	25,000	1	1
MONGOLIA ...	Central Council of TU's	28,000	1	1
URUGUAY	Gen. Workers' Union	40,000	1	1

The following is the list of countries or organisations which have sent observers.

LIST C.—Organisations with observers

COUNTRIES	TITLE OF ORGANISATION	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	NUMBER OF OBSERVERS
S. AFRICA	Trade Council	140,000	3
ARGENTINE ...	Opposition Movement		1
FINLAND	TU of Metal Workers		1
NEW ZEALAND.	Waterside Workers' Union	6,000	1
CANADA	United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (Toronto)	25,000	1
BELGIUM			5
PAKISTAN			1
CEYLON			1
ECUADOR			1 fraternal
ICELAND			1 delegate
GUATEMALA ..	TUF		1
VENEZUELA ..	United Oil Workers' Trade Union	25,000	3
»	Workers' Fed.	35,000	3
»	of State of Anzoategui Workers' Fed. of State of Miranda		2
AUSTRALIA ...			1
AUSTRIA			1
			27

LIST D.—Trade Departments

DELEGATES SUBSTITUTES

Leather and Hides.....
Metal
Textile

In conclusion, the Credentials Committee feels it its duty to ask the Congress that, in the future, the drawing up of credentials shall be the object of very great attention on the part of participating organisations.

It is indeed regrettable, particularly in view of the possible meeting of a certain number of preparatory conferences of Trade Departments, that the majority of the lists of delegates do not give the detailed and necessary information on the titles, functions and trades of all the members of the delegations.

We suggest that in the future every arrangement should be made to

establish uniform and model credentials and that now each delegation head should hand in to the Secretariat the information which is required as to the title and trade of each of his respective delegates. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). Thankyou Comrade Raynaud. I hope the Congress endorses his statement and that there are no objections. (*Applause.*)

The next speaker is Comrade Jourdain (France) who will speak in the name of the Metal Workers' Trade Department.

H. JOURDAIN (*Secretary of the Metal and Engineering Industries Trade Department*). Comrades, the representatives of the Trade Departments already constituted and present at the Congress have met together and they have charged me to speak on the following points :—

The creation of the Trade Departments corresponds to the expectations of the workers of the whole world. There is no doubt that they will be grateful to the WFTU for having commenced practical achievement in this field.

It is incontestable that the establishment and functioning of the Trade Departments will reinforce the position of the WFTU in its work of unifying the world trade union movement.

It is also incontestable that the economic and social programmes of the Trade Departments will supply a concrete and additional platform for the international rallying of the workers.

Through the Trade Departments, new conditions of mutual assistance and solidarity between the workers will be added to those already present through the existence and activity of the WFTU.

Through the Trade Departments, the working masses of the world will feel to an even greater extent the assistance, the presence and the action of the WFTU.

Finally, the international trusts will be faced with organisations better able to defeat their anti-labour and anti-national action.

Basing themselves on the experience of their Constituent Conferences, the representatives of the TD agree with the modification of the title of the TD along the lines proposed by Comrade Gebert in his report namely : " Trade Unions Internationals " for the various industries.

They consider that such a title is more within the grasp of the great mass of the workers. This title will help the workers to see better what it is all about both from the point of view of the form of the international trade organisation and from the point of view of its aims.

In addition, this denomination exactly corresponds to our conception of the work of the Trade Departments which must not become bodies with a tendency to overlap the administration of the WFTU but must be active bodies devoid of all bureaucracy.

The Conferences of the Trade Departments which have been set up, drew up their respective internal regulations on the basis of the General Regulations of the Trade Departments elaborated by the WFTU General Council in Prague, in 1947.

The Constituent Conferences of the Metal Workers, Textile Workers, and Leather and Hides Workers trade unions laid the foundations of the corresponding Trade Departments.

Other Conferences will be held, and it will be the responsibility of

the Trade Departments to apply the decisions of their respective Conferences and those of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress.

Consequently, the Trade Departments are faced with several immediate tasks. It is necessary for them:—1) to publicise everywhere the appeals to the workers issued by the Constituent Conferences, to circulate everywhere their economic and social programmes and to make known their internal regulations; 2) to work for the achievement of complete workers' unity in the framework of each Trade Department.

It is very clear that these tasks can only be achieved with the assistance of the WFTU and the different National Centres concerned in each country.

Certainly the TD will have to carry out tasks within their special province, but their carrying-out cannot be considered as the exclusive work of the Trade Department "specialists" but as the work of all the National Centres of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In view of the structural differences between the National Centres, there is no doubt that problems of delimitation will arise, as soon as the Trade Departments are set up, regarding the structural organisation of the Trade Departments.

On this point we think that the Congress would be well-advised to leave it to the Executive Committee of the WFTU to examine each case, so that it can proceed by means of recommendations.

In conclusion, with the aim of making it possible for the Trade Departments already set up to speedily establish their organisation and begin functioning, we think it useful to ask the heads of the delegations present at the Congress to supply on the spot to the Secretariat of the Congress—in accordance with the questionnaires which have been handed to them—the names and addresses of trade union leaders and organisations belonging to the WFTU and which, in that case, are automatically affiliated to their respective Trade Departments.

We also feel it necessary to ask them to supply the greatest possible information on the addresses and names of trade union organisations or groups of workers which might affiliate to the WFTU Trade Departments and which are situated in countries where the National Centre does not belong to the WFTU.

Such are the organisational questions to which it is useful to reply as rapidly as possible, in order to inform the workers of the whole world of the aims and methods of the Trade Departments of the WFTU, and so as to work effectively for the achievement of the international unity of the workers and of world trade union unity. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). I call on Comrade Delanoue, representative of the International Trade Union Federation of Teachers.

P. DELANOUE (*Secretary of the Teachers' Trade Department*).

Comrades, in the name of the International Trade Union Federation of Teachers, I am happy to greet the decision which has recognised our organisation as one of the Trade Departments of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and I am happy to express our agreement with the reports made by Comrades Di Vittorio and Gebert, as well as with all the International Trade Departments.

The development of the trade union movement among Educational Workers is, as a world phenomenon, comparatively recent. For a long time, the members of the Teaching profession in capitalist or colonial countries believed that the development of the School, and consequently the improvement of their own situation, went hand in hand with technical and scientific progress, with the winning by humanity of new conquests which should be put at the disposal of all peoples. They expected, through the good will of the authorities or governments, the wiping out of illiteracy, the creation of primary, secondary, technical and advanced schools, as well as the improvements of their wages and living conditions.

But many have realised that the capitalist regime, in its period of decline, sacrifices the School and lowers the living conditions of the Educational worker whom it turns into a simple executant whom it asks to prepare technically and ideologically the labour of which it has need.

In order to defend their wages and working conditions, to obtain respect for their stability of employment and to develop a progressive conception of Education, the educational workers have been obliged to employ the well-tested methods of struggle of the whole of the working class and, often to join its ranks. In Paris and in Dakar, in New York as in many provinces in India, they have made use of the strike weapon, either by themselves, or with other employees, in order to defend their material standard of living while at the same time, in the People's Democracies, it was shown that the construction of a New Education and the transformation of the social condition of the educational workers was one of the aspects of the action of the working class and the forces of progress in the construction of a socialist society.

Particularly since the end of the second world war, educational workers have felt the need for united and coordinated action on an international scale. We wanted to find out the possibilities, after the defeat of the forces of fascism, of working for the education of the new generations in a new spirit and of obtaining a democratic education in each country corresponding to the national development of each people. Bearing in mind that in the first place working class action was indispensable, we brought together the old organisations of the teaching profession which had been considerably developed, including the former International Trade Secretariat, and we asked for our integration into the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions as a Trade Department. We asked, as a necessity and an honour, for the discipline of the labour movement.

For the past three years, however, we have come up against the hostility of those who wished to make the former International Trade Secretariats into an element of division if the international forces of labour. For three years our Unified Teachers' International has lived without administrative and financial bases for we did not want an organisation separate from that of the WFTU. For three years our activity has been limited mainly to the exchange of information and the organisation of international meetings. Consequently you can imagine our stupefaction when at the September 1948 Conference we heard the declaration of the rupture of the International Trade Secretariats with

the World Federation of Trade Unions. Our representatives—whatever their personal opinions on other problems—unanimously expressed their disagreement with the attitude of the splitters.

Comrades, we are very grateful to the World Federation of Trade Unions for having recognised us as its first Trade Department, and this will be a decisive element in our own activity.

But we shall encounter many difficulties.

In spite of the progress achieved, many members of the education profession have not the clear views of the working class on the conditions of social struggle. The education which they received in the schools of the bourgeoisie, their living and working conditions, constitute a constant obstacle which they must overcome by a sometimes difficult effort. The class struggle is very often a struggle in the educationalists own conscience, and we need all your support.

Our comrade Nebahet Bakiri told you, during the discussion on the reports made by comrades Kuznetsov and Santi, of the way in which we intend to work with the people's organisations, with the parents and pupils, for the education of youth in a spirit of peaceful collaboration between the peoples, while respecting everything that the national genius of each of them has contributed to the common heritage of humanity.

It is in this spirit that we are preparing our Fourth International Conference which will be held in Poland, at Warsaw, from the 12th to the 17th of this coming August, and which will be the first official Conference of our Trade Department. We are asking each National Centre to assist us in the preparation of this Conference. Generally speaking, the organisational measures valid for the other Trade Departments are applicable to our own. There are in many countries progressive organisations of educational workers which are not always trade unions but which are nevertheless interested in our work. Put down their addresses on the lists of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Assist us to establish professional contacts, to exchange our experiences.

There is not, at the moment, any other international trade union organisation for Education than that of the WFTU. There is no Trade Secretariat. But the adversaries of the working class and of progress are making considerable efforts to drag backwards the educational workers' organisations in capitalist and colonial countries in order to isolate them from the labour movement, to disturb the conscience of the educationalist, to make him forget what he learned in the fight against fascism, the enemy of all culture and education.

With the support of the World Federation of Trade Unions, thanks to its action for the unity of all the workers without distinction as to race, religion, or political opinions, we have entered with optimism and confidence into this combat to place all the wealth of the world—including that of culture—at the disposal of all men. (*Prolonged applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). I call on Comrade Guidi of the Italian delegation.

E. GUIDI (Italy). Comrades, there is no need to illustrate the necessity of speeding up the constitution of the International Trade Departments through the convening of International Constituent Conferences organised under the aegis of the WFTU, attended by the representatives of the workers of every country.

The setting-up of these Trade Departments—in accordance with Article 13 of the Constitution of the WFTU—will without doubt (as Comrades Gebert and Di Vittorio clearly said in their reports) make an important contribution to the greater strengthening of the international unity of the workers.

The WFTU will in this way be able to complete its organic structure through the vertical organisation of each branch of activity—a real necessity, particularly at this time when the great trusts, which have financial and economic bases in many countries, have the opportunity of neutralising the trade union action of the workers in a given country by expanding production in the factories situated in other States.

We had a practical example in this connection, in Italy, during the great struggle which the chemical industry workers carried on for 79 days to weaken the resistance of the employers—a resistance determined exclusively by political reasons—towards the economic and trade union demands of the workers. The Solway Company—a soda-production trust—and the Michelin Company, which possesses factories both in Belgium and France, sought to neutralise our action by means of the importation of products.

As regards the constitution of the International Trade Departments, and particularly that for the chemical industry, some concrete proposals have been drawn up by our organisation in agreement with the representatives of Russian, French and Austrian chemical workers who took part in the IIIrd National Congress of the Italian Federation of Chemical Industry Workers. I was instructed by them to inform the World Congress of the urgency of the need for the constitution of an International Trade Department for Chemical Industry Workers.

Firstly, this constitution should be carried out by appointing a Provisional Committee during the Congress, charged with arranging in agreement with the WFTU, for the convening and organisation of the International Conference of this trade.

Secondly, we are concerned to ensure the participation in the Conference of the representatives of chemical industry workers in all countries of the world, even of those whose Trade Union Centres—obedient to the orders of national and international capitalism—have broken away from the WFTU.

We reached agreement with the representatives of the Soviet, Austrian and French chemical industry workers that in addition to the invitation which the WFTU will send to the Trade Union Centres, the Provisional Committee should make an announcement in the press so as to inform all the workers in the chemical industry throughout the world of the convening of the Conference and of the social and economic aims which it has set itself. In this way decisive action could be exercised over the leaders who do not wish to support this. Naturally, the Provisional Committee, directly or through the WFTU,

must work together to invite all the organisations belonging to the trade in each country.

Thirdly, the International Constituent Conference of the Trade Department of Chemical Industry Workers must take place if possible during this year.

Fourthly, the representatives of the Soviet, French and Austrian chemical industry workers proposed that the Conference should take place in Italy.

The Congress will certainly understand the importance and urgency of setting up the International Trade Department of the chemical industry which, in addition to the fact that it will make an effective contribution to the fight for the defence of trade union and democratic liberties and for the amelioration of the workers' living conditions, can play a decisive part in the defence of peace.

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). The last person down to speak on the reports made by Comrades Di Vittorio and Gebert is Comrade Di Stefano of the Italian delegation.

M. DE STEFANO (*Italy*). Comrades, this Congress has condemned all the splits which took place within the WFTU; it has sought for and analysed their reasons and causes, and it has established where lies the truth and where lies the falsehood.

But the Congress has not contented itself with evaluating the harmful activity carried on by the enemies of the WFTU when they were working within its ranks to delay the creation of the Trade Departments and their development. The enemies knew that the real links between the WFTU and the international proletariat were represented by the Trade Departments which could put into practice the instructions of the World Federation of Trade Unions, could publicise its actions and make it prosper. They knew that in attacking or eliminating these centres, the WFTU would be a body with a brain and a heart, but without muscle and without blood.

Today, we have to recognise that without these peripheral bodies, the actions of the WFTU aimed at coordinating the international solidarity of one category of workers in favour of another is slow and the control of the situation is difficult, if not impossible.

Several Trade Departments have already been set up, and others will follow shortly. We hope that soon the organisation of all the trades will be achieved.

The trade centres must have an adequate technical apparatus with statistical bureaux determining the cost of living and the world development of production, the level of international wages of labour, commercial prices and the buying capacity of the international markets.

We must be in a position to hold our own against all the technical services of the various national federations of employers. Nor must we be inferior in the sectors of transport, credit, insurance and trade.

If capitalism is no longer fighting disunited, and if it believes itself able by its unity to defeat the workers on the international plan, let it not forget that the workers can also defend themselves united on an

international scale and that for this purpose the Trade Departments will represent as many sections of the proletariat.

If capitalism is able to line up its prices on the international and national markets, the Trade Departments must know how to establish wages in accordance with these prices.

By comparing the cost of labour in the different countries on the basis of the Trade Departments' data, differences in the living conditions of the workers can be analysed.

It will be seen that the living standards of the workers in socialist countries or in people's democracies which have achieved a socialist economy are very high, for this type of economy allows the community to take part in the production and the consumption of goods. It will also be seen that the living standards in countries with a free economy are in process of deteriorating. In countries where the capitalist system still prevails, the living standards of the workers can be improved only if the labour unions are strong and organised and act with dynamism against all the laws of the free enterprise economy.

In the States where the unions are strong and capable of facing up to the offensive of capitalism—which is never satisfied—it forces on the workers a hard and bitter struggle, claiming innocent victims in the working class.

The Congress salutes with gratitude all those who fell in the workers' cause.

Dishonour and shame cover all those who are responsible for the policy of the governments which, in our time, are still attempting to favour privilege and injustice, by betraying the ideal for which humanity suffered and fought in the terrible tragedy of the last war.

Flatteries, threats, privileges and injustice increase the workers' will to fight to obtain the complete change of existing economic systems by means of structural reforms.

We Italians are following this road with the consciousness that each victory is an international gain, that each success makes the road easier and increases the possibilities of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples.

We intend to give a greater impetus to trade union unity through the Trade Departments, to publicise socialist experiment, to advise on the application of the methods of struggle of the most progressive countries, and we shall collaborate effectively in the achievement of the plans of the WFTU.

Comrades, if for several categories of workers the Trade Departments represent a step forward, for the port and dock workers, they represent a necessity. The first workers to give their support to the international Centres were transport workers and particularly the dockers. Without international cooperation it is difficult for dockers and port workers to win a strike. I can assure you that in Italy, the dockers have responded to all the appeals of the WFTU; in particular, they refused to load arms destined for Greece.

Today, as for many weeks, Canadian ships have been held up in Italian ports, thanks to our solidarity with the Canadian workers who have been carrying on a bitter fight over a period of months. Everybody knows the causes of the strike: the owners of these ships intend to reduce the seamen's wages by about 30 or 50 dollars a month.

While the crews abandoned their posts, a pseudo trade union agreed to accept such a contract and it got together some makeshift dockers in order to send off some of the ships.

The International Transport workers Federation to which these Canadian workers belonged, when asked to show its solidarity with them, said that it could not interfere since it was a matter of two trade unions fighting each other; it thus ignored that every Trade Union Centre has above all the duty of defending the wages of its members. In spite of the ITF's lack of comprehension, the British dockers spontaneously demonstrated their solidarity and are now boycotting the boats.

There are other examples, such as the following. In 1945, the British dockers stopped an Italian ship which had unloaded its crew in order to take on fascists. The strike ended after 12 days on the intervention of the British Government which at that time sympathised with the Italian Government. The Italian dockers did not fail to assist the dockers of Marseille during their last strike. They gave them all the necessary support during this strike which lasted two weeks and which ended in a great victory for the trade.

The sea gives port workers and dockers an innate spirit of fraternity. The sea unites, not divides the peoples. If, while organised nationally, they are capable of such high social manifestations, once united in a single Trade Unions International, they will be able to obtain brilliant results and thereby to be in the van-guard of the trade union movement.

There is a great deal of work to be done for the dockers, and first of all there is that of raising the living standards of the colonial dockers, who are exploited in an outrageous manner.

On July 15th at Marseille, we shall found the Trade Department of port workers and dockers; on that occasion we shall welcome the American dockers of the Pacific coast who, in spite of the pressure exercised upon them, at the time of the recent CIO Congress remained faithful to the WFTU.

The task of the Trade Departments is extremely important. It is my opinion that the future of the WFTU depends on the Trade Departments. If they are capable of carrying on a struggle in concert with all the proletariat of the world, they will demonstrate that the WFTU is not the instrument of such and such a party, but that it is the real great united class trade union, that it fights against capitalism wherever it is manifested and with all the weapons at its disposal, without taking account of the political colour which the custodians of capital parade for the occasion. This trade union battle by the workers represents progress, civilisation, justice and the redemption of humanity which desires to live in peace and labour.

**LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT ! LONG LIVE THE WORLD
FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !**

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (J. Kolsky). Discussion is concluded on the reports presented by Comrades Di Vittorio and Gebert.

In order to save time, these Comrades will not come to the rostrum to draw conclusions from this discussion.

I propose that a commission should be organised which will draft a resolution on these reports.

Comrade Gebert is now going to speak on this subject.

B. GEBERT (*Assistant General Secretary of the WFTU*). Comrades, on behalf of the Praesidium, I would like to propose the following list for your consideration in making up the Commission which will examine and draft the resolution on this item of the Agenda:—

The representatives of the Metal Workers, Textile and Clothing Workers, Leather and Hides Workers and Teachers, the rapporteurs Di Vittorio and Gebert and the following countries: the Soviet Union, Latin America, Africa, Australasia and Germany.

THE CHAIRMAN (*J. Kolsky*). Are there any objections to Comrade Gebert's proposal?

Are there any observations?

The Congress therefore unanimously approves the composition of the said Commission.

Comrade Saillant will now announce to you the meeting times of the commissions.

We would again draw your attention to the fact that in the list of the various Trade Departments which has been distributed to the delegates, the Teachers' Trade Department has been omitted, and we request you to be good enough to make a note of this.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. It appears necessary to specify the coordination between the times of the Resolutions Commissions and the Committees which are to be held for the creation of Trade Departments, and the work of the Congress.

The Congress will resume its work in plenary session tomorrow at 9.30 a.m. It will examine the item on the Agenda dealing with trade union activity in the Asian, Australasian, African and Latin American countries.

The four Rapporteurs are Comrades Liu, Thornton, Le Léap and Lombardo Toledano.

Comrade Liu has been unable to come to Italy for reasons which you all know, but he took the precaution of sending us his report, and the Praesidium has obtained Comrade Thornton's agreement to presenting the reports of the Australasian and Asian countries in a single speech. Comrade Thornton told us that he had condensed Comrade Liu's report so that it will take him forty-five minutes to read at the maximum.

Comrade Le Léap will present his report. Since it is quite voluminous, it will be distributed to the delegates and Comrade Le Léap will confine himself to making a short introduction to it so as to save time.

Finally, Comrade Lombardo Toledano will also present his report. This afternoon, the Praesidium will examine a proposal from

the Standing Orders Committee, about which Comrade Thornton spoke to us this morning. Then Comrade Bitossi will speak on the problems of the migration of labour and equality of social rights for emigrant workers. As there have already been three reports on this subject, the Congress will therefore have the four reports before them for examination, and speakers can speak alternatively on each of the four reports if they so desire.

The Commission for the Resolution on the General Report of Activity has almost concluded its work. There is firstly the resolution on the activity itself, then the declaration which is to be sent to the British and American workers as well as to the other countries which are not represented in this Congress.

These documents could be ready during tomorrow. They will certainly be presented by the rapporteur to the Congress.

The Commission on the reports of Comrades Kuznetsov and Santi will meet this afternoon at 4 p.m.

The Commission which you have just appointed for the Trade Departments will meet immediately after the session.

I will remind you of its composition : representatives of the Trade Departments of Metal Workers, Textile Workers, Leather and Hides Workers, and Teachers, rapporteurs Di Vittorio and Gebert, and a representative of the Soviet Union, the Latin American countries, Africa, Australia and Germany.

It is thus necessary for each of these delegations to select its representative.

This afternoon at 3 p.m. there will be a meeting of the Organising Committee of the Transport Workers' Trade Department, excluding seamen and dockers, under the chairmanship of Comrade Rostovsky.

Also at 3 p.m. there will be a meeting of the Committee for the creation of an Oil Workers' Trade Department, under the chairmanship of Comrade Lombardo Toledano.

The meeting of the Provisional Organising Committee of the Food Industries Trade Department will take place at 3 p.m. under the chairmanship of Comrade Gebert.

We ask you to make a note of the fact that tomorrow morning at 10 a.m. there will be a meeting of the Organising Committee of the Forestry and Agricultural Workers' Trade Department, under the chairmanship of Comrade Di Vittorio.

Also tomorrow, will take place the meeting of the Organising Committee of the Postal, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio Workers' Trade Department.

THE CHAIRMAN declared the session adjourned.

SESSION OF 7th JULY 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of Emile Huunonen (Finland).

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huunonen*). We are going to consider the item on the agenda dealing with the work of the trade unions in Australia, Latin America and the Asian countries.

The first report will be given by Comrade Thornton of Australia, who will also present Liu Ning-I's report. (*Applause.*)

Trade union activity in the Asian and Australasian countries

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). I must inform Congress that comrade Liu Ning-I has been unable to come to Milan to attend the Congress owing to the refusal of his visa by the Italian government. He has, however, sent his report, and I will read a summary of this document, which has just been distributed among you.

(*Comrade Thornton then read a summary of the report *—hearty applause. Following this he went on to his own report*) :—

Australasia

The main problems of the Australian working class are the same as those of the workers all over the world, but the specific character of Australia, its economy, its political structure and tradition need to be understood to comprehend the particular tasks of the Australian trade union movement :—

Australia, a continent of approximately the same size as the USA, has a population of only seven millions, of whom only 60,000 remain of the original aborigine population. The great majority of the present population are Anglo-Saxons, having been born in the British Isles or are descendants of natives of Great Britain and Ireland.

The first Anglo-Saxons settled in Australia only in the last years of the 18th century and these first European inhabitants were mainly convicts deported from England for alleged crimes. The most famous of such deportees were the Tolpuddle Martyrs, a group of farm workers deported from England for organising a trade union. Such men together with the thousands of adventurous men who flocked to Australia in the middle of the 19th century in quest of gold, and who brought with them the great traditions of the European revolutions,

* The complete text figures in the Appendix.

helped to form the militant, aggressive tradition which is characteristic of the Australian working class.

The absence of peasant agriculture and the establishment of big sheep stations, where workers sheared the sheep under factory conditions, led to the early formation of strong trade union organisation on the sheep stations which was later linked with the organisations of the gold, silver and copper miners. The building workers and maritime workers also established early trade union organisations and the building workers led the struggle for the eight-hour day. With the growth of capitalist industry, metal, textile, leather and railway workers founded relatively big trade union organisations and today the main organisations are those of factory, mine, building and transport workers.

Compared with the size of the population, Australia now has a big working class. The total number of persons in employment in January 1949 was 2,409,000 (excluding rural, household domestic workers, and members of the armed forces). In this total are 51,000 miners, 826,000 factory workers and 311,000 transport workers. These are exceptional figures for a country with a population of only 7 millions and they help to explain the prominent role that the workers and their trade unions play in the life of the country.

In the main industries there is almost complete union organisation, the mining, building, marine transport and metal industries being particularly strong.

Taking advantage of the opportunities given in a new country, the trade unions have been able to enforce a relatively high standard of living, but of course as Australia is a capitalist country, this standard is periodically interrupted by mass unemployment, as was the case between 1929 and 1933, when up to 500,000 workers were unemployed, many of them for three and four years.

But the combination of favourable conditions and strong unions has resulted in the workers achieving a forty hour working week and standards of living higher than in most other capitalist countries. These standards are only maintained by frequent strikes, which in the last few years have tended to become bigger and longer. There have also been significant political strikes recently, the most important being the four-year old refusal of maritime workers to handle Dutch ships in order to aid the Indonesian people and the more recent embargoes on Greek and Spanish ships. A very successful strike of transport and metal workers was held last year which forced the Victorian state government to retreat when it attempted to cripple the unions with new legislation.

Australia originally was divided into a number of British colonies, but in 1901 the country was united into a federal system. The separate colonies became states, each with its own government, but a federal government was also established, which, with certain limitations, is the central government.

The main political party in the country is the Australian Labour Party, which has been the federal government since 1941, and which also controls the government of three of the six states. This party is not a socialist party, but fulfils the functions which liberal parties have carried out in other countries. Its aim has been to establish

Australia as an independent capitalist country not a socialist country. Demands made by the workers for nationalisation of industry are usually met by the excuse that the government has not the constitutional power to do this, but the real attitude of the Labour Party was shown when the Prime Minister Mr. Chifley made a public statement that even if the government had the power, it would not nationalise the steel industry, which is controlled by one monopoly.

In a formal sense, Australia is a politically independent nation. whose ties with Great Britain are of little importance but as Australia's economy is still mainly dependent on the export of wool and wheat, despite the growth of modern industry, and as Great Britain is the main customer for these products as well as for meat, butter, fruit, etc.. Australia is effectively tied to Britain economically. The result is that generally speaking the Australian government follows the British government faithfully in its political course. In recent years, as the British government has become a junior partner to American imperialism, the Australian government has become more and more under American influence. There has also been a growing penetration of American capital into Australia although this is not yet decisive in the national economy. The role of the various capitals in Australia's economy is as follows :—

Australian, British, American, in that order.

Australia, like the United States, suffered very little in the two world wars. It has never been invaded (except by the English themselves originally) and material losses have been confined in the two wars, to the loss of ships and the bombing in world war two of the northern town of Darwin by the Japanese. During both wars Australian industry expanded at a rapid rate, and following each war Australia's economy benefited from the world shortages. The result is now for example, a false prosperity as a result of the fantastic prices for wool and wheat, a property wrongly claimed by the Labour Party as being a result of its own "wise" policy.

The following figures will demonstrate the great effect of world commodity prices on Australia's economy.

The income from the export of wool in 1936-37 was £62,505,000 * and in 1947-48 £150,240,000. Wheat and flour 1936-37 £24,352,000, 1947-48 £85,403,000. The total export prices for principal commodities jumped from £148,490,000 in 1936-37 to £407,230,000 in 1947-48 a colossal increase of 275 per cent. This huge income has led to further expansion of Australia's industry since the war and there has been virtually no unemployment since 1939. Wages have increased but prices have increased faster than wages, but with constant employment and much overtime work the Australian workers are at the moment undoubtedly in a better economic position than ever before. The result has been the growth of illusions about capitalism particularly in the ranks of the younger workers who have never known unemployment, and a consequent temporary strengthening of support for reactionary trends within the Labour Movement.

Taking advantage of this situation the capitalist class led by the

* (Prices shown are in Australian pounds. 1 Australian pound equals £ 0.8 English).

Federal Government has launched a full-scale offensive against the trade union movement, to shackle its activities and to split and confuse the workers.

Progressive trade unionists are being prosecuted and jailed, new laws are being introduced to permit the state to interfere more in the internal affairs of trade unions and assaults are being made on the right to strike. This drive against the Australian unions is also connected with the international situation. The turbulent situation in Asia and particularly recent developments in China make Australia a much more important country for the imperialists than formerly was the case. Australia is often referred to as the "outpost of white civilisation in the East" which translated means the main base of Anglo-American imperialism in the East. Ideally suited as the country is as a war-base against the steadily mounting anti-imperialist struggle in Asia, Australia has quite clearly been selected for this role. The centre of Australia is now being used as testing ground for long range rocket projectiles, and visits by important military personalities from Great Britain have recently been made to Australia for the purpose of coordinating military and security measures. Spokesmen for the federal government have made public statements in recent months indicating their willingness to cooperate fully with the American Government in its war plans.

The Australian Government had representatives at the Delhi conference which was supposed to discuss Indonesia but which really discussed the formation of a Pacific Pact on the lines of the infamous Atlantic Pact.

This perspective of Australia as a Pacific arsenal and jumping-off ground for the imperialists in their plans for the suppressing of democracy in Asia places before the Australian workers new and grave problems.

It is clear that the war mongers cannot be happy to have in such an arsenal, trade unions which refuse to move ships carrying war materials as the maritime workers did with Dutch ships, metal workers who use the method of strike frequently or railway workers who cannot be relied upon to move trains for war purposes. Therefore the Australian trade union movement must be prepared for greater repression than previously, for stronger attacks on trade union rights and must be organised and prepared to fight for its traditional liberty. But the organisations of the Australian workers, though relatively strong in comparison with the population of the country, are weak when faced with the great strength of imperialism. Therefore the utmost cooperation with the workers of other lands and above all the World Federation of Trade Unions is essential for the Australian trade union movement if it is to protect its integrity and continue its policy of support for the independence movements of the peoples of Asia.

Until the formation of the WFTU the Australian trade unions had not been associated with any international organisation except for the government and employer controlled ILO, and Australian workers welcomed with great enthusiasm the formation of the WFTU. The 1945 Congress of the Australian trade unions almost unanimously decided to affiliate with the new organisation and the 1947 Congress

continued affiliation without discussion. The three delegates who had attended the Paris Congress of the WFTU were unanimously re-elected to attend the next WFTU Congress. These three delegates were A.E. Monk, R.A. King and E. Thornton.

The end of 1948 saw the beginning of intrigue in cooperation with Carey and Deakin for the severance of Australian affiliation with the WFTU and in March of this year the Executive Committee of the Australian Trade Union Congress discussed a report by A.E. Monk on this matter. The report given by Monk was an untrue one which twisted the facts of the situation within the WFTU and led to a decision by seven votes to four on the Executive to send no delegates to further meetings of the WFTU until the matter was considered by the Australian Trade Union Congress in September 1949. The decision however also maintained affiliation with the WFTU in the meantime. The decision not to send further delegates met with a storm of protests from the main unions and many local trades councils as it was an unprincipled and thoroughly unconstitutional one. Only the Australian Congress has the right to change Congress decisions. The Executive has no such right.

With the support of the key unions E. Thornton decided to ignore the unconstitutional decision of the Executive and to attend this Congress of the WFTU.

This struggle over affiliation with the WFTU reflects the struggle between the forces of democracy and imperialism now waging throughout the world. The forces in Australia which support the WFTU are those forces which also are fighting for peace, for the independence of the peoples of Asia from imperialist bondage, for a free and happy Australia unsullied by imperialist intrigues and war-plots. Those who wish to break the affiliation of Australian trade unions with the WFTU are the agents of the capitalists in the ranks of the working class, the toadies of imperialism, the supporters of the Atlantic and the projected Pacific pacts. They may have temporary victories but the workers of Australia are too sound of heart, have too great a fighting tradition to allow such successes to be permanent.

In any case this Congress can be assured that the Australian unions in the metal, mining, transport and building industries will continue to support the WFTU.

Originally this report was intended to cover the situation in Australasia, and not just in Australia itself, and the reporter was to be A.E. Monk. However, the present reporter did not know this until after his arrival in Europe and has not sufficient detailed knowledge or access to statistics about New Zealand to give a comprehensive report on the situation there.

The following facts however may be of interest. New Zealand is a much smaller country than Australia in both territory and population and has no basic industries, depending on its supplies of steel, iron and non-ferrous metals on Australia.

Therefore the union structure is also different, the main unions being marine, meat industry and building.

There has been a Labour government for many years and the policy of gradual reforms has never had a more ideal setting than in New Zealand in the last few years. This policy however is coming

to its inevitable end and the Government is meeting the growing impatience of the workers with moves to restrict the rights of trade unions and particularly the right to strike.

The same intrigues against the WFTU as have been described in Australia also took place in New Zealand sponsored by the same person, A.E. Monk. Cables and reports sent by Monk to the New Zealand Federation of Labour have been sent back to Australia and the reporter saw copies of them before leaving Australia. Here is an example in a letter sent by Monk to the New Zealand Federation of Labour on January 5th 1949 :—

“ Frankly, the position is that the TUC feels that the 200 employees of the WFTU have been recruited from the one political point of view and their suggestion for suspension of activities for twelve months would mean that the staff would be dispensed with in that period, and if the WFTU is resuscitated after the 12 months period then a new staff could be recruited, not from one political viewpoint. ”

Monk strongly advocated that New Zealand should break from the WFTU although he was more careful and hypocritical about the matter in Australia. The reports of Monk were further exaggerated by the Secretary of the New Zealand Federation of Labour in reports sent to affiliated unions and trades councils. The result of this despicable campaign has been more successful than in Australia, and the New Zealand Federation of Labour has broken its affiliation with the WFTU. It must be understood of course that the trade unionists of New Zealand have received only a distorted picture of the position in the WFTU and once they know the truth there is a strong possibility of retrieving the position.

(Enthusiastic applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huunonen*). I now call on Comrade Le Léap of France.

Trade Union situation in the African countries

* A. LE LÉAP (*France*). The problems concerning the situation of the trade union movement, the living and working conditions, and the development of working class activity in the colonial and semi-colonial countries have been dealt with in the WFTU's report of activity and in the report presented by our comrade Wickremasinghe.

Particular details on the economic and social situation in the African countries are given in the report which has just been distributed. We have now to examine together what the WFTU's action should have been and what it actually was.

Faithful to its pledges “ to assist, wherever necessary, the workers in countries socially or industrially less developed, in setting up their trade union, ” the WFTU had, in 1947, called a Pan-African trade union conference at Dakar. There were 60 delegates present. They represented 21 organisations with a total of 800,000 workers. Their resolutions brought out particularly :—

— the practice of racial discrimination.

* For complete report, see Appendix.

- the absence of social legislation, the workers being deprived of the most elementary rights,
- the inadequacy of education,
- the inadequacy of medical attention,
- the workers' frightful housing conditions,
- in many countries, the banning of trade activity and the difficulties placed by the governments in the way of developed trade union activity.

After examining the resolutions adopted by the Dakar Pan-African Congress, the General Council of the WFTU decided on 14th June 1947 to entrust the General Secretary with the task of taking measures to improve the working of the Colonial Department and of taking steps to establish close and permanent links with the trade union organisations of the countries of Africa, so as to be in a position to provide them rapidly and permanently with effective assistance.

The Prague General Council, advocated approaches to the governments of Great Britain, France and Belgium, for the African territories dependent on these countries, and to the Government of South Africa and UNO's Economic and Social Council, for the demands of the African workers to be taken into consideration and satisfied.

It also decided to continue the action undertaken in the United Nations Organisation for the free exercise of trade union rights and for the guarantee and extension of trade union liberties. It drew up a programme of demands common to all the workers of the various countries of Africa.

Finally it recommended the African workers to organise unified trade unions by trade or industry, uniting the workers without discrimination of any kind.

Such were the general lines of the decisions of the Prague General Council it had examined the results of the Dakar Conference.

What steps have been taken to carry out these decisions? We must first mention the repeated approaches of the WFTU to UNESCO, calling the attention of this body to the defective educational conditions in Africa and proposing joint action by UNESCO and the WFTU to improve conditions.

We must next mention the WFTU's speeches on UNO's Economic and Social Council for the defence of trade union liberties such as those dealing with improving the workers' living standards. The WFTU's memorandum noted as the essential causes of the low standard of living :—

- the considerable differences in wages based on racial discrimination,
- the lack of effective control of prices and distribution;
- the inadequate opportunities for education, especially as far as vocational and technical training was concerned,
- the wretched housing conditions.

Finally, we must recall the WFTU's denunciation, in May 1949, before UNO's Commission on Human Rights, of the methods of forced labour and working conditions on certain African territories. It may no doubt be thought that the WFTU could have gone further. That is undeniable. What then are the reasons for this inadequacy?

Firstly, the shortcomings of the Colonial Department. Trade union

activity in the colonial and semi-colonial countries was dealt with on the WFTU Secretariat by one of the Assistant General Secretaries, Elmer Cope, a member of the CIO.

Doubtless carrying out instructions from the leaders of his organisation, Cope kept the brake on the activities of the Department he was responsible for. For the leaders of the CIO, as also for those of the TUC, it was a question of creating disaffection towards the WFTU among the workers. Acting on these lines, Cope had to make the African workers believe that the WFTU was doing nothing for them. They doubtless counted on finding a ready clientèle for the second trade union International they were already thinking of setting up.

The second reason is to some extent due to the particular situation in certain African countries.

It is obvious that in the French and British colonies as a whole, as in the Belgian Congo, aid to the local trade unions for the defence of the workers' rights and the improvement of their living conditions must primarily be given by the French General Confederation of Labour, the British TUC, and the Belgian FGT.

But, although it is true to say that the French CGT pays constant attention to the defence of the workers of the overseas territories and to organising them in their trade unions, the same cannot be said of the British and Belgian organisations. And those leaders whose rôle it is to play the capitalists' game for them would not have allowed the WFTU to intervene directly in the African colonies to build up working-class resistance.

To ignore this determination would have been dangerous, when we know how they cooperated to accumulate difficulties and seek motives of disagreement within the executive bodies of the WFTU.

However this may be, and without dwelling too much on the past, we must examine the present situation in the countries of Africa and see what aid we can bring to the workers in these countries.

In his report comrade Wickremasinghe showed, in its general lines, the terrible consequences of colonialism. The report which has just been distributed shows what these consequences are in the territories of Africa.

We can see that on the whole the economic development of these countries is very far from reaching the level it might, that the standard of living is extremely low, and that generally speaking the native populations are under-nourished. The report gives the social climate and the aspects of the working-class struggle in these countries, and also shows up the ferocity of the repression against the trade union movement; the most elementary trade union rights are ignored or violated, organisations dissolved, militants jailed, banned from certain areas or expelled altogether. It also brings out the particularly odious conditions of forced labour.

It must be made clear that the miserable condition of the African workers threatens to grow substantially worse. The conditions under which capital investments are made in Africa, the American invasion and above all the preparation on African soil of a third World War are so many determining factors in this.

On January 20th last, President Truman, dealing with the applic-

ation of the Marshall Plan, said that the United States " must embark on a bold new programme for making the benefits of our scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas... With the contribution of our industry, our private capital, our agriculture and our labour, we could considerably raise the living standards and industrial activity of the other nations. "

It is clear that these somewhat philanthropic declarations conceal only the desire of the American capitalists to find there :—

- the raw materials necessary for American industry, in particular the so-called " strategic " raw materials;
- cheap labour supply;
- profitable investments;
- larger markets for their output.

In speaking as he did, Mr. Truman only gave official approval to the declarations and proposals of the Herter Committee which, as early as 1947, asked the American government to insist that " the nations participating in the Marshall Plan should open wide their colonial territories to American private enterprise without discrimination against the latter. "

It is already an accomplished fact that the American monopolies are solidly installed in Morocco, Tripolitania, Liberia and Tunisia. The mineral wealth of Africa is being cornered by American industry. I will give only one example : Professeur Cosyns, an associate of Professor Picard, recently declared in Brussels :—

" All the Congo uranium is going to the United States... The Nuclear Physics Centre at Brussels must buy uranium on the black market, as the Belgian Government has allowed none to Belgian scientists. The quantities needed by Belgian physicists to build an atomic pile is 2 % of the Congo output. "

Finally, the preparation for war on the African continent is increasing. In France recently the Minister for the Colonies declared :—

" If resistance on the mainland were not successful, the second line of defence would run through North Africa... Finally, in this strategy in depth, North Africa, a massive fortress protected by a desert barrier, would be the redoubt of the National defence system and would play a considerable rôle in provisioning the allied war machine, becoming a gigantic stores and aviation base. "

In the " New York Herald-Tribune " of January 8 the journalist Humphreys wrote : " French Africa, from the south coast of the Mediterranean to the Belgian Congo, has for the first time been united as a defence line. This new organisation must facilitate the realisation and extension of the Atlantic Pact. The United States already has agreements with France authorising American planes to use North African bases. "

And already strategic roads are being built across Africa, military bases and aerodromes are being constructed, and war stocks built up.

It seems that all this will result in an over-exploitation of the

African workers—of all African workers and not only of those in the French Union—and continuously increasing poverty.

All this amply demonstrates the necessity for the WFTU to accentuate its activity in Africa.

Taking up and completing the decisions of the Prague General Council, the 2nd World Trade Union Congress must draw up a programme of demands common to the African workers and aimed :—

1. *at raising the standard of living by*

a) wages adequate for living needs and in proportion with qualifications and work done;

b) equal pay for equal work, without distinction of race or sex;

c) collective agreements drawn up after discussion by joint boards;

d) regulation of hours and conditions of work, a 40-hour week and holiday with pay;

e) a complete social security scheme for all workers, or the extension to the non-independent African territories of the social security system of the motherland, with trade unions to share in control and administration;

f) extension of the health services, medical attention where more than 50 people are employed, equality of rights to medical care, the training of African medical personnel;

g) better housing by building homes at reasonable rents and available on hire-purchase;

h) guarantee of the right to work and the protection of the unemployed, with trade union control of hiring and dismissal.

2. *at raising the cultural level by*

a) expansion of education; free and compulsory, secular education, for children of both sexes without discrimination, and expanded technical and vocational education;

b) the creation of diplomas equivalent at all levels to European diplomas, and conferring on the holders the same rights and the same advantages as to Europeans.

The 2nd World Trade Union Congress cannot content itself with drawing up a programme of demands, knowing as it does the difficulties encountered daily by the African trade unions, without examining the practical measures to adopt to facilitate their achievement.

No doubt the conditions under which the African workers will be brought into the trade union organisations can only be decided on the spot. No doubt the essential factor in this process is the close and permanent contact of the local leaders with the mass of their comrades, which enables them to be better informed of their needs, aspirations, and their desires and the possibilities of struggle. It seems however that the WFTU must itself establish close liaison with the trade union organisations of Africa, that better representation should be given on the executive bodies, and that this representative should not be a white man but a negro worker living in Africa among his comrades and capable of establishing continuous contact with the African organisations as a whole.

The WFTU should also develop a permanent information campaign, I might almost say an education campaign, within the framework of the fight for peace, to fight against false information and lies, and to warn the African people of the dangers that threaten them.

The WFTU should above all continue its campaign for the defence of trade union liberties, and for the extension of trade union rights, as it should support the workers' struggles for their demands.

The WFTU should, in a word, make its presence permanently felt in Africa. In this way it will assist in the development of that class outlook and consciousness which is already making itself felt in the trade union organisations or democratic movements which are rising up.

It will be in a position to do this only to the extent that the activity of its Colonial Department is developed to the maximum, and it is indispensable for all African organisations to understand that this activity will be proportionate to the economic and social documentation that they themselves supply it with.

On the morrow of the 2nd World War, an immense hope filled the peoples of Africa. This hope was disappointed. Today it is understood that it could not have been otherwise: the ferocious policy directed against them is nothing but the continuation of the policy directed against the working class in the capitalist countries as a whole. Perhaps this has made it clearer to our African comrades that they are not isolated, that in all capitalist, colonial or semi-colonial countries the workers have the same enemies and that their victory can only be the common victory of natural allies against a common foe.

The setting up of the WFTU had raised new hopes in them. These must not be disappointed. The WFTU knows that the harder their struggle, the more the workers of Africa will turn their eyes towards it, and the greater will be the help they expect. The WFTU is determined not to fail in its task. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huunonen*). I now call on Lombardo Toledano, who is going to speak to you about the political and economic problems of Latin America and the trade union movement in the countries there.

Trade Union situation in Latin America

* V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (*Mexico*). The general situation in 1949: since the end of the Second World War, Latin America has entered on a new phase of upheaval which is indicative of serious economic troubles and shows itself in serious threats to undermine the democratic régime and the independence of the various nations.

What is the cause of this crisis? What does it mean? How does it directly affect the working class, and what are the chances of finding a satisfactory solution to the problems involved?

To understand the main problems of Latin America and to find a solution for them, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the changes which have taken place in the economy of the Latin America countries during the last ten years. Among the changes undergone by these countries, the most far-reaching is certainly the increase of their

* For complete report, see Appendix.

economic dependence on the greatest imperialist power in history : the United States of America.

This dependence followed the old channels opened by imperialism, which have become deeper and have produced new ramifications.

I would like, therefore, to say something about the special characteristics of the trade union organisations of Latin America, and their effect on the economic development of the country. The Second World War caused major changes in the countries of Latin America. The economic structure, social development and wishes of the people have not suffered great change, but there have been serious changes in the dependence of the Latin American countries on foreign imperialism and an accentuation especially of their dependence on American monopoly.

This accentuation of the dependence of the Latin American countries on United States imperialism has brought about great changes in the economic organisation of the Latin American countries. And it has also brought about great changes in the political and social life of the countries.

I am going to give you a brief account of some of these changes.

There have been, first of all, changes in the international structure of Latin American foreign trade. Before the outbreak of the 2nd World War, and considering Latin America as a whole, there was a balance in the foreign trade of Latin America with the United States, Europe, Asia and the countries of other continents.

However, as a result of the 2nd World War, there was a change in the geographical distribution of Latin-American foreign trade. We lost contact with Europe : we no longer had commercial relations with Asia, Africa, Australia, and those we had with the American continent were transformed.

The majority of Latin America's foreign trade was directed towards the United States, while at the same time trade relations between the countries of Latin America were on a reduced scale.

Moreover, there were changes in the internal structure of Latin America's foreign trade. The majority of the products we exported during the war were raw materials for the American war effort. We for our part imported manufactured goods, but these imports were insufficient to meet the needs of Latin America.

The war encouraged the industrial development of Latin American countries. In Mexico and Brazil important measures began to be taken to encourage the development of the iron and steel industry. Electrical industry, chemical industries, the oil industry became important.

Nevertheless this progressive industrial development was characterised not so much by the development of heavy industry as by that of what I call light industry (clothing, housing, etc.).

If we wish to examine the economic influence of the United States on Latin America, we must at the same time examine the influence of the United States on Latin-American agriculture.

For during the war there changes in agricultural production in Latin America. This production was subordinated to the needs of war. Certain products were concentrated on, and this indirectly provoked new forms of capitalist production contrary to the old system used by

the peasants, who had to give the better part of their produce to the landowners.

There were also changes in the mining industry. This changes was moreover characterised by a decline in the output of precious metals (especially gold and silver) and by an increase in the output of industrial metals for export. On the whole, the war led to the development of the industries of the Latin-American countries, while diminishing their agricultural output.

Let us take one example, Mexico : for the first time in the history of the country, industrial production was higher than agricultural. This was also true of Brazil and the Argentine. A new form of industry for these countries was manufacturing industry, for the United States needed consumption goods in its fight against the fascist powers.

The financial situation also altered as a result of the 2nd World War. There were important changes in currencies. To fill the increasing deficit, the Latin-American governments had recourse to several measures : tariff barriers, control of the exchange of foreign currencies.

Another fact of the greatest importance which we must mention is that of the domination of Yankee capitalism over the capitalism of the other countries. The first consequence of the war was the transfer of British capital invested in Latin America to the United States, for Great Britain had to pay for the aid it received. As a result of these investments the money power of American capital in the countries of Latin America became enormous. Moreover the domination of American capital in Latin America was characterised by direct investment by the United States. This economic dependence of the Latin-American countries was to have the inevitable consequence of a rise in the cost of living.

The standard of living in the Latin-American countries has always been traditionally very low. Millions of Indians, agricultural workers, peasants, craftsmen, and workers have always been under-nourished and bear the disastrous consequences of this. Only in certain sectors of Mexican industry can it be said that the standard of living is acceptable.

Instead of doing as nearly all the nations at war did, we left it to private enterprise, that is to the foreign monopolies, to regulate the economic problem of each country of Latin America. In a word, Latin America was not at war, but it was handed over to the free play of private financial interests. Independently of the internal factors which caused depression in the Latin-American countries, this fact caused inflation. Governments of usurers and speculators made the living conditions of the masses of the people more and more difficult.

These economic changes were not unaccompanied by important political changes, but it is to be noted that the economic changes took place first and the political changes followed.

For the first time, the unity of the peoples of the two Americas was achieved during the war, not only on the governmental level but also on the peoples' level. This unity of the working-class movement resulted from the work done by the General Confederation of Workers of Latin America, for it was necessary to explain to the workers, peasants and intellectuals that the 2nd World War was different from the 1914-18 war. It was necessary to make them understand that our

solidarity with the United States of America in this struggle did not mean that a permanent alliance would be made with the United States, to the detriment of the interests of Latin America.

Thus, thanks to a patient and persevering campaign we succeeded in organising mass meetings in the different countries of Latin America, and in this way directed the consciousness of the Latin-American peoples towards aiding the United States in their struggle against the Axis powers. *The anti-imperialist, anti-Yankee feeling was so deep that I need only remind you that during the first World War the majority of the governments of Latin America remained neutral and the popular feeling in Latin America was at the time favourable rather to Germany, in the hope that Germany would destroy the United States and free Latin America from the Yankee yoke.*

As a result of the great popular movement in favour of continental and world unity against fascism, the traditional dictators of Latin America were obliged to loosen their authority and to allow certain democratic liberties. For example, in Brazil, after many years of authoritarian government, the war permitted a certain mobilisation of the people and the working class. Even in the countries of Central America which were under regimes of tyranny a certain mobilisation of the working class was possible.

Another fact which greatly contributed to widening or easing the political situation was the Atlantic Charter. If in other parts of the world the Atlantic Charter did not have a great effect on public opinion, in Latin America it had enormous repercussions. Everybody hoped that once the war was over our Latin-American peoples would for the first time begin to live in an international atmosphere of true liberty. Nazism was beaten, but the situation has not changed for the better; rather has it changed for the worse.

The campaign of preparation for a third World War began. The governments of Latin America were officially advised to prepare for a third World War.

Belief in the imminence of war rapidly brought with it the loss of all liberties and advantages won during the 2nd World War.

It was then that certain governments turned about and followed the policy dictated to them by Washington.

General Gaspart Dutra, President of the Republic of Brazil, abrogated all liberties and dissolved the Confederation of Workers of Brazil.

In Chile the President of the Republic, Gonzalez Videla, who had come to power thanks to the support of the working class, turned his back on the people and began to fight the working-class movement with ferocity.

In Cuba, a similar change took place. In other countries, less far-reaching changes also took place along the same lines of limitation of the peoples' rights. Some governments resisted foreign pressure to a certain extent, and despite certain errors, maintained the atmosphere of democratic liberty in their respective countries. Unfortunately these countries are far from numerous. They are Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador and Uruguay. In other countries, where there is no violent tyranny, the governments nevertheless abrogated civil rights.

It is easy to see now, taking into account the economic and political situation, how trade union activity developed in the Latin-

American countries. I will not deal with the working-class movement in each country; I will speak only of the working-class movement in general.

In 1938 the Congress of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America was held in Mexico. This fact will be recorded one day in the history of the international working-class movement as having marked an important step forward not only in the unity of the workers of America, but also in the unity of the international working-class movement of the whole world.

This Congress, which gave rise to the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, was welcomed by the delegates of the working-class movement of Europe and in particular by our comrade Benoît Frachon, who was present, by the working-class movement of the United States, that is the CIO, at that time led by Lewis, and by the delegates of the workers of the various continents.

Thanks to the work of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, National Trade Union Centres in most of the Latin-American countries were set up, for in 1938 National Centres existed in three or four countries only.

Working on new bases, having drawn up a programme which takes into account the needs of Latin America, different groups were set up which today constitute the Confederation of Workers of Latin America. They are :—

- the Confederation of Workers of Bolivia,
- the Confederation of Workers of Brazil,
- the Confederation of Workers of Columbia,
- the Confederation of Workers of Costa-Rica,
- the Confederation of Workers of Cuba,
- the Confederation of Workers of Chile (which existed already),
- the Confederation of Workers of Ecuador,
- the Confederation of Workers of Guatemala,
- the Confederations of Nicaragua, Panama, Porto-Rico, Uruguay and Peru.

In other countries advances have also been made along the road to trade union unity.

This panorama of the trade union movement would be incomplete if I did not mention the negative activity of the American Federation of Labour, which is trying to destroy Latin-American working-class unity. The only group which refused to attend the Constitutive Congress of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America was the American Federation of Labour. This latter always wanted to control the Latin-American working-class movement in order to be able to utilize it from Washington and apply the Monroe doctrine to the trade union movement.

In 1918 old Samuel Gompers, then President of the American Federation of Labour, and the leaders of the Mexican Centre, which was then called the Mexican Workers' Regional Confederation (CROM), set up an international group called the Pan-American Workers' Confederation (COPA). But this had no success, for at that time the working-class movement was very little developed in Latin America. Moreover

Latin- Americans, and particularly the Latin-American working class, did not accept being controlled by the United States.

When the Confederation of Workers of Latin America was set up, the American Federation of Labour set itself the aim of destroying it. I don't wish to relate all the details of the story here, you will find them in the report which will be distributed *. But I would like to stress that something took place which had never been seen in a working-class organisation. The American Federation of Labour, in a public meeting of its Executive Committee, decided to spend millions of dollars to annihilate the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (CTAL). Since this decision, adventurers paid by the American Federation of Labour have travelled round our country to do the work ordered by their leaders. Every means has been used to set up an organisation to oppose the CTAL.

A Congress was finally held at Lima, the capital of Peru, but its failure was such that Luis Morones, the old leader of the CROM and its 1908 vice-president, who was present, rose to protest against the cynical fashion in which the American Federation of Labour was controlling the small group of pseudo-delegates of Latin America.

It was thus that the Inter-American Confederation of Labour, or CIT, was born.. The reactionary newspapers gave it all possible publicity.. They proclaimed the death of the CTAL, and the birth of the new organisation inspired by the American Federation of Labour.

But this work did not bring the results expected. The Inter-American Confederation of Labour is entirely without importance. I won't read you the list of the organisations in it for that too is in the report that will be distributed.

To complete the picture of trade union activity in Latin America, I must say a few words on the present attitude of the Argentine unions. The Argentine government which arose out of a coup d'état during the war is a typically fascist government, a government of colonels, with at their head Peron, a man educated in Germany and who taking his inspiration from Italian fascism and influenced by the Catholic clergy.

It might be said that a second front was opened by the nazis, in the middle of the war, on the American continent.

Peron was elected by the majority of the people. From a dictator he became the constitutional President of the country. But his political ideas did not change. His strategy changed and his tactics, but his ends remained the same. He demagogically made the workers and peasants promises that he has not of course kept. He uses the same demagogy in foreign affairs; he pretends to attack the United States, but on the United Nations his Government votes the same way as the United States on all international problems.

Peron tried to persuade the Latin-American peoples that he was going to place himself at the head of a third political movement, directed both against communism and imperialism.

This is not a very original position; it is that of Francisco Franco and that of Salazar, in other words that of the Vatican.

Peron has succeeded in attracting a certain section of the working class, but today things have changed and his demagogy is arousing the

* See Appendix.

protests of the masses; strikes are declared, although they are forbidden. A split is taking place between the Peronist trade union leaders and the workers.

That is the general picture of the trade union situation in Latin America.

The programme of the Confederation of Workers of Latin America is clearly not confined to the internal problems of the American continent. Even before the TUC called the constitutive Assembly in London in 1945, the Confederation of Workers of Latin America had resolved to ask the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, the TUC and the CIO to call a World Trade Union Congress, in the middle of the war, to set up a new organisation which would really represent all the workers of the world. That is why from the start of the WFTU in London all the groups of Latin America considered themselves as forming part of the unified movement of the international proletariat.

Representatives of the Latin-America group attended the Paris Congress, and if there were difficulties over the payment of subscriptions, particularly between certain Latin-American groups and the World Federation of Trade Unions, this was due to the economic depression and the political persecution I have described.

It is evident that the Confederation of Workers of Latin America, and in general all the workers of the twenty nations of the South American continent, need more aid from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The Latin-American countries are semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, subject to economic and political pressure from the forces of imperialism and reaction. Situated in the same continent as the United States, far from Europe, far from the Soviet Union, far from Africa and Asia, our struggle is of a quite individual nature. And the nature of our struggle is difficult to understand for the long-standing working-class movements in the big industrial countries of the capitalist regime. Our organisations are no more stable than our democratic régime. We often speak of liberty, but we don't possess it; with us the trade union movement may suddenly advance rapidly, then stop or even fall back. Our struggle is continuous. Everybody in Europe believes that we have coups d'état, and bloody riots because we are temperamental and like fighting. This is ridiculous. The truth is that for more than a century, we have not stopped fighting for national independence. In most of the Latin-American countries this fight is not yet finished.

We freed ourselves from the yoke of Spanish imperialism to fall a few years later under the yoke of American and British imperialism. That is why our anti-imperialist struggle always goes with a struggle for national independence, a struggle to improve our peoples' standard of living.

Our ideal is the emancipation of Latin America from imperialism, to raise the living conditions of our people, and to inaugurate a democratic régime and world peace.

I want to say to all the delegates to this 2nd Congress of the WFTU that if a new world war breaks out, the first victims would be the Latin-Americans, who would be in a serious position. Their relative independence would be completely destroyed, for American imperialism, which would like to consider Latin America as its private sphere of

influence, would use terrible repression against our people. That is why we fight for peace.

On September 5th there will be held a Peace Congress of all the peoples of the American continent (Canada, the United States, Mexico, the Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay, etc.). This will be our way of contributing to the world struggle for Peace. Already the most representative men and women of our peoples are united in this effort, for if it is true that our economic and political weakness is obvious, the forces of peace, the anti-imperialist forces, the progressive forces in our countries are great. 120 million Latin-Americans, because they hate imperialism and deeply love their countries, desire ardently to improve their relations with the other democratic peoples of the earth.

This then is the trade union picture in Latin America. These are the main economic, political and trade union problems before our countries. I ask Congress to pay the greatest attention to the struggle we are waging for the emancipation of Latin America, and to ask our glorious World Federation of Trade Unions to concern itself even more with the working class of Latin America, so that at the next World Congress not only may all the delegates be completely informed about Latin America, but also we will have a delegation from Latin America worthy of our history, of our aspirations, and of the unity of the world working-class movement. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huuononen*). A delegation from the food-workers of Milan has come to bring its greetings to Congress. (*Delegates rise and applaud.*)

A DELEGATE. Comrades, the men and women workers of the Food Workers Trade Union in Milan salute the Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and bring it fraternal greetings.

A year ago the 2,800 workers of the Motta bakery went out on strike. This strike was to last 70 days and proved epoch-making in the Italian Trade Union movement.

For 70 days the working men and women of the Motta Works carried on a bitter struggle to defend a principle important to all the Italian workers. When the strike was over the best militants, the most active members of the trade union and the most skilled of the workers were fired. So these comrades set up their own cooperative; they made a success of it and now they are working for themselves.

The men and women food-workers of Milan and of Italy are fully aware of their rights and know that the struggle is becoming ever harder and more stubborn, but they are certain of achieving final victory.

We wish every success to the Congress in its work for the freedom of the workers and for the defence of their interests throughout the world. (*Congress members rise and applaud warmly.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huuononen*). I call on Comrade Hasscin Sadaoui, of Tunisia.

H. SADAoui (*Tunisia USTT*). Comrades, I bring to this platform fraternal greetings from the workers of Tunisia to the representatives of

the workers of the world, and through them to the proletarians of all the countries united in the WFTU in the fight for liberty and peace.

The attachment of the working class of Tunisia to the World Federation of Trade Unions is due to the ardent and effective struggle for the defence of liberty and peace the latter has waged since its inception, in spite of all the manœuvres of the colonialists and imperialists. It is due to the determination of our working class to play its part in the gigantic struggle of the world organisation of the workers to rid the world of the yoke of capitalism, the source of poverty, oppression and war. It is due to our determination as Tunisian workers, to take advantage of the support of the world proletariat to free ourselves from the colonial yoke, to acquire the rights of free men in a free country, and to advance resolutely towards progress and happiness.

The Tunisian working class supports the magnificent progressive struggle of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It does not forget that already in 1945 the London Conference declared that "it is necessary to bring to an end the system of Colonies, Dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the development of free Trade Unions in these countries; thereby laying the foundations upon which, in accordance with Article III of the Atlantic Charter, non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations and be enabled to govern themselves and develop their own institutions of free citizenship."

Nor does it forget that in 1947, at the Prague General Council, the WFTU denounced colonial oppression before the progressive public opinion of the whole world in the following terms :—

"In many colonial countries, inhuman forms of exploitation of the workers are still in force. In these countries the peoples' claim for self-determination is suppressed by force. In yet other countries, reaction is imposing harsh anti-Labour laws on the workers refusing them the most fundamental trade union rights and draining away the strength of their organisations.

"Capitalist monopolies are making use of their economic power to intensify the exploitation of labour. They seek to impose unacceptable and anti-democratic political conditions before economic aid is extended to countries devastated by war."

Since its inception the WFTU has shown great activity on behalf of the workers in colonial countries. The Dakar Conferences, in particular, had great repercussions. But because of the very effectiveness and importance of the WFTU's activities, the imperialists of the whole world are roused to anger and are unleashing the full force of their destructive hatred.

It is certain that the unity of the world trade union movement is the greatest fear of international capitalism. By the strength of its unity the world proletariat can prevent the unleashing of the new cataclysm that war would mean. It can compel the reactionaries to retreat and to give way to social progress. It can effectively defend the independence of the peoples.

One of the essential objectives of international capitalism is to break the unity of the workers. In the resolution passed by the General

Council at Prague, it was stated : " Everywhere the forces of monopoly capital are attempting to split the unity of the working class, divide and weaken its forces and destroy its political power. Should these efforts succeed, a stable peace with economic security and rising living standards for all will become impossible to attain and the world would once again take the tragic path that leads to economic depression, international conflict and inevitably to another and far more terrible war. "

We all feel how correct this affirmation is.

Within the WFTU men have been found to support positions favourable to the imperialists and colonialists. These men did not hesitate, *after the miscarriage of their criminal plans within the WFTU*, to try to *destroy the WFTU* by a spectacular breakaway; the destruction of the WFTU would have fulfilled the dearest wish of international capitalism.

The workers of the whole world, including those of Great Britain, the United States and Holland do not follow the trade union leaders who have betrayed their interests, who have failed to defend liberty and peace.

The failure of world capitalism and its criminal agents has allowed the working-class movement to realise even better the value of trade union unity.

The WFTU has always given its aid to the peoples fighting for their right to liberty and life. It has always led the work for peace. It has always supported the colonial peoples fighting for national liberation, peoples fighting against régimes of oppression, against fascist régimes backed by the American imperialists, such as those in Spain, Greece, Iraq, Iran, the Lebanon, and the territories of colonial Africa. Its powerful voice has been heard in protest against the massacres in Viet-Nam and Madagascar.

The Tunisian working class, whom I have the honour of representing on this platform, is proud to be in the WFTU alongside the workers of the Soviet Union and the popular democracies, alongside workers who, over one section of the globe, have succeeded in freeing themselves from capitalist exploitation and in laying the foundations of a new régime.

Our working class is proud to fight alongside you, comrades, for a better future. It is proud to be with the workers in the capitalist and colonial countries fighting to lay the spectre of war, and to conquer freedom by bringing down the reactionary forces of capitalism.

The Tunisian working class does not doubt that the future is theirs. It knows too that it is alone capable of forging this future in an intense struggle against the forces of colonialism. It has been waging this struggle for 25 years unshakably determined to go forward, to throw off the colonial yoke of the industrial and agricultural companies which are exploiting it.

Thus our working class won satisfaction, particularly after the 1914-18 war, of important demands. We will give only a few of those which marked a step forward :—

—family allowances for workers in trade and industry,

—equal pay for Tunisian and Frenchmen at Ferryville and in the State workshops,

- equal pay for the South Tunisia miners and the Tunis workers,
- the dockers' agreement,
- extra holidays for young workers,
- extra maternity leave,
- regulations for working hours over the legal limit,
- social security and pensions for certain categories of workers (banking, transport, concession services) and for workers in State employ.

By its struggle the working class has on several occasions compelled the government to re-adjust wages and to make the employers retreat. It has been able to win holidays with pay for agricultural workers.

However, as in all countries in the world, the colonialists in Tunisia are raising their heads again and are trying to take back what they have yielded. Rendered desperate by the economic crisis which threatens them, they are trying to reduce the workers to slavery. They want the workers to provide them with raw materials at the lowest cost and with cannon-fodder for their ignoble war against the peoples seeking freedom.

The situation has therefore seriously worsened in recent months. The workers' living standards have fallen by 40 % since 1939. The working population is undernourished. Wages are a long way from having increased as much as prices since 1939. The reduced purchasing power of the working masses leads to an increase in disease—especially tuberculosis—and the death-rate.

Social legislation and labour legislation have not made real progress. The government is even trying to undermine the right won by certain important sections, notably the dockers and miners.

Agricultural workers, who number over 150,000 (out of a population of 3 millions), continue to be exploited by foreign trusts and French and Tunisia landlords. They have absolutely no social protection and their wages are out of all proportion to the cost of living.

We should have social security and collective agreements, but the laws governing these are still only in the blueprint stage. There is no control over hiring and firing.

Unemployment is the curse of Tunisia. As in all colonial countries, it exists in endemic state, which allows the colonialists to be the masters of the labour market. It is the result of the colonial regime which prevents the industrialisation of the dependent countries, generally considered by the imperialists as mere sources of raw materials and as a market for the manufactured goods of the colonising country. Hundreds of thousands of men and women, without work or deprived of their lands by colonisation, live in the direst poverty, without the slightest aid or protection.

The application of the Marshall Plan has recently aggravated this situation by bringing unemployment for a great many workers in large-scale metallurgical industries and transport, and also for workers in the preserved goods or leather industries.

No measures are taken by the Tunisian government to protect these unfortunates.

Finally, the trade union division in our country puts a brake or the struggle of the working masses for progress.

The companies have accumulated millions in profits. Here is a table giving the declared profits of ten companies in 1947 and 1948 (the profits for 1948 are 3.3 times for those for 1947) :—

COMPANY	1947 PROFITS	1948 PROFITS
Algerian Company	27,978,000	57,866,000
Algeria-Tunisia Crédit Foncier.....	38,003,000	55,057,000
National Bank for Trade and Industry....	49,930,000	103,998,000
Gafsa Company (deficit).....	37,285,000	28,977,000
Tunisian Phosphate Co	27,367,000	51,859,000
Djebel Djerissa Co.....	44,961,000	248,777,000
Sidi Bou Aouane Co.....	24,095,000	63,810,000
Algerian Chemical and Fertilizer Co.....	21,591,000	55,502,000
French Farm Co.....	89,000,000	259,000,000
Tunis Cultivation Co.....	9,669,000	19,946,000

This makes a total profit for 1948 of nearly one thousand millions.

During this time American imperialism has been trying to turn us into a doubly colonialisised people. It is exploiting and cornering our wealth, notably oil.

Politically the protectorate régime is well defined by the Prague resolution of 1947: "In economically backward or little-developed countries, their intervention (the capitalist monopolies') is accompanied by political pressure which is contrary to the people's right of self-determination."

The most complete arbitrariness reigns in our country. The state of siege, which has not been raised since 1938, allows the military authorities to exert their power whenever it is a question of coming to the aid of the colonial interests.

Nearly one-third of the country, classified as "military territory" escapes the authority of the civil laws; in this part of the country, the population is subject to the most odious military regulations. The right to strike, the right of assembly, the freedom of the press are constantly violated. As examples I will mention only that of the miners of Oued Maden and the trial of the "Avenir de la Tunisie" ("Future of Tunisia.") The provocations of colonialism are of everyday occurrence and cost the lives of hundreds of workers. For example, the provocation at Sfax in August 1947; the survivors of the bloody incidents there have been jailed and prosecuted.

The people have practically no political rights. The Tunisian Grand Council, which deals with budget matter, is elected by the notables that is by the allies of the colonialists. There is only one local council, which is elected in the same way.

The Tunisian budget, 80 % of whose funds come from indirect taxes paid by the workers, spends one-third of them on the forces of repression, while more than 600,000 children, out of a total population of 3 millions, are deprived of education through lack of schools.

The Public Health department has ridiculously small credits, in a country where tuberculosis and trachoma wreak the greatest ravages, as

is demonstrated by the detailed report of doctors Masselot and Roger Natif, the most eminent doctors in Tunisia. Are hundreds of thousands of men and women still live in caves worthy of the age of barbarism, for lack of a progressive housing policy.

Finally, in our administrative services, Tunisian civil servants are still subject to a more or less admitted racial discrimination; they do not earn the same salaries as the French and do not have access to all ranks in the hierarchy.

In the hands of French colonialism, the administration of our country is a docile instrument, with its civil controllers and its caïds. In this way oppression is sharpened and our people is in fact considered as a veritable slave in its own land, the land it has been cheated of, the land that has been robbed.

In these conditions, how could the Tunisian working class do otherwise than stand in the ranks of the WFTU alongside all the other workers of the world, waging the great anti-colonialist battle, the battle for the freedom of the people ?

Against the régime of oppression and poverty, and to win satisfaction for its material demands, the working class is waging a determined struggle.

The miners of Tunisia have fought bitter battles against the colonial companies. The recent strikes in the phosphate centres of southern Tunisia lasted 45 days; they were fought under the banner of unity and with the determination to win. Similarly in the lead and mercury mines, where the workers have been the object of provocation and where several were condemned to various sentences, jail and heavy fines, for having exercised their right to strike.

The dockers have also been active against the Government, which tried to diminish the gains they had won in the struggle. The bank employees, thanks to a series of strikes, one of which lasted 21 days, have won substantial social advantages, notably a new collective agreement and social security.

The dredgers, the workers in the Ferryville Arsenal, and the agricultural workers have also fought for their demands, stopping work on several occasions. By uniting their efforts they have won substantial successes.

The Tunisian working class has taken part in the struggle led by the WFTU throughout the world. Continuing its anti-fascists activities, and faithful to its traditions, the Tunisian working class, which during the German occupation, while the Vichy clique was collaborating with the nazis, went on strike, has vigorously protested, with all the workers affiliated to the WFTU, against the imperialist wars in Viet-Nam, Indonesia and Greece. It has protested vigorously against the attacks on the workers' liberty in Greece, Iraq, Iran, Egypt and Indonesia. The Tunis dockers refused to load phosphates for Franco.

On several occasions the Tunisian working class has taken the lead in national demonstrations, as was the case over the liberty of the press threatened in 1947 (the journalists' meeting). It has taken part in great national demonstrations for democratic elections (municipal elections) and for the defence of peace, sending a large delegation to the Peace Congress in April 1949.

The Tunisian working class today is conscious that it must unite its

forces to be able to defend its class demands effectively and take the lead in the national liberation movement.

The WFTU has helped the Tunisian working class towards achieving the unity of its two National Centres, the USTT and the UGTT. On several occasions, in Tunis and Paris, the WFTU's delegations have effectively aided the rapprochement of the points of view of the leaders of these two Centres.

Today, we are glad to announce that this unity has made a great step forward. As a result of concrete proposals made at the last Congress of the USTT, held on June 10, 11 and 12, the General Council of the UGTT and our General Council have set up a joint unification Commission.

From this platform we express our desire to see the Tunisian working class united, and the hope that with the aid of the WFTU, the Tunisian working class will finally achieve this unity and be able to fight more effectively against the employers, the administration at their service, and the French and American imperialists who want to make Africa, and particularly Tunisia, a battle-field in the next war.

During our last Congress, our Centre drew up a programme of demands to be won in the near future.

For the workers in industry, agriculture and trade, we demand :—

1. Effective measures against the rise in prices and for a substantial cut in the cost of living, notably by reducing capitalist profits;

2. Higher wages and salaries (53 francs, or about 1/1, an hour for unskilled work; 35 % increase for the other categories; 200 francs, or about 4/2, a day and trade classification for agricultural workers);

3. Higher family allowances and the complete re-casting of the present system;

4. Return to the 40-hour week without loss of wages;

5. Immediate decree on collective agreements;

6. Safeguarding of trade union rights against arbitrary action by the employers.

For civil servants and employees of the public services, we demand :—

- new salary-scales and promotion rates for public servants, especially the lowest categories,

- a thorough upward revision of family allowances,

- a progressive charter for public servants,

- a charter for temporary workers.

For all workers without distinction of nationality or occupation, we demand a social security scheme, holidays with pay, guarantees against loss of wages through bad weather, etc., and legislation on occupational diseases.

For the unemployed, we demand work; this work could be provided

by large-scale public utility works, housing, etc.; and the setting up of an Unemployment Fund.

For the children and families of workers, we demand the possibility for education in Arabic for all Tunisian children, and the construction of a vast network of hospitals, etc.

By fighting for these material demands, by balking the attacks on trade union liberties, the freedom of the press and individual liberties, by dealing heavy blows at the colonialist trusts, by opposing the infiltration of American imperialism into the country, the Tunisian working class is fighting alongside the whole people, for the triumph of its national aspirations and for peace. For you know, comrades, that those who exploit the workers are today the same as those who are increasing their oppression of the people in order to prepare more easily for war.

In this programme a special place is kept for the agricultural workers, who constitute an enormous mass, the most exploited and the most wretched of all the workers. Their defence is bound up with the defence of the land; it is a national question. This enormous mass of agricultural workers constitutes the most substantial reserve of industrial workers in Tunisia. It is for this reason that the Tunisian trade union movement is attaching so much importance to them.

The Tunisian working class knows that in the struggle it is waging it can count on the support of the proletariat of the whole world; and it will be among the most ardent defenders of world trade union unity. It knows that it stands at the side of the French proletariat in its struggle against the same enemies. It knows in particular that it is thanks to this proletariat, thanks to the CGT and its traditionally anti-colonialist struggle that today it is in a position to have a trade union movement, a powerful, fighting movement, with experienced leaders.

Fighting for its own unity, supporting with all its strength world trade union unity, tightening the close fraternal bonds which link it with all the workers of the world, the Tunisian working class will stand solidly in the WFTU. Since we are in entire agreement with the WFTU's activity, we will vote in support of the reports it has presented to Congress. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huunonen*). I call on Comrade Wolfson, of South Africa.

J. WOLFSON (*South Africa*). Comrade delegates, I have listened with great attention to the report on trade union activity in the colonial countries. I agree with what was said in it from the point of view of the general policy to be followed in South Africa.

We had noticed gaps in the activity of the WFTU and we needed the explanations given by comrade Le Léap; the situation is now clear to us. We think that any weaknesses there might have been must be remedied now that the splitters have left, for, having tried to destroy the WFTU, they are now, by setting up a new international organisation of trade unions, going to try by all possible means to win over the colonial workers. But the democratic unions of the

colonial workers will certainly not support a movement which has done nothing to destroy the underlying causes of poverty, colonialism and exploitation.

The owning classes are trying to suppress the trade unions and to set up unions controlled by the government, unions which will be encouraged to join the organisations under the domination of the CIO and the TUC.

But Africa, the Dark Continent, is awakening. And millions of oppressed African workers are seeking a way out from their condition of degradation.

The report shows us the state of the trade union in Africa, the least industrially developed continent in the world. There are, however, one million industrial workers in South Africa, the most industrialised zone on the continent of Africa.

Since the last Congress of the WFTU, there has been a constant fall in the workers' living standards, both for negro workers and white workers. In spite of continual pressure by the trade unions, wages are not following the rise in prices. Unemployment has begun in several industries, a currency crisis is leading to substantial cuts in imports—which has further raised the cost of living and increased unemployment.

This currency crisis is part of the general crisis which is developing in all capitalist countries.

The investiture of the pro-fascist government has caused increased racial discrimination against all the non-European sections of the South African people. And it is difficult for the delegates to imagine the difficult conditions under which the non-European peoples of Africa are obliged to work and live.

The policy of the government is directed towards maintaining and keeping a reserve of unskilled negro workers, working under intolerable conditions for minimum wages. All social legislation is refused to the negro workers, although they have contributed several million pounds to the insurance funds.

The attitude of the government appeared even more clearly when, to protest against the appeal launched by the nationalist members of the House, a trade union delegation asked to be received. It could not be heard, because it included a non-European. Naturally our delegation refused to meet under such conditions. This attitude shocked even some capitalist newspaper, who showed their disapproval in their editorials.

In his report comrade Le Léap says that African workers are under-nourished. In my opinion the term "under-nourished" is too weak. In a great many cases the Africans live in a state of chronic famine, which makes them victims of the most serious diseases. The tuberculosis figures for South Africa are—according to the declarations of medical authorities—the highest in the world.

It is the poverty which exists there which is the cause of this enormous epidemic. The majority of sick persons cannot be cared for because of lack of space in the hospitals. In this way a great number of human lives are lost for the country.

Not one bomb fell and not one attack took place in our country during the war, and yet we are suffering greatly from a housing shortage, particularly in the industrial zones. The town of Johannes-

burg is the centre of richest gold-mining area in the world. Out of a population of 3 to 4 million, hundreds of thousands of its negro inhabitants live in sorts of huts without any hygiene and under conditions extremely detrimental to their health. Picture these people in huts that let the rain in, all in one room where the entire family sleeps, eats, and very often dies. Hundreds of thousands live like this, under conditions difficult to imagine; they are industrial workers or commercial employees, but they are given no housing facilities. This region is one of the most backward in the world in this respect. Out of every 1,000 negro babies born, 500 die in early childhood.

Racial discrimination exists even in the form of laws. In South Africa attempts are made to persuade the whites that the negroes are inferior beings and must remain at a lower level. And unfortunately many whites in South Africa swallow this philosophy. And yet the whites and the negroes are exploited by the same persons, who try to set the races against each other.

The South African workers are fighting more and more to attain two goals :—

1. An end to starvation wages;
2. To win, against all opposition, the development of a united trade union of whites and negroes, fighting side by side for common demands.

As I have already mentioned in my first report, the democratic trade unions in South Africa are under sharp attack. The workers' struggle is often followed by arrest and prosecutions; but oppression cannot prevent the progress of the South African workers, who have learnt by experience to unite in trade unions without racial discrimination.

In this struggle we are counting on the support of the World Federation of Trade Unions and of all the affiliated organisations. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*E. Huunonen*) then announced the meetings of the various commissions.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 7th JULY 1949

5 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of G. Di Vittorio.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I declare the session open.

Comrades, I would like first to make an announcement: the Commission on the Resolution on the report concerning international unity for peace and democratic rights will meet at 6 o'clock. All members of this Commission are asked to be present.

Now, a delegation of workers from the great Pirelli tyre factory at Milan asks to greet Congress.

(The Pirelli delegation goes up on the platform, warmly applauded by Congress, which rises to its feet. Rhythmic applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). The comrade who is leading the delegation greets Congress and would like to read a short speech of thanks.

THE DELEGATE. The working men and women at Pirelli's bring greetings and express their gratitude and solidarity to all Congress delegates for the work they are doing for the defence of world-wide workers' unity, the invincible bastion of peace, work and social justice.

Comrades, we wish you success in your labours. The fight against war, against the monopolies, against selfishness is a hard one, but our unity and our strength will be victorious.

LONG LIVE THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I now call on Comrade Bitossi of Italy, for his report dealing with migration, item 11 on the agenda.

Comrade Bitossi will speak in Italian, but his speech will be translated into all languages.

The problem of the migration of labour, equal social and economic rights for immigrant workers

R. BITROSSI (*Italy*). Comrades, this is not the first time that the question of migration has been discussed in an international assembly.

In addition to the ILO and the United Nations Organisation, who have dealt with this subject on many occasions, we have had in Italy itself what was called the Conference on Labour which considered the problem of migration on a technical and economic level in the spirit of its American promoters and the political representatives of the countries belonging to the Marshall Plan.

The divisionist leaders have also made a great noise, in the reactionary press of our country and elsewhere, about this question, discussing it in their periodical meetings.

But I feel that it is the task of our Congress to discuss the problem of migration in a new way, basing ourselves on different premises, so that our discussions do not end, as in the preceding cases, without achieving anything.

We must say at the outset that the problem of migration does not originate solely from objective conditions, such as a great increase in population, the lack of economic resources, etc., but also—and I would say, particularly—from the structure of capitalist society, which would like to solve the problem of the utilisation of labour in the interests of restricted groups of capitalists, instead of increasing the well-being of the community as a whole.

This is demonstrated by the fact that in those countries where the bulk of the means of production is administered in the general interest, the phenomenon of unemployment is almost unknown, even if the economic resources are small and raw materials not very abundant.

By taking these premises as our basis we can make a serious examination of the problem of migration which, like all other aspects of economic life, is closely linked to the economic conditions in the different countries.

Another aspect of the problem of migration, which I would call new in relation to the situation existing 30 or 40 years ago, is that nearly all countries—and the richest ones in particular—have now raised many barriers and insurmountable obstacles to the free movement of labour.

The much vaunted free movement of goods upon which, according to the American capitalists and their satellites, the economic and social development of the world must be founded, stops sharply when it is no longer a question of allowing the great monopolistic trusts to invade the markets of the poorest countries, but one of increasing, through the immigration of new workers, the number of participants in the productive process.

We find a typical example of this phenomenon in Italy where, thanks to the Marshall Plan, the home market has been invaded and trade with the countries which traditionally absorbed our production prevented. On the one hand, the unemployment of agricultural and industrial labour has worsened and on the other, the United States

of America and the other countries of the West have practically closed their frontiers to any Italian immigration.

When considering the problems of migration, it is necessary to commence with the following observation: on the one hand an enormous labour potential remains unemployed or only partially employed; on the other hand, incalculable resources, immense productive potential and efficient industrial plant are not exploited or only partially so.

We cannot fail to observe that there is in the world an insufficient production both of producers' and consumers' goods, and that it is for this reason that the living standards of whole populations are still in a primitive state and that, in a general way, the standard of living of whole nations is low—and all this, as I have already said, while immense productive capacity and natural resources remain unutilised.

We know that in March 1947, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations decided to convene an International Scientific Conference, precisely to verify by a careful examination, all the earth's resources so as to increase the world level of production and thereby to improve the living standards of all peoples.

This, in fact, once more and fully confirms the importance of the principle of the utilisation on a world scale of all the productive potential, and demonstrates the necessity of the principle of the full employment of all workers and thus a just distribution of work, so as to assure all workers of a higher standard of living.

The achievement of these principles cannot fail to be the intention and will of all workers and of all true labour unions of whatever country.

The achievement of these principles is the motive and reason for world solidarity between the workers of all countries.

The full employment of all workers raises problems which can be divided into two groups:—

- 1) problems of the maximum employment within each country;
- 2) problems of employment in countries accepting the immigration of the surplus masses of workers from over-populated countries.

This second group of specifically migration problems—which are precisely the principal object of this report—concern in part the countries of emigration and in part the countries of immigration.

Nevertheless, these two groups of problems are closely linked together. In fact, the possibilities of employment in a country of emigration are not increased simply by causing the mass of unemployed to leave. The determining cause of unemployment does not reside solely in demographic or biological factors but rather in the economic structure itself.

This is demonstrated in a particularly clear manner by the countries of people's democracy which, by beginning to utilise all the resources and all the productive capacity with the full employment of the means of production and the labour force, have raised the standard of living of the masses and increased the possibility of employment to such an extent that they no longer know the phenomenon of unemployment

but, on the contrary, find themselves faced by a shortage of labour.

This example amply proves that when the interests of the national community are placed above those of the private interests of groups or classes, countries of emigration can and are indeed finding new possibilities of production such that they also make it possible to begin on the solution of the problems which were traditionally considered as insoluble.

But it is more particularly the problems of the second group, namely those concerning emigration, which form the subject of this report. It is necessary to recall at once which are the principal countries of emigration in Europe: Italy in the first place, then Western Germany, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, even though the migratory streams of the latter countries are directed particularly towards their colonies.

Outside of Europe, the principal emigrant country is notoriously Japan.

To make the solution of the problems of migration after the war more difficult, there arose the phenomenon of the "displaced person" who comes under the administration of the IRO.

If the proposal made by the Soviet Union to organise the return of the refugees to their country of origin had been accepted, the solution of the problem would have been made much easier since it is notorious that a large part of these emigrants were made up of fascists, nazis, etc., who fled from their country of origin, and it is also notorious that the principal capitalist States are continuing to manœuvre this stream of emigration with the obvious purpose of propaganda.

In fact, this migratory stream is directed principally towards the United States, the Argentine, Canada, and to a lesser extent, towards Australia, and North Africa. It consequently becomes very difficult to send a large number of other immigrants to these countries. We also know that these same countries are hostile, in varying degrees, to immigration when it is not strictly limited by law, as is the case throughout North America.

At this point it is necessary to define, even in broad outline, the regions to which the European migratory currents could be directed, particularly the unemployed masses.

For obvious reasons we can exclude emigration to Mexico and Central America, (countries on the Isthmus and the West Indies), but there remains the immense surface of South America.

But for reasons of climate and health, determined above all by latitude and morphology, the entire area which includes Guiana, Venezuela, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the Brazilian territories of the Amazon basin and coastal regions of the North-East, including the greater part of Bahia, can be considered as unsuitable for European colonising immigration.

To this area must also be added Chile because of the smallness of its cultivable territory, as well as Paraguay.

The conclusions reached by all international Conferences have unanimously recognised that in these immense regions which represent nearly three quarters of South America—the standard of living is very low and the governing classes are backward.

It is agreed that it would be possible to send there only a limited number of some thousands of emigrants, composed in general of skilled industrial and agricultural workers, craftsmen, small entrepreneurs, technicians, members of the liberal professions, etc.

The best opportunities for emigration are offered by Brazil, by the area enclosing the southern base of the Central Plateau, by the Southern States and by the Argentine, excluding the arid zones of the North-East and of southern Patagonia. To this area must be added the small territories of Uruguay.

But you are aware that the demand for labour in the industrial sector is limited by and subordinate to the fulfilment of industrialisation plans of greater or lesser importance in the various countries. We must nevertheless take into consideration that in general, these great countries are, from the economic point of view, closely dependent on the great North American trusts and that consequently, the political conditions are moving in an increasingly reactionary direction under the influence of these trusts.

It is therefore clear that the realisation of plans aimed at raising production and thereby absorbing millions of immigrants—which would not only be possible but easy to achieve, if account is taken of the resources of these countries—runs counter to the interests of the great finance capital of the United States, and is doomed to failure every time.

In relation to these facts, the political upheavals which often take place in the Central and South American countries are symptomatic. They are due to the conflicts arising between different groups which seek to acquire the monopoly of the indigenous raw materials, while totally ignoring the interests of the local populations.

The data which we possess demonstrates that the demand for agricultural labour, even the largest, is caused not by the development and intensification of cultivation, but principally by the exodus of the native agricultural workers from the land to the urban centres in search of better living conditions and higher wages. This is true above all in Brazil and particularly in the State of Sao Paulo.

The phenomenon of urbanism in these countries of South America is the result of the conditions of extreme poverty in which the agricultural workers live, not only from the economic point of view but also from the sanitary and social point of view, as a result of the inadequacy of roads, means of transport, houses and the public services in general which condition modern civilisation.

As far as Europe is concerned, it contains vast areas in which the agricultural opportunities would allow the absorption of masses of agricultural workers into certain zones deserted by the local workers, and where building workers could also be sent and, to a lesser extent, workers in other industrial sectors.

It must be noted nevertheless, that the effects of the Marshall Plan are now beginning to appear to an increasing extent and that the phenomenon of unemployment is also affecting a country like France, which has always been short of labour.

Among the other countries of immigration can be included Belgium which offers special possibilities in the mines; Sweden, Britain, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia and Poland where so far there has only

been the immigration of some thousands of persons, of whom the most part are highly skilled.

The organisation of the emigration of large groups of workers raises a whole series of problems which must be examined with attention.

For the non-European countries which we considered previously, complex problems are posed, particularly as regards the immigration of agricultural workers intended for the colonisation and intensification of cultivation.

The mass immigration of workers into the countries of South America which we have examined raises a series of problems ranging from that of the means of communication and transport to that of homes and settlement buildings; passing through those dealing with the preparation of the land, deforesting, land clearance, drainage and irrigation work, etc.

There are in addition the problems concerning the creation of public services, water, light, sanitary and administrative services, etc.

It is easy to see that the solution of these problems requires the extensive investment of capital which often it is impossible to find in the countries of immigration.

But on the other hand, the United States and the other countries possessing the necessary economic assets are prepared to invest them in South America only if they are assured of the best economic guarantees, and always with the concern of not creating sources of production capable of competing with those of the United States.

American imperialism, which has gained possession of the greater part of existing capital, invested millions of dollars in the arming of the countries which it wishes drag into its service in the war, instead of investing them in productive development and the creation of new sources of production.

Finally, we must not under-estimate an element of certain importance, which is the fall in the average rate of wages in various countries of Western Europe, a fall which has halted any development of immigration.

Having thus defined the areas and countries of immigration and briefly examined their conditions and problems, we can now consider the problems belonging to the countries of emigration.

In brief, these problems can be defined as dealing with the statement and defence of the rights of the emigrants.

It is necessary that the conditions of wages, work and insurance which exist for the indigenous worker should also be guaranteed to the emigrant, and this not only by the abstract and general statements which are introduced into the agreements on emigration, but also in a concrete manner for each individual worker who leaves his country for purposes of work.

It is correct to observe that it is only on these conditions that the local workers can agree to immigration since otherwise, the immigration of foreign workers at wages and working conditions lower than those of the indigenous worker would cause a deterioration in the latter's conditions.

It must be remembered moreover that, should the economic wage

of the immigrant workers be so low that it did not allow them to send to their homeland a part of their income, the burden of supporting their family would continue to weigh completely on the country of emigration, with the inevitable result that the economic conditions of the emigrants' families would in no way be improved.

On the social plane, it is obvious that the immigrant worker must have the same rights as the indigenous worker. It is for this reason that special attention must be paid to social insurance so that it truly constitutes social insurance and not a waste of resources. That is to say, it is necessary for the immigrant to be able to enjoy the benefits of social insurance right from the first day on which he brings his labour to the country of immigration; and it is also necessary that he who returns to his homeland should enjoy the same rights as the workers who has never emigrated.

The emigrant must also be assured of a real and complete social assistance from all points of view and he must be guaranteed adequate medical aid.

But we must pay particular attention to trade union rights. The immigrant must be in full possession of these rights in order to be able to assert and defend his interests by trade union action and with the support of the local organisations.

You know that very often immigrants are relegated to the most humiliating and most arduous work; you are aware that all types of fatigues are imposed on these workers, sometimes in accordance with typically racist criteria.

It is also notorious that, while all legislation more or less recognises the equality of the economic and social rights of the immigrant workers, in practice, these agreements are not observed in many countries and work contracts are not applied.

There is no doubt that, as a result of this situation, and particularly because of the lack of any real protection of the rights of the immigrants—who are often materially unable to defend themselves or to have recourse to the trade union organisation—in those countries where the phenomenon of unemployment exists, the employers, and often even the governments favour clandestine immigration and that other form of immigration called “free”, in order to make use of the immigrants as a weapon in the manoeuvres against the indigenous workers.

I would like here to recall the harmful work carried out in this connection by those people called “recruiters” who go to the countries of emigration and, often with the tolerance of the authorities representing the government, get hold of workers by exploiting the misery of the unemployed.

They do not hesitate in these circumstances to dazzle the eyes of the starving workers with the mirage of wonderful working conditions and fantastic wages. But when the deceived workers arrive secretly in the countries of immigration, the truth is revealed: the rates agreed upon are not maintained, the grade of the most skilled workers is lowered, the promised homes become filthy dormitories, completely lacking in the most elementary hygienic requirements.

It is unnecessary to add that the clandestine immigrant, who is not protected by any agreement, is exposed more than any other, to the

inflictions and abuses of the employers and authorities in the country of immigration.

It should also be noted that in many cases, particularly in the recruitment of clandestine labour, it has been revealed that the entrepreneurs, in complete agreement with the governmental bodies, have attempted to bring into their country workers who were not needed in order to throw onto the labour market a greater number of workers than is required in order to be able to impose wages and conditions of work inferior to those which were in force. This situation is all the more wide-spread where trade union rights are not recognised to the immigrants.

During recent times and in various countries there has been a clear demonstration of the danger to which the immigrant worker is exposed when he assists in the struggles carried on by the indigenous workers to assert their rights.

The forces which defend the interests of the governing classes are unleashed against him and when this does not prove sufficient, expulsion is resorted to. Even the trade union observers from the countries of emigration sent as a result of special agreements to give assistance to their compatriots, are exposed to the reprisals of the employers and governments, who succeed in expelling them.

Comrades, you are very well aware of the practical consequences of this situation. Large sections of immigrant workers do not belong to trade union organisations. This fact not only results in the weakening of the workers' movement, but it also makes possible splitting and corruption activities among the workers themselves.

We must work to ensure that the trade union organisations of all countries of immigration also fight to assert the interests and defend the rights of the immigrants, since it is only in this way that the living conditions of the indigenous workers themselves can be maintained and improved.

This is a fundamental task for the WFTU which, in its capacity as the sole true world organisation of the workers, and by means of a careful study of the most adequate methods by which to coordinate and perfect the action of the Trade Union Centres, provides a real guarantee of the achievement of the complete protection of the rights of the workers and the raising of their standard of living.

The immigrant workers must have the certainty that the national workers and their organisations will show their solidarity by backing up their rights and defending them, even against the threat of expulsion.

There is no doubt that in this way, the immigrants will participate fully and effectively in the fights of the working classes of the countries in which they work, as occurred a few months ago for example, during the great strike of the French miners, in which Italian immigrant miners also took part.

In order to provide better defence of the emigrants, the WFTU and the National Centres must demand the right for trade union organisations to take part in the negotiations between Governments over the elaboration of agreements on emigration. It is obvious that the participation of trade union organisations constitutes a fundamental element in making known and causing to be taken into consideration

the real requirements of the emigrants and the workers in countries of immigration.

This will certainly serve to avoid the growth of disputes between the immigrants and national workers—which has sometimes unfortunately occurred—and to obtain the best working conditions for the emigrants.

The WFTU must raise this problem with force in order to bring it towards a satisfactory solution by approaching the United Nations and also the ILO to obtain that the above principles are accepted by the countries which belong to these international bodies.

I have passed in review, in a rapid and necessarily summary manner, the problems of emigration and also the consequent problems of the rights of emigrant workers.

It is certain that the problem of the exploitation of the world's resources and the problem of full employment for all workers cannot be resolved by countries with a capitalist structure.

I ask you to take into consideration the fact that the countries where the resources remain unutilised are countries with a capitalist structure, even of a backward type. It must also be noted that the countries where extensive unemployment exists and where, consequently, a large labour potential remains unemployed, are also countries with a capitalist structure.

Thus there is not a rational employment of all factors of production in the capitalist countries.

Can it then be thought that a rational utilisation of all the resources of production on an international scale can be achieved by establishing agreements between the capitalist States, even if they have not succeeded in doing so within individual countries?

I reply categorically; no.

It is true that from time to time, partial results can be obtained within each country by a more intensive exploitation of the sources of production and, on the international plane, by the intervention of the WFTU and the trade union organisations concerned.

It is notorious that the plans prepared in advance to organise emigration have suffered a reduction in their size and proportions when they are put into application, and that in practice, even the fulfilment of the little which remains is doubtful.

It is sufficient to recall that in Italy, the principal European country of emigration, where unemployment grows incessantly and to which, in words alone, a special attention is shown, they have not succeeded in organising important streams of migration within the framework of ERP.

The official plans give some figures : in the four-year period from 1949 to 1952, 75,000 people should emigrate each year from European countries and 200,000 from non-European countries.

The theoreticians and the governments are discussing the question of whether efforts should be concentrated on a development of organised emigration or whether, on the contrary, individual emigration should be encouraged. But all are in agreement in stressing that the ideal situation would be the international coordination of opportunities of employment.

I feel that this can only be achieved to a limited extent, by the

very nature of the States which are concerned with the problems of emigration.

But even if we cannot believe it possible to achieve the rational employment of all the world's productive factors because of the internal contradictions in the capitalist system, it is nevertheless necessary to fight energetically for the greatest possible employment of the labour force.

For this reason, the Trade Union Centres concerned and the WFTU have the important task of making their contribution to the drawing up and solution of the problems of emigration. For the countries of emigration, these problems concern the means of transport, vocational training of the emigrants and the financial means to be supplied to the emigrants for the initiation of realisable industrialisation programmes, to small enterprises and, above all, to the production and labour cooperatives.

A problem of special concern is that of the sending of a portion of the emigrant's wage to his family. It is necessary for this problem to be solved in the most satisfactory manner for these families to prevent their being reduced to a state of poverty.

Another important problem is that of assistance to the families of emigrants. In addition, there must be no hesitation in organising adequate propaganda aimed at preventing the creation of myths on the opportunities and living conditions in the countries of immigration, myths which are the cause of disillusionment and serious anger.

In summary, and in a condensed form which could be widened and deepened by the contribution of the delegates, I submit the following concrete proposals to the Congress :—

1. A WFTU bureau must be set up responsible for analysing the conditions in the different countries from the point of view of migration, in order to :—

a) take note of all legislation existing on the subject of the dispatch and protection of migrants;

b) obtain the agreements already in existence and those which will be adopted between Governments on the subject of the economic treatment fixed for the emigrants;

c) to transmit to the Trade Union Centres concerned all the data collected, so that this material may serve as guidance to the organisations of countries of emigration and immigration.

2. The WFTU must make energetic representations to UNO and the ILO to obtain the recognition for itself and the trade union organisations concerned of the right to participate as a contracting and indispensable party in the negotiations which take place between the various States for the regulation of emigration.

3. The WFTU must fight against clandestine emigration, whether or not it is encouraged by the governments concerned since its attempts to remove the emigrants from the control and protection of the trade unions.

4. The WFTU must defend the trade union rights of the emigrants,

by making representations to trade union organisations, governments and international assemblies in order to obtain the guarantee for emigrants of the right to organise, the right to strike and the application to them of all laws protecting the indigenous worker. The WFTU must also request the trade union organisations of countries of immigration to take action to ensure that the emigrants receive the same treatment as regards wages and working conditions as the national workers; that every form of medical aid is guaranteed to the emigrant as soon as he arrives in the country of immigration; that the vocational training of emigrants should be undertaken with care and that financial facilities should be given to the emigrants' production and labour cooperatives.

5. The WFTU must intervene to ensure that there are compulsory clauses in the international agreements relating to the transfer to their homeland of sums sent by the emigrants to their families, by removing the economic and exchange difficulties which exist between the various States, so that the emigrant's family is regularly assured of the necessary resources.

Comrades, I think that the foregoing demonstrates sufficiently clearly the difficulties which, by reason of the actual structure of the capitalist world, are placed not only in the way of the solution of the problem of migration, but also in the way of a complete analysis of the problem itself.

We must say that up till now, the majority of the specialists and Assemblies—when they have discussed the question of emigration and the possibility of preventing by this means the growing unemployment in various capitalist countries—have been solely concerned with presenting the question in a rosy light or with exaggerated enthusiasm, without taking account of the real situation.

The concentration of capital in the hands of increasingly restricted groups of monopolists is nearly always the determining reason for unemployment.

But since the activity of the monopolistic groups is not limited to the national scale, but on the contrary, always with narrow and special interests in view, wishes to seize all the world's resources, it can therefore be said that the same causes which gave rise to unemployment within the various countries, still exist and make more difficult, or quite impossible, the movement of labour from one State to another.

We must speak to the workers in realistic language, we must unmask the demagogues who, by dazzling the eyes of the unemployed with the possibility of emigration, would like to force the out-of-work into renouncing the struggle to find employment in their own country; we must say that the richest countries, which could give work to emigrants, have practically closed their frontiers and that only the international solidarity of the working class can, by putting pressure on each government, contribute effectively to changing the present situation; we must say that in spite of the fruitless chatter of the splitters, the Marshall Plan, instead of opening new opportunities for work, has been and will be nothing but a cause of the worsening of unemployment in all the countries of Western Europe.

The proof of this was given by the miserable failure of the famous Conference on Labour, organised with such great show by the Marshallised countries, and which came to nothing, without any appreciable result other than the open contradictions which came to light between the delegates of the various Governments.

Comrades, there is no doubt that the satisfactory solution of the problems of migration depends on the struggle which the trade union organisations carry on under the leadership of the WFTU, for the assertion and defence of the rights of immigrants.

The WFTU represents the magnificent international solidarity between the powerful and organised workers, and there is no doubt that the international solidarity of the workers is the fundamental element without which not a single satisfactory result can be attained.

The unity of the workers within each country, and in particular, in the countries of immigration, between the immigrant workers and the indigenous workers, achieved through membership of the National Trade Union Centres; unity of the workers of the whole world, achieved by the adherence of the trade union movements to the great WFTU; it is in this international unity that the concrete possibility is found of raising the workers' standard of living and of achieving greater social progress, it is in this unity alone that the concrete possibility exists of achieving a more worthy and a greater civilisation. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, the discussion on the reports on item 10 on the Agenda is not yet closed, but we already have 9 delegates down to speak and we have very little time. Those who have asked to speak will be able to do so, but the Praesidium is compelled to ask these comrades to condense their speeches and to keep them down to a few minutes.

I now call on Comrade Monmousseau, who has some information on the Nominations Committee, of which he is chairman.

G. MONMOUSSEAU (*France*). Comrades, in one of its forthcoming sessions the Congress will have the task of designating the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The Nominations Committee urgently asks secretaries of delegations to hand in the names of their candidates for the General Council.

You are all certainly acquainted with the Constitution, but I think it useful to remind you of the article dealing with the election of the General Council.

"The General Council is elected by the World Trade Union Congress. The representation of each affiliated trade union organisation on the General Council shall be as follows:—

1 full member and 1 substitute for each organisation with 1 million members or less.

2 full members and 2 substitutes for each organisation of over 1 million and up to 4 million members.

3 full members and 3 substitutes for each organisation with over 4 million and up to 10 million members.

4 full members and 3 substitutes for each organisation with over 10 and up to 15 million members.

5 full members and 3 substitutes for each organisation with over 15 million members.

Each affiliated trade union organisation nominates its full and substitute members, who are then elected as such by Congress."

I remind you that secretaries of delegations must hand in the names of their candidates this evening before the end of the session.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Comrade Geraldo Rodrigues Dos Santos of the Brazilian delegation.

G. RODRIGUES DOS SANTOS (*Brazil*). Comrades, the 2nd World Trade Union Congress is an opportunity for the Brazilian working class to tell the delegates of many countries of its growing struggles and of the brutality of the oppression it is facing. It is at the same time an opportunity to strengthen the bonds of international solidarity between the workers of the world, united in the glorious WFTU, whose prestige and strength none can diminish.

The trade unions having been suppressed since May 1947 the Brazilian workers are brutally persecuted whenever they try to take up the struggle and to constitute a trade union organisation. And it was only in 1948 that by their Factory Committees the workers began serious resistance to the present police and military dictatorship.

During 1948 there were great strike movements which embraced not only the working class but also a section of the middle classes, and even of the army.

Among the groups which most distinguished themselves in the struggle for higher wages we must mention the 14,000 Leopoldina railway workers, who were the initiators of the great wave of strikes which took place in Brazil. Their strike lasted 8 days. Police repression was of a brutal nature. Among the railwaymen, we must also mention the two strikes declared on the Sorocabana line, in the state of São Paulo; the two strikes on the Viação mining network, in the state of Minas Gerais; the two strikes on the Vitoria Minas railway, embracing two states; and the strikes on the Mogiana railway, on the Paulista Railway Company, the Santos-Jundiaí railway, and the North-west Brazil Railway—all in the state of São Paulo. Over 60,000 railwaymen took part in these movements.

Among the miners, we must first mention the strike of 600 workers of United States Steel, which lasted for 37 days and ended in complete victory despite the most ferocious police repression. The 5,000 miners of the British Morro Velho Company also paralysed work for three days in protest against the dismissal of 6 comrades, and demanded higher wages.

Among the textile workers, several strikes took place in 6 states. The most important were those of 3,000 weavers at Bahia and 6,000 workers at the Votorantim factory in the state of São Paulo. The textile strikes as a whole embraced nearly 40,000 workers.

In the metal industry, about 10,000 workers in several states took part in strike movements during 1948. The most important of these strikes was that of the workers in the Hime factory, which lasted 15 days.

In addition more than 40,000 other workers in several branches of industry had to have recourse to strike action to win their demands. Among the sectors affected by strikes we may quote urban transport, civil engineering, the glass-ware industries, pottery, printing, cabinet-making, breweries, chemical industry, ship-building and others.

The most striking fact about 1948 was that the strikes affected not only the big factories (there were over 200 strike movements, in which over 250,000 workers took part), but also non-proletarian sections of the population, especially the urban petty bourgeoisie. For example, the civil servants in the town of Santos stopped work for 8 days. The doctors and engineers employed in the state of São Paulo also went on strike for higher salaries.

We must stress the protest movement of the sailors in the Navy against the tiny increase they obtained when the government was compelled to raise civil servants' wages. Over 1,000 sailors marched through the streets of the capital of the republic, and were dispersed by the use of gas and fire-arms while making their way to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate-House.

Finally, we can mention several strikes of the agricultural workers in the states of Goiaz, Bahia, Ceara, Pernambuco and Rio Grande do Sul. They were particularly bitter in the state of São Paulo.

In the state of Bahia, at Santo Amaro, the sugar-refinery workers went on strike for 60 days, facing police bullets which caused the death of three workers.

The peasants fought to win new lands or to resist expulsion from those they had cultivated for many years. They demonstrated against the land-owners and against the police authorities, and resisted the attacks of the political police who tried to forbid them the right to organise unions and the right of assembly.

That is the general picture of the strike movements of 1948. The strikes of the beginning of 1949 were of a broader character. Besides the nation-wide movement against the trade union tax—a tax arbitrarily imposed by the government on all workers—a great many strikes were declared in different parts of the country.

Among those strikes we must mention the general strike of the workers in the town of Rio Grande, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. In recent weeks we have noted, in the state of Rio de Janeiro alone, 16 strikes of textile workers. In the departments of Petropolis and Friburgo, general strikes in the textile industry were partially victorious.

The objective of the majority of these strikes was higher wages. Other objectives, however have driven the workers to struggle, for example to demand for a Christmas bonus and payment for the weekly day off. They have also struck against penalties for slight absenteeism, against the trade union tax, against dismissals and persecution of the outstanding workers in the trade union movement, and by solidarity with the strike movements in other industries.

By the strikes of 1948 and the first months of 1949—movements which in the great majority of cases were victorious—the Brazilian

working class is shattering the present dictatorship's wage-freeze policy. It is in practice regaining the right to strike, despite police violence, and the right of assembly and association; it is organising all kinds of Factory Committees and Trade Committees.

Analysing the Brazilian situation and the experiences of the past year, the Confederation of workers of Brazil (CTB) is fully convinced that further great struggles face it. As the internal situation in Brazil worsens, and, alongside the war-preparations of American imperialism and the Dutra dictatorship, the reaction against the working class and the progressives forces grows sharper, the combattività of the great working masses will also grow. That is why the CTB is encouraging the organisation of the working class at the place of work, and continuing the education of the masses by the most varied forms of propaganda, and were are convinced that if we know how to place ourselves at the head of the masses, we in Brazil need not fear the most violent struggles against reaction. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I now call on Comrade El Ariss of the Lebanese delegation.

We reproduce below the complete speech of El Ariss who, owing to lack of time, gave a shortened version at the Congress.

M. EL ARISS (*Lebanon*). Comrades, since 1946 the Lebanese working class has lived through several difficult periods. Today, it is experiencing exceptionally difficult time in its struggle for its freedom and its political and trade union rights.

The attack against the workers' rights and liberty began about that time. It was led by the Lebanese government, the big employers, the agents of Anglo-American imperialism, and the great foreign trusts such as those which exploit petrol, electricity, the trams and railways, the tobacco monopoly and other imperialist companies. All these trusts constitute a great danger, not only to the workers' liberties and their trade union and economic rights, but also to the rights and liberties of all Lebanese citizens and to the independence of our country. And it goes without saying that the attack against existing rights and liberties is directly connected with the Anglo-American imperialists' plans for the Middle East.

Let me remind you that the first shot was fired at the workers in 1946, during the strike of the Beirut tobacco-workers for strictly trade union demands. The then Lebanese Minister of the Interior ordered the police and gendarmes to open fire on the workers if they refused to return to work. And as the workers were determined to win satisfaction, the police and gendarmerie opened fire on 800 workers, both men and women, assembled in front of the tobacco-monopoly building. One woman tobacco-worker was killed and more than 25 workers seriously wounded. But far from weakening the strikers, this police brutality only reinforced the struggle. The workers continued their strike in unity until the majority of their demands were met. And it is a well-known fact that the Minister of the Interior who ordered the police to open fire on the workers is a top British agent, with shares in many English companies. He is held to be one of the richest men in the Lebanon.

Also in 1946 a citizen of His Majesty, a Mr. Odz, arrived in Beirut from Cairo, where he had been "trade union" attaché at the British Legation. He came not as a messenger of peace and concord, but as an agent of discord and division. He came to contact certain imperialist agents and reactionary elements to work for the splitting of the Lebanese trade union movement, to try to form government puppet "unions", with the object of combatting the Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon—our Federation—which really does represent the workers, expresses their feelings and hopes, and works for the achievement of their demands and the defence of their rights and liberties.

In agreement with the Minister of the Interior and this minister's agents within the Federation of Workers and Employees, this British "messenger" started by ordering the agents to undermine our Federation and then to withdraw from it. Carrying out these orders, they began to oppose the Federation's decisions by putting forward unacceptable resolutions. For example, before the election of the new Executive Committee, these agents submitted a letter requesting that this Committee be composed of certain persons, whose names they gave, together with the post each should hold. Naturally, the great majority rejected this request, which aimed at replacing election by nomination, and which in fact was contrary to all democracy. Shortly afterwards, taking this fact as their excuse, the agents left the Federation. They went to the Minister of the Interior, who not only congratulated them for this action, but gave them special authorisation to start a new organisation, the "Union of Trade Unions of the Workers and Employees of the Lebanon." He also allowed them to publish a political journal which, despite generous subsidies, had to stop after publishing a few issues. They also received money to rent and furnish offices.

At the head of this "Union" are men who are agents actually enrolled in the Intelligence Service and others who give servile obedience to the owners. They have direct relations with foreign imperialist circles which give them instructions, advice and help in organising themselves to work to split the trade union movement, to confuse the workers and to fight the democratic unions, represented by the Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon.

From the start, our Federation explained the objectives of this "government union" to the workers. We unmasked their leaders, told of their betrayals, and put the workers on their guard against the "union" and its men.

The Lebanese labour law requires trade union organisations to seek and obtain special authorisations if they are to have legal existence. Let me remind you that before the passing of this law in 1946, organisations had "permits" not as trade unions but as "associations", under the old Turkish law on associations.

The trade union organisations (Associations) therefore submitted to the government their requests for renewed trade-union authorisations. The government then ordered its agents and lackeys in the "Union of Trade Unions" to submit their own requests, to counter our work and to allow it to grant authorisations to its servile spies, with the

Here are some examples of this :—

object of keeping the unions under the control of police and the Sûreté Générale (CID).

1. The representatives of the Association of Engineering Workers, affiliated to our Federation, submitted a request for the authorisation required by law to form a statutory "union". But on their side the agents of the government and the CID did the same. Note that these latter did not belong to the engineering industry and had, therefore, no representative character. Nevertheless the government, after refusing to grant statutory authorisation to the authentic representatives of the engineering workers, granted it to its own agents and lackeys. Then shortly afterwards, and in agreement with them, it ran "elections" for the Trade Union Council, informing the members of the trade in an almost secret manner or not at all. Nevertheless a few hours before the "elections" the workers, having learned that they were going to take place without them, met at the appointed place—the office of the "Union of Trade Unions"—and demanded to take part. But the police refused permission and dispersed the crowd. But two of our people managed to get into the room and saw only 31 "workers", some of them spies and youngsters. This is how 12 members were "elected" to the "trade union" Council, under the protection of the police and the CID, while 1600 real engineering workers, represented by the old legitimate trade union, were kept out.

2. The former committee of the Printers' Association had also submitted the request necessary for the authorisation required under Lebanese law to change into a "trade union". Here again the government ordered four of its agents to do likewise. Result: the government rejected the first request and accepted the second, although without publishing the statutory decree. So from the legal point of view, the two requests hung fire for 8 months. But the printers sent the competent authorities a petition signed by all of them—except the four government agents—thus beginning a stubborn struggle to obtain for the authentic representatives the authorisation required by law. After vainly attempting several approaches they held a general meeting which decided to strike. It was then and only then that the government retreated, called on the printers' representatives and notified them that it had decided to grant the authorisation.

Later, democratic elections were held and a union Council worthy of the confidence of the printers was elected. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Printers' Union in the Lebanon is the most firmly-established in the Middle East, since its origin goes back to 1913.

3. The former Committee of the Association of Woodworkers put forward a request to obtain the authorisation required by law to become a "trade union". As always, the government ordered some of its agents to put forward a similar order, then granted authorisation to the latter while withholding it from the true representatives of the trade. However, when the time and place of the "elections" were fixed, the woodworkers massed outside the office of the "Union of Trade Unions", headed by their former Committee, and managed to enter the election-hall, despite the police, who, faced by their unity and numbers, were powerless to prevent them. In the hall there were only 8 government "workers". As a result of the elections, in which

all the woodworkers took part, trustworthy trade unionists were elected and the hired agents and lackeys were routed, together with their protectors, the government and the CID.

Article 106 of the Lebanese labour law states that the Trade Unions have the right to form a Federations. Basing themselves on this article our trade unions submitted a request to obtain the necessary authorisation to set up such a Federation. Here is the text of the letter :—

“ His Excellency the Minister of National Economy of the Lebanon,

“ We the undersigned have the honour, as the Foundation Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers and Employees, to solicit your benevolent authorisation to form a federation under the name of “ Federation of Trade Unions of Workers and Employees of the Lebanese Republic ”, in conformity with article 106 of the Lebanese labour law. We enclose copies of good-conduct certificates and our Federation’s Constitution, as regulations require.

(Signed) *The Foundation Committee of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon.* (The signatures.)

“ Beirut, 7 February 1948. ”

Here too is the Constitution drawn up by this Committee :—

ART. 1. Within the Lebanese Republic a Federation is hereby set up, named the “ Federation of Workers and Employees ”, with Beirut as its headquarters, and enjoying the right to set up branches in the various districts of the Lebanon.

ART. 2. The object of the Federation shall be to tighten the bonds between the unions, to unite the workers, to raise their living standards in every aspect and to defend their rights.

ART. 3. The Federation shall have no political or religious character, and shall belong to no party.

ART. 4. The Federation shall accept as affiliates all unions which approve its Constitution.

ART. 5. The finances of the Federation shall be made up by subscriptions, profits from socials, meetings, etc., organised by it. The amount of subscription shall be fixed by the Federation’s Internal Regulations.

ART. 6. The Federation shall be led by an Executive Committee composed of 12 members elected by secret ballot by the General Trade Union Congress of delegates of the unions and Works Committees. The number of delegates for each union shall be fixed by the Internal Regulations on the principle of proportional representation.

ART. 7. The Foundation Committee of the Federation shall be entrusted with drawing up the Internal Regulations, which it must submit to the Trade Union Councils for approval. When approval

has been obtained, a copy of the approved Regulations must be presented to the Ministry of National Economy, in accordance with the law.

This is the text of the application and of the Constitution presented by our unions in order to obtain statutory authorisation. But so far the Government has voiced neither its approval nor disapproval, although we have gone forward with our work and all Lebanese workers support us and give us their entire approval.

Pursuing its policy of hostility to the workers and the trade union organisation, the Lebanese government has also often refused permission to the textile workers to set up their own union, and it has also refused permission to a huge number of workers' demands concerning the same matter. The reason for this refusal is due to the fact that the employers in the textile industry are the great capitalists of the Lebanon. Most important of these are Ousseylî (Beirut) and Arydeh (North Lebanon). During the Second World War the former was making a profit of 50,000 Lebanese pounds a day, and the latter was making 30,000 a day. Let us not forget, either, that Arydeh bought Hitler's private yacht for 500,000 pounds sterling. He is related to the President of the Lebanese Republic (Chaikh Bishara Khouri) whose son married his daughter. In fact they say in the Lebanon that the government is not that of the Lebanese people but the government of Arydeh and Ousseylî, and is the organ of the foreign imperialist trusts. That is quite true. So is it only too clear why the government of Ousseylî and Arydeh refuses to allow trade union rights to the people working at the Arydeh and Ousseylî works. And so 7,000 textile workers remain without permission to organise in order to please the big capitalists who drain the life-blood of the workers and steal their rights from them.

Meanwhile, our Federation, far from remaining inactive, is working continually among the textile workers. It has set up factory committees to defend their rights. But Mr. Ousseylî recently locked out 1,500 workers and closed the factory on the pretext of a disagreement with the government over certain customs duties. Moreover, after having locked them out, he told them that he did not feel obliged to pay them during this period or to give them money in lieu of notice! It was his intention to force the workers into doing something which would offer the police an excuse for terrorisation. But our Federation put the workers on their guard against this provocation and called on them to unite. It was able, too, to set up a broad Committee for the defence of their rights and to call on the employer to pay them for the days when they did not work. And so it was because he was up against the united workers and the correct policy of our Federation that this factory owner was forced into re-opening his factory, taking on all the workers again and paying them for the days they had been locked out. It was indeed a great victory for the workers and for our Federation, which alone, has won the confidence of all workers and employees in our country.

As for the reactionary "Union of Trade Unions", it tried to intervene and mislead the workers, but far from falling into its trap, they published a statement denouncing this "Union" and saying it

was only in our Federation, the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees, that they had any confidence.

The Lebanese Labour Law states that every union Council must have a president elected by the workers, and that the workers must also elect the other members of the Council. But the reactionary leaders among the large capitalists have invented a new kind of president for our trade union; it is the "honorary" president approved by the government, in violation of the Labour Law, which contains absolutely nothing to justify such presidents.

There are now a certain number of trade unions with these reactionary "honorary" presidents, who lead the trade unions according to their own political ideas and personal interests. The son of the President of the Republic, for example, is an "honorary" president and runs most of these unions as he thinks fit. He very generously provides their leaders with large sums of money to further their break-away plans and to fight the democratic trade unions and the true made union movement which is led by the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon.

The CID and the Police are supporting these shameful acts. And every trade union which refuses to accept this man or one of the reactionary leaders as "honorary" president is violently attacked by the government who persecutes its members, trying and imprisoning them for having refused to allow their union to be transformed into a passive instrument in the hands of the reactionary leaders, and for refusing to allow themselves to be enslaved by the government and the CID.

For all these reasons our Federation has fought and will continue to fight this stratagem by which the reactionaries and the government are trying to reduce the trade unions and transform them into a docile instrument which is completely forgetful of its true trade union objectives.

It would perhaps be useful to note that the government "unions", known under the name of "Union of Workers and Employees" are composed only of "Committees" made up of agents bought over by the reactionary leaders, the government and the CID, that is, that these "unions" are fictitious unions containing no working-class elements. The workers, in fact, have deserted these "unions" once they were unmasked and their leaders known as enemies of the working class.

The Lebanese government and, behind it, the big owners, the reactionaries and the imperialist agents want to destroy the Federation of Workers and Employees in order to put an end to its campaigns and split the ranks of the workers. To this end our Federation and its member unions have been the object of many persecutions and of a terror which has only increased their zeal and their strength in the struggle for the rights, liberties and *wages* of the workers.

In 1948 the struggle sharpened between the workers and their unions, on the one hand, and the owning class, the government and the imperialist agents on the other. A terrorist movement was unleashed by the government against the trade unions and the democratic organisations, notably the Lebanese Communist Party. The police and the CID raided the offices of our Federation at Beirut and confiscated a great quantity of union books and records.

The rooms were placed under seal without any justification or plausible reason. The police did the same to the offices of the Lebanese Communist Party and the Lebanese-Soviet Friendship Association.

These attacks made a very bad impression on the workers and employees and the trade unions. They caused great surprise in patriotic circles and were stigmatised by the Lebanese press. Resolutions were passed by the Lebanese trade unions to organise a protest meeting against these attacks perpetrated by the government, demanding the re-opening of the offices of our Federation and stigmatising the action of the government as an attack against liberty.

As a result of the discontent shown by Lebanese public opinion, the trade unions and the press over the closing down of the offices of the Federation, the government was compelled to retreat. The offices were re-opened after 8 days. On this occasion our Federation cabled the General Secretary of the WFTU, Comrade Louis Saillant, to inform him of the facts and ask his intervention and support. Moreover in my capacity, as the President of our Lebanese Federation, I sent a letter to the Economic and Social Council of UNO.

This letter ran as follows :—

“ Memorandum presented by the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon to the Economic and Social Council of UNO

“ The Secretary of the Economic and Social Council of UNO,
Lake Success, New-York.

“ The undersigned, Mustafa El Ariss, President of the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon, member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, has the honour to draw to your attention the following :—

“ During the 2nd World War there was formed in the Lebanon the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees, which set itself the task of organising the trade union movement and defending the demands of the Lebanese workers. The Federation was in the vanguard of the organisations and institutions which raised the flag of struggle against fascism and hitlerism. It used all means in its power to help the Allies' war-efforts to success. At the same time, thousands of Lebanese workers took part in the battles against the hitlerite and fascist armies; in Lybia, in North Africa, in Italy and elsewhere, side by side with the Allied soldiers, to ensure victory over the aggressive and tyrannous States.

“ In 1945 our Federation took part in the WFTU Congress at Paris. This Congress elected the President of the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon, Mustasfa El Ariss to be a member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and to represent the workers of the Near and Middle East on it.

“ Our Federation fulfilled its trade union functions for several years, until the promulgation of the Lebanese labour law of 23 September 1946, article 86 of which requires trade union organisations to obtain special authorisation before they could be legally and officially

constituted. In consequence, these bodies put forward the necessary requests to replace the old authorisation by new ones. For our part, we requested the authorisation required under article 106 of the labour law in order to constitute the Federation officially. But the Lebanese government refused to grant this request, without any plausible reason given, just as it has turned down a great number of the requests put forward by the representatives of the workers in order to be able to form unions. One example was the case of the textile workers. The reason for this attitude is to be found in the fact that the government is aiming at paralysing the trade union movement by refusing to grant the request required by the law to scores of trades which need to organise themselves in trade unions in order to defend the mass of poor and oppressed workers. Thus it was that at the time of the promulgation of the Lebanese labour law the government tried its utmost to split the workers, in order to weaken the trade union movement. It gave the order to certain individuals to set up trade unions ready to obey its directives. It then created what is called the "Union of Trade Unions of the Workers of the Lebanon" to combat the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees which truly represents the workers and is affiliated to the WFTU. Finally, the government recently had recourse to a provocative act which aroused the discontent of the Lebanese workers and patriotic circles in the Lebanon and throughout the Arab East. On 8 January 1948, the Lebanese CID and the Beirut police raided the offices of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers and Employees. They examined the books and records and confiscated the minute-book and lists of members, in particular those of the printers and woodworkers. They then placed the offices under seal, with no legal justification. The offices of the Federation stayed closed for 8 days, at the end of which they were re-opened, thanks to the persistent campaigning of the trade unions. As for the confiscated books and accounts, they have not so far been returned to the trade unions.

"The Lebanese government also wants to prevent the affiliated trade unions from staying in the same building; it wants to compel each of them to have a separate offices far from the others. This represents the apogee of despotism and arbitrary rule, since no such law has ever existed either now or in the past to compel the trade unions to carry out a measure of this nature on the desire of the Lebanese government.

"In sending you this memorandum we wished to draw the attention of your Council to the fact that at a time when Mr. Charles Malik, minister plenipotentiary of the Lebanon at Washington, has been elected Chairman of UNO's Economic and Social Council, the Lebanese government is persecuting the trade unions, breaking into their offices, confiscating their books and records, closing down their offices and those of their Federation and refusing to authorise the workers to form either trade unions or Federation.

"We therefore beg your Council make representations to the Lebanese government in order :—

1. to recognise the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon, affiliated to the WFTU;

2. to give all workers and employees in the Lebanon freedom to set up trade unions;

3. to respect freedom of the press, speech and assembly, and

4. to prevent the CID and the police from interfering in the affairs of the trade unions.

"We are convinced that your intervention will have effective and positive results.

" MUSTAFA EL ARISS,
" *The President of the Trade Union Federation
of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon,*
*Member of the Executive Committee
of the WFTU. "*

Beirut, 5 February 1948. "

As a result of the publication of this memorandum in the Lebanese press, the government sued comrade Mustafa El Ariss, president of the Federation. 15 of the most eminent lawyers of the Lebanon voluntarily came forward to defend him. Moreover, several demonstrations were organised by the workers during the trial. Finally, thanks to all these activities and the courage of the lawyers, the trial, after a good many sittings and much wrangling, was dropped.

The workers are finding great obstacles in the way of obtaining the advantages laid down by the Lebanese labour law. This is also true of the trade unions, which come up against all sorts of obstacles every time they undertake the necessary approaches to solve the workers' problems, whether before the Arbitration Boards, the Ministry of National Economy or the Department of Social Affairs.

The workers and their trade unions expose themselves to repression when they seek to defend the few rights granted them by the labour law. Hundreds of workers and employees have been dismissed for demanding the respect of their legitimate rights. A great many unions have been the object of repression. Every trade unionist who shows signs of activity and zeal, however slight, for the defence of his rights and those of his work-mates is considered by the government as a dangerous element who must be removed from the trade union movement. Similarly, every trade union which fearlessly but justly defends the rights and liberties of the workers becomes a bogey in the government's eyes. So much so that we can say that every person defending the workers and their rights is considered as undesirable by the government, which is trying to suppress every trade union worthy of the name.

The striking thing at the present time is the cooperation between the government of the Lebanon and the foreign imperialist trusts in their efforts against the trade union movement, and their scorn for the workers under their control. This proves that there is complete agreement and unity of common action between them to refuse satisfaction to the workers' demands and to sabotage the implementation of the agreements between the workers and the trusts.

Thus, since the government adopted this policy of hostility towards

the workers and their trade unions the foreign exploiting trusts are showing greater activity, stiffening their attitude towards the workers and their trade unions, after behaving quietly for some time. The Beirut oil companies, for example (Shell and Socony) persecuted their workers and employees dismissing their groups en bloc for defending the rights of the workers oppressed by these companies and protesting against the companies' scorn of the rights granted to the workers by the labour law. As for the government and the Department of Social Affairs, they have learned to remain inactive in the face of these violations, as if the matter was no concern of theirs and as if the acts of the Shell and Socony companies were legitimate, as for example, the dismissal of trade union members for their union activities. The workers are now convinced that such acts are part of a preconceived plan of the government and the foreign companies to combat the workers and their trade unions and prevent them from pursuing their struggle for the defence of their rights.

We also have the Electricity and Tramway Company which behaves insolently towards the trade union of workers concerned. It refuses to satisfy the demands of its workers and employees. This attitude reminds us of that of this company and many others during the French mandate, when the terror was at its height, striking down any worker who raised his voice in defence of his rights.

In May 1948, a few days before the Arab states attacked Palestine, a state of emergency was proclaimed in the Lebanon. Immediately an offensive was launched against the democratic organisations and elements on the pretext of protecting the rear of the Lebanese army which had attacked Palestine. The government arrested a great number of workers, trade unionists, communists, lawyers, doctors and peasants, whom they shut up in the camp at Baalbeck (in the Lebanon), although they had committed no crime. Among those arrested, we should mention some Beirut printers and Mustafa Bedcoui of the Tripoli Woodworkers' Union (North Lebanon). The police and the CID are also after the president of our Federation, comrade Mustafa Ed Ariss, but despite their efforts they have been unable to arrest him. The Beirut printers decided to declare a general strike to protest against the prosecution of Comrade El Ariss, who is President both of the Printers' Union and of the Federation, and against the arrest of comrade Hana Zerque, secretary of the union. The government then declared, through its leader, that it had ordered the prosecution against Comrade El Ariss to be dropped and the case of his colleague to be gone into. Comrade Mustafa El Ariss therefore immediately took up again the trade union struggle officially. But since the government had not freed comrade Hana Zerque, in spite of many approaches, the printers launched a protest strike which was a complete success. Nevertheless the police arrested comrade Saad Eddine Moumine, vice-president of the printers' union and a great militant unionist, who was kept in jail a whole week under the charge of incitement to strike, but who was acquitted later. Moreover all the internees went on hunger strike to protest against their illegal detention. After the strike had lasted 5 days, the government was compelled to free some of them. Nevertheless, it has kept the rest in internment for several months, including Hana Zerque and Mustafa Bedcoui, two militant trade unionists. On 19 No-

vember 1948 they all therefore came out on hunger strike for the second time.

We must now speak of the meeting of the third session of the UNESCO Conference which opened on 17 November 1948 in Beirut. Comrade Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the WFTU, had sent a telegram to comrade Mustafa El Ariss, president of our Federation and member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, to inform him that the Secretariat of the latter had decided to delegate him to represent the WFTU officially at this session. But as soon as this news was published in the press it caused panic within the Lebanese government, which began to intrigue to keep comrade Mustafa El Ariss away from the UNESCO Conference. It is true they had no success, at least at the beginning for when the first session was opened, comrade El Ariss was present. But on 19 November 1948 a demonstration took place before the Conference building to demand the freeing of the internees. The demonstrators carried the following slogans :—

- Free the political detainees;
- No imperialist treaties or blocs;
- Down with the Anglo-American imperialists plans.

The police and gendarmes attacked the demonstrators. Hundreds of shots were fired to terrorise them. And a dozen people, including one girl, were arrested. This took place on 19 November 1948 at about 11 o'clock, while the session of the UNESCO Conference was continuing normally and Mustafa El Ariss, the WFTU's delegate, was present at the session.

At half-past-one in the afternoon, the meeting ended. Mustafa El Ariss left with the rest of the delegates, and got into a car reserved for him by UNESCO. But before he got through the outside gate, men from the CID, who were waiting for him a few yards away, rushed on the car and opened the door. Five of them got in and forced the driver to follow their directions.

It was thus that comrade Mustafa El Ariss was driven straight from the conference hall to the Baalbeck camp to join the other comrades, who were now on their second hunger strike; this strike he immediately joined. As for his arrest, the Lebanese government claimed that it was due to the demonstration in front of the Conference building, and accused Mustafa El Ariss of having organised it! The WFTU delegation to this Conference consisted of 4 members, led by Mustafa El Ariss. As soon as he was arrested, the other members of the delegation published the following statement :—

*Statement of the WFTU delegation to the UNESCO Conference
on the arrest of comrade Mustafa El Ariss.*

" Rumours continue to circulate about the arrest of comrade Mustafa El Ariss, while certain circles are still trying to distort the facts. The WFTU delegation to the UNESCO Conference therefore believes it to be its duty to publicise the following facts :—

" Mr. Mustafa El Ariss was arrested on 19 November 1948 at half-past-one in the afternoon, when leaving the conference hall, and getting into his car, bearing the number 234-UNESCO. But two hours

before his arrest a delegation protesting against the detention of political internees passed before the UNESCO building in peaceful and law-abiding demonstration. Mustafa El Ariss was at that moment present at the plenary session in the great hall, more than 150 yards from the entrance gate. This delegation had entrusted one of its members, Mr. Henri Moukheair, a Beirut lawyer, with presenting a note to the Conference, a note whose contents were not published for reasons of courtesy and because we were convinced that Mustafa El Ariss would have to be freed, as there was no valid reason for his arrest.

“But we must bring the truth to the knowledge of the public by giving it the following explanations :—

1. It has been proved that the WFTU delegate was arrested by men of the Lebanese CID on the territory of UNESCO, which constitutes a violation of article 12 of the UNESCO Constitution, adopted at the London Congress of 16 November 1945 and signed by the Lebanon, under which UNESCO enjoys the same immunities and privileges as those of UNO.

2. The card given to Mustafa El Ariss by the General Secretariat of the Conference declares that the bearer enjoys the “immunities, privileges and special facilities granted by the Lebanese government to the delegates, representatives and observers at the 3rd session of the General Conference of UNESCO, from 1 October 1948 until 31 December 1948.”

3. For this reason, the Lebanese government should have presented to the competent authorities at UNESCO a memorandum giving reasons for the raising of the immunities granted to Mustafa El Ariss, who was present at the Conference not as a Lebanese citizen but as the representative of a great world organisation. If the Conference had approved this request, the Lebanese government could then have had recourse to this measure, assuming that Mustafa El Ariss had committed the act for which he was arrested.

4. So much for the procedure. As for the material basis of the matter, it has never been proved that Mustafa El Ariss had the slightest connection with the demonstration, since during that time he was inside the meeting hall. As for the allegation that Mrs. El Ariss—as certain papers have stated, making themselves the mouthpieces of government circles—took part in the demonstration, it is entirely false, and has no connection with the truth.

5. The bringing of the Mustafa El Ariss case before the high court, which is competent only in “crimes concerning the security of the State” is not in keeping either with the facts of the case nor even with the charges made against the WFTU delegate. For even if we suppose for a moment that Mustafa El Ariss was the organiser of the demonstration—which is not the case—this would not constitute a crime against the security of the State, requiring a secret inquiry and the ban on his lawyers’ seeing the accused. Hitler himself did not prevent the defending counsel of Georgi Dimitrov from meeting him in prison or from attending the interrogations with him.

"For all the above-mentioned reasons, the WFTU Delegation to the UNESCO Conference protests against the arrest of Mustafa El Ariss. In procedure, it is a flagrant violation of international law. As for its material basis, it is an arbitrary measure contrary to Lebanese Law, even if a state of emergency had been proclaimed. We cannot moreover but regret that this organisation does not possess more effective means of protecting cultural liberties, at least those of its members.

"Beirut, 1 December 1948.

"*The WFTU delegation to the UNESCO Conference.*

(Signed) Henri MOUKHEAIR, Elias CHALINE, Hassib NIMIR. "

Let us recall in conclusion that Mustafa El Ariss, with his colleagues interned in Baalbeck camp continued the hunger strike for seven days, at the end of which they were transferred to hospitals in Beirut. They demanded either immediate liberation or trial. Finally, under popular pressure, the government retreated, and informed the internees of its decision to pass their case on to the legal authorities. They on their side decided to end the strike. The investigation continued and the internees were sent to Beirut jail to be brought before the courts.

The day following the arrest of Mustafa El Ariss, the Beirut typographers held a joint meeting where they decided to call a general strike in protest against the arrest of their President in addition to that of Hana Zerque.

The strike took place on 22 November, 1948. Immediately, a large-scale campaign of terrorism was unleashed by the Government against the workers and their trade unions, particularly that of the printers. A decree was published for the constitution of a second printers' trade union, having as its leader an agent well-known during the French mandate and who is now employed at the Lebanon CID.

In addition, the CID interrupted the printing of Hayat-el-Oummal (Labour World), organ of the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon. It confiscated the paper at the moment when it was ready for distribution, arrested two printers, one of whom, Jean Nemer, is treasurer of the trade union and an active trade-unionist, and transferred them to prison to await trial.

Furthermore, the trade union of Electrical and Tramway Workers and Employees issued a manifesto to the workers in protest against the arrest of Mustafa El Ariss. Following this, the police arrested its President and put him in prison. They also continued their brutalities by raiding workers' homes and threatening them with prison should they protest or organise any kind of action. 35 workers were arrested in this way. But one week before the trial all the inmates of the Baalbeck camp were released after more than eight months' imprisonment.

The trial of comrade Mustafa El Ariss and of all the people arrested on the occasion of the UNESCO demonstration began on 15 January 1949 and continued until 5 February 1949. All the accused, including comrade Mustafa El Ariss, were sentenced to two months' imprisonment in spite of the complete absence of proof. They all adopted a courageous attitude in attacking the government, imperialism and its schemes in a violent and fearless manner. The defence was made up 60 voluntary lawyers.

Thus, for more than 2 years, the Lebanese Government has pursued its large-scale terrorist offensive against the trade union movement in the Lebanon. It is arresting trade union leaders and throwing them into prison, confiscating their newspapers and publications, imprisoning their editors and distributors, banning the meeting of Municipal Councils, prosecuting their members, forbidding workers to sign petitions or to send telegrams, arbitrarily bringing them before the courts, as if they were criminals conspiring against the security of the State. It orders its agents to infiltrate into the ranks of the workers and to frequent their habitual meeting places, and, in agreement with the foreign exploiting trusts and the employers, they attempt to force the workers and employees to leave their trade unions, under pain of dismissal. They break strikes with the greatest brutality and force the workers to accept wage-reductions, increased hours of work and the abandonment of annual holidays with pay; and if they show the slightest resistance or protest, they are considered as having threatened the security of the State, and they are brought up before special tribunals. As for the aim of the Government, it is to strip the workers of all the rights which they have been granted under the Lebanese Labour Law.

Yes, the Lebanese Government and behind it, the foreign exploiting tyrants, the big company owners, the national capitalists, all aim at depriving the workers, by this reactionary offensive against the trade union movement, of all the victories won by them during recent years. They are endeavouring to establish a fascist régime under which the Lebanese worker, would become a servile tool useful only for winning profits for the imperialists and monopolists, unable to defend his rights or improve his lot. Finally, they are aiming at the suppression of all civil liberties in order to be able to carry out their plans, and they are setting up imperialist blocs contrary to the interests of peace.

But all the traps set by the government and its allies for the workers and the trade unions are only a proof of weakness and bankruptcy. The workers know and feel that the entire people support them in their struggle for the defence of their rights. The persecution of the workers and their trade union leaders is nothing but an offensive against the liberty of all the people, against its daily bread and its standard of living. Thus, by pursuing such a path the Government proves that it is severing all connection with the people in order to serve, both by word and deed interests foreign to those of the country. It is rapidly moving towards the abyss.

The situation of the Lebanese workers at the present moment is characterised by the fall in their standard of living, together with the attack on their wages and rights. The exploiting foreign powers and many employers continually reduce wages. To do this they resort to several methods : in the Railways, Electricity and Tramway Companies they began by sacking the old experienced workers who had obtained wage increases after long years, and replacing them by new ones who were made to accept low wages. In addition, the employers hire workers for a number of months, then they dismiss them before they are entitled to receive a period of notice. At other times, they simply "renew" the contract in order to achieve the same end, while imposing yet lower wages.

Wages have fallen considerably over the last two years. Textile workers earn, according to their qualifications, from 100 to 400 Lebanese piastres *per day*. (100 Lebanese piastres are worth about 2/6.)

Printers earn from about 250 to 600; carpenters from 200 to 600; building workers from 150 to 500; electricians from 250 to 550 per day. A few workers receive higher wages than these because of their high trade qualifications.

The cost of living is very high. A room costs from 2,000 to 4,000 piastres a month (about £2.4 to £4.10). And for an average family of 5 to be able to live, it needs at least 300 Lebanese pounds a month (or 30,000 piastres), while the average worker earns only 100 to 150 L. pounds. It would be useful to note here that the majority of Lebanese families depend economically on one man, and since it is impossible for him to feed all the members, any young people there are have to be sent to work as soon as possible, and necessity prevents them from receiving any schooling. Thus deprived of education children from 8 to 12 years become the prey of illnesses caused by overwork. The number of Lebanese women working outside the home is infinitesimal compared with Europe and elsewhere. Thus the head of the family finds himself forced to feed his whole family on his own hopelessly inadequate wages.

The number of unemployed in the Lebanon has gone up. It is estimated at 30,000 workers (*). without any government aid or support. The unions do their best to aid their members.

As for the causes of unemployment, they may be summed up as follows :—

1. The government attaches no importance to schemes for absorbing unemployed labour;

2. The competition of foreign merchandise, American, British, French and others, is seriously affecting national industries (textiles, fur and leather, tinned food);

3. The same is true of the importation of manufactured goods, shoes, carpenters' products such as doors, windows, strong-boxes, furniture, etc. For example the millionaire Arydeh built a large hotel in the Lebanon (the Ambassador) whose furniture, valued at 1,000,000 Lebanese pounds was entirely imported from abroad.

All this has damaged national industry and given rise to unemployment.

4. The government attaches no importance to the small cultivators and peasants who are compelled to leave their villages and farms in large numbers to work in the town as workers or employees. These too go to swell the number of unemployed.

The foreign companies are profiting from the country's economic situation, in particular from the unemployment, and are beginning to dismiss the old workers and replace them by new ones who are forced to accept low wages.

* The number of organised workers in the Lebanon is between 100 and 120,000. The population numbers 1,200,000.

The Lebanon in particular and the Middle East in general have a new cause of distress in the infiltration of a great imperialist trust : I mean the Pipeline Company, which is hoping to build a great pipeline through our country. This company announced that it needed workers and that each candidate should hand in the necessary papers, such as testimonials of good behaviour and medical reports. It then passed all the applications on to the Lebanese CID to detect the " dangerous " elements, that is those trade unionists who had defended the rights of their class, either by having led a trade union, or even by taking part in any strike. Then, relying on this information the imperialist oil trust refused to hire a great number of trade unionists. Moreover, taking advantage of the shortage of work, the trust, after having fixed wages at a reasonable level, reversed its decision and set them at an extremely low level. The Lebanese government, what is more, accepted this decision all the more readily since it feared that its civil servants would ask higher wages similar to those offered by the trust. This the government sought to avoid at all costs. In this way we see the interests of the capitalist governors of the Lebanon, as elsewhere, agreeing with those of the great monopoly imperialist trusts against the interests of the poor working masses.

One of the essential aims of the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon is the fight for peace, and collaboration with defenders of the peace throughout the world, with at their head the great Soviet Union, the protector and defender of world peace. Along with this struggle goes the fight to unmask the warmongers.

So that when it was decided to hold a World Congress for Peace at Paris in April 1949 our Federation, having received an invitation from the Preparatory Committee, hastened to delegate its President, comrade Mustafa El Ariss to attend the Congress.

The Lebanese delegation at the Peace Congress consisted of three persons : the great architect and devoted patriot Anton Tabet, Mustafa El Ariss and Marie Pacha. The delegation brought to Congress petitions and letters of support signed by more than 30,000 persons of all classes of the population : workers, peasants, intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, the democratic youth, the communists, etc. Moreover, while the Congress was being held, our Federation addressed the following manifesto to all workers :—

" For the defence of Peace

Appeal by the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon. "

" The Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon recently held a meeting at the union offices at which representatives of the unions and of union committees were present. The subject under discussion was the letter from the World Federation of Trade Unions, which unites more than 70 million workers; this letter dealt with the question of world peace and the World Congress for Peace which will meet on 20 April 1949. At the end of this meeting, the following appeal was unanimously adopted :—

" There is everywhere a feeling of apprehension in the world today as a result of war propaganda by those who stand to gain

by it, and we see the imperialist States embarking on arms races and aggressive blocs in order to unleash a new war whose victims will be the peoples everywhere and whose objective is world domination.

"The working men and women of the world, who, more than any others, suffered and made sacrifices in the great anti-fascist and anti-nazi Second World War, hoped to achieve a lasting peace for the development and the well-being of all the peoples of the world. It is for this reason that they are so angry with and scornful of the schemings and attempts of the reactionary imperialist capitalists to stoke up once more the fires of a new world war which would bring them new profits and monopolies to be paid for by the people; and they are determined to balk these war-plans and save humanity from overwhelming catastrophe.

"The Lebanese workers are well aware that war brings profit only to the imperialists, the arms manufacturers and war-profiteers, who are trying to turn the Lebanon and the Arab Levant into a zone of aggressive military bases and a field of military operations. This means for the workers death, ruin, suffering and deportation.

"They hate war and desire to live in peace and security in their country. They know their responsibilities to their country and their people and that it is their duty to campaign for peace in their land and unite with all the lovers of peace throughout the world.

"That is why they are calling on all the Lebanese people, without any political or sex discrimination, to come together and unite in the campaign for the defence of peace and to support the World Congress for Peace which will take place in Paris in April 1949, and which will voice the determination of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world to campaign against war, to unmask and balk the war-mongers and to cooperate with all people in the defence of a lasting peace.

"We are convinced that the cooperation of all the peace-forces in our country and throughout the world is the best guarantee to drive off war and all its train of unhappiness and sorrow, and assure a lasting peace.

"Long live peace and its defenders in the Lebanon and throughout the whole world!

"Down with war and the war-mongers!

"Beirut. 10 April 1949.

*"Trade Union Federation of Workers
and Employees of the Lebanon."*

Apart from its trade union and national activity, the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon has for the last five years been very active in another field of great interest to the people, the defence of tenants' rights.

At the beginning of this year a Congress was held at Beirut which was attended by more than 500 people: workers, employees, civil servants, lawyers, doctors, skilled workers, trades people, etc. The Congress adopted a number of resolutions demanding especially the reduction of rents, the abolition of forced eviction and the construction of a workers' city.

Not long before the closing of this Congress a huge force of police arrived. They threw a cordon round the offices of the Trade Union Federation and ordered all those taking part in the Congress to leave immediately. They were met with a unanimous refusal. Suddenly, when the delegates were leaving the Congress hall they found themselves surrounded by police who barred their way and forced them to climb into lorries. They were all arrested and transported to headquarters. There the Defence Committee were questioned by the police who took down their names, together with all those who had attended the meeting. After two hours under arrest they were freed. This was a government attempt to terrorise the workers and the poor people who had taken part in the Congress, and to create an atmosphere of terror around the Trade Union Federation.

The whole world knows that fascist coup d'état carried out in Syria in April, 1949 by Colonel Husni Zaim, acting on the orders of Anglo-American imperialism, brought to an end all the existing liberties in the country. All the political parties and the trade union organisations were dissolved, all meetings forbidden, and legal trade union activity was declared to be illegal. Hundreds of people, workers, peasants, communists and patriots were imprisoned.

Now the imperialist groups would like to hatch a plot, comparable to that which assassinated the Syrian Republic, to kill off the Lebanese Republic in its turn. For these two independent republics constitute an obstacle to the Anglo-American imperialists who must first suppress the republican regime in Syria and the Lebanon in order to achieve their political plans for a Greater Syria and the Fertile Crescent or assist the plans of the oil kings and the pipeline trust (construction of a pipe-line across Syria and Lebanon) or the Anglo-Iranian Trust and other imperialist exploiting companies.

Noting the danger threatening the Lebanese Republic, the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees decided it was its national and trade union duty to publish the following manifesto in defence of the republican regime against the reactionary conspirators and their allies, the imperialists and their agents :—

*" Manifesto of the Trade Union Federation of the Workers
and Employees of the Lebanon*

" The Lebanese workers are defending the republican régime against the reactionary conspirators, the imperialists and their agents.

" In the present conditions under which the Lebanese workers live, in the throes of a heroic working-class struggle for the defence of their liberties and trade union rights against the offensive opened by reaction inside the country, the imperialists and their agents;

" Considering the danger, to which the working-class is exposed, of the suppression of the few rights they have won after long and bitter strife, the Trade Union Federation of Workers and Employees of the Lebanon considers that it is its duty to make a public declaration to all workers that their rights and demands can be won only from a republican and democratic régime which guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, freedom of association which includes the freedom to form trade unions for all

workers and employees; a régime allowing the people in general and the workers in particular to enjoy the liberties and rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

"All the world knows that the countries governed dictatorially and arbitrarily are deprived of the most elementary human rights. The workers there live a wretched and poverty-stricken existence. Their liberties are trodden underfoot, their rights are scorned, their trade unions suppressed and their wages reduced. Moreover, the trade union movement is outlawed and violently attacked by the dictatorial authorities. The militant trade unionists are persecuted, sent to prison or the gallows. That is what we are witnessing today in the Lebanon, Spain and in the colonies: that is what we saw yesterday under the defeated Hitlerite and Fascist régimes in Germany, Italy, Japan and elsewhere.

"The achievement of social demands and the guarantee of social liberties is therefore closely bound up with the existence of a constitutional republican régime. And if the Lebanese trade union movement has suffered much persecution, and the workers have been deprived of many of their rights, that was not the fault of the republican régime under which we live, but the fault of those who have misused it, neglected the people's interests and reduced their rights, including those of the workers, thus working to bring about a split and sending a large number of trade union militants to prison for having defended the rights of the workers and the unions.

"Therefore, the great discontent shown everywhere by all the Lebanese people, and especially by the workers and employees, towards the existing state of affairs, is not caused by the existence of a republican régime, but its control by those who do not wish to use it properly.

"For this reason the Lebanese workers consider it one of their first tasks to work for the preservation of their constitutional republican régime and its stubborn defence against those conspirators inside and outside the country, the reactionaries, imperialists and their agents who want to overthrow the Lebanese régime for their reactionary and imperialist ends. Among other things the Lebanese workers are demanding a radical change in the government's methods and policy. They call for the respect of public liberties, including those of the trade unions. They call for an end to the encouragement of break-away elements in the trade union movement.

"They are calling for a campaign against unemployment by finding essential work for the unemployed to do, against the high cost of living and for the protection of national industry against foreign competition. They are insisting on the application of the social security law, a revision of the minimum wage, which is no longer representative of the living standards, and the construction of houses suitable for the workers, employees, poor people and middle classes to be let to them at a rent proportional to their meagre wages.

"These are the demands made by the Lebanese workers. Once accomplished they will prevent criminals from tampering with the republican régime. For, thanks to them, the republic will acquire new strength and will be respected by the toiling masses and the

workers who will fight, without counting the cost, in its defence, because it will assure them work, food and liberty.

“ Long live the Lebanese Republic !

“ Down with the conspirators against the Lebanese Republic !

“ Beirut, April 1948.

*“ Trade Union Federation of the Workers
and Employees of the Lebanon. ”*

Following on the publication of the above manifesto and its diffusion among the workers and people, the Lebanese government brought a suit against the Federation representatives, that is : Mustafa El Ariss, president of the Printers and of the Federation, Youssef Chertouni, President of the Woodworkers Union, and Vice-President of the Federation, Esber El Samn, President of the Builders' Union and Treasurer of the Federation; Chekib Beyrouti, president of the varnishers and polishers, and many more. This trial is still *sub judice*. We thus see that the Lebanese Government considers the defence of the republican régime, of freedom and democracy, a crime liable to punishment. It has brought before the courts the representatives of our Federation whose only crime is that they defended and continue to defend the republican régime against conspirators, reactionaries, imperialists and their agents.

Since 1945, our Federation has published an 8-page bulletin which is considered as the organ of the unions and workers of the Lebanon. This bulletin, unique of its kind in Syria and the Lebanon, continued to appear until the end of 1948. But at the time of the UNESCO demonstration on 19 November 1948, and after the arrest of Mustafa El Ariss, the police and the CID raided the printing-works where Hayat-el-Oummal was printed. They confiscated the type and material and ordered all printing-works not to print it in the future. However, the comrades succeeded in making up and printing a number giving details of the terror and persecution. This number was printed after the arrest of comrade Mustafa El Ariss, and was widely distributed throughout the Lebanon.

Since then, Hayat-el-Oummal has not appeared.

The affiliation of the workers of the Lebanon, and the Arab and Eastern countries to the WFTU has had a great influence on their union consciousness. The workers, far from feeling themselves isolated, as previously, from the world trade union movement, can see the existence of collaboration, contacts, and common struggles for the defence of the economic, political and social rights of the working class, in defence of Peace, democracy and independence from the imperialists and the finance barons who are trying to light the fires of a new world war against the Soviet Union and other peaceful peoples.

Moreover the affiliation to the WFTU and our part in its work have made the Lebanese government, the imperialists and their agents uneasy, quite simply because the WFTU is an effective weapon for the defence of the rights of the working class.

It is for this reason that obstacles have been piled up to prevent the workers' delegates from leaving the country and attending the

various meetings of the WFTU. This is true especially in the Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Iran, Irak, and many others where the imperialists exercise great influence through the intermediary of reactionary national governments.

We believe it is our duty to declare on this occasion our attachment to the WFTU, because it constitutes an effective instrument to defend the rights of the working class throughout the world against the imperialists and capitalists who are seeking to undermine the unity of the working class by ordering certain reactionary leaders to withdraw from the WFTU to weaken it and prepare for its destruction.

We solemnly proclaim that we support the WFTU and approve all decisions of the 2nd Congress which go towards strengthening the world-wide unity of the working class, and to defend the workers' rights, peace, democracy and liberty.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD-WIDE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE UNITED AND POWERFUL WFTU !

LONG LIVE PEACE ! (*Applause.*)

The trade union situation in Syria

Having dealt with the Lebanon, I shall now read the report sent by the Congress of Syrian Workers summing up the trade union situation in Syria.

The Syrian working class, which has been fighting for its rights and liberty for many years both under the French mandate and, after the evacuation of the foreign troops, under successive reactionary governments,—sends greetings to the 2nd Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It greets the powerful unity of the working class which four years ago led to the creation of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This unity, is made necessary by the present hard and difficult conditions throughout the world and especially in the countries led by governments who betray their peoples and are entirely subservient to foreign imperialists.

The international and internal situation therefore demands a still closer solidarity among the workers of the world for the defence of their common interests. This is the feeling which dominates among the Syrian working class.

Since the setting up of the Congress of Syrian Workers in 1945 and its collaboration with the WFTU, the successive reactionary governments have utilised every possible means to weaken our movement, in collaboration with the representatives of the big owners and the members of the British and American legations. They were also helped by certain leaders of the "Union of Trade Unions"—leaders who in reality were agents of the government and the owners and in constant contact with imperialist circles. Here are a few examples :—

No trade union election has taken place without the presence and control of members of the Department of Social Affairs and agents of the Sûreté Générale (CID), with the object of exerting pressure on the workers and of helping to the leading positions in the unions the agents of the owners or of the government.

Moreover, no general meeting of any union has been able to take place without the prior authorisation of the authorities and under their control. Often the authorities bans meetings in which the workers are to discuss wages, hours, etc.

About a year ago the owners of the spinning-mills decided on a 25 % cut in wages. The committee of the spinners' union submitted a request to authorise a general meeting to allow the workers to discuss the matter and to decide on their position. After long negotiation, the authorisation was refused, while at the same time the owners were holding many meetings and plotting against the workers.

Similarly, when the unions in the Syrian towns asked permission to hold a Congress to discuss matters of common interest, it was refused, after much hesitation, under pretext of the war in Palestine.

The authorities also refused authorisation to form a trade union of spinning workers in Damascus. The Aleppo spinners' union was also refused the right to include among its members the workers in the big factories, where the owners have great influence.

The government dismisses from the central committees of the unions leaders who do not comply with its desires and defend the rights of the working class without fear of intimidation or threats. The Department of Social Affairs, which is under Anglo-American domination, has in this way dismissed the majority of good trade union militants.

For example a year ago, comrade Ibrahim Bakri, treasurer of the machine spinners' union, was dismissed by the authorities and replaced by a nominee. The same was done to comrades Gebran Halla and Kamel Badaoui (secretary and member of the Committee of the Damascus tile workers), comrades Chikri Sadik, Ibrahim Geugeou, Honein Haddad and Salah Chukri (president and committee-members of the Damascus tailors' union).

The Department of Social Affairs also interfered in the elections for the members of the committee of the Homs Trade Union Federation, dismissing it after it had obtained 11 votes out of 14.

Also dismissed from his post was the President of the Homs Restaurant and Hotel Workers. The Department did likewise with comrades Abdel Karim Hatoun, Lyan Talgy, Saadallah Chami (President, Vice-president and secretary of the Homs manual spinners' union), and comrades Nadim Zamar (secretary of the union) and Somaan Moulki (treasurer).

All these persons were dismissed despite the fact that they fulfilled the qualities and guarantees required by the law.

They had only one fault : they were not trusted by the authorities and the owners.

With the object of weakening the trade union movement the big owners (machine spinning, railways, cement works) systematically dismissed trade union militants and had them black-listed.

The Syrian governments have constantly made use of police methods in the settlement of the workers' affairs—imprisonment, blows, torture, etc.

Five months ago the owners of the Aleppo spinning mills demanded wage-cuts.

The workers came out on strike. The President of the union and 50 workers were jailed on false charges.

Last month the Homs sugar-factory workers came out on strike for an 8-hour working day in conformity with the labour code. The government sent tanks and the soldiers dispersed the workers with the butts of their guns and jailed many of them.

In June 1946 the government promulgated the Labour Code after a bitter 10-year struggle of the working class. But this new law is contrary to the most elementary principles of social legislation in any other democratic country.

This law has limited trade union activity in Syria. If the workers in any trade or factory intend to form a union they have to keep asking for three months and in the end are refused permission.

This law has also limited the right to strike, the only weapon of the workers, and has made the unions into an instrument of the government, with absolute control by the authorities over their activity—no general meeting can take place without prior permission.

The Labour Code elsewhere grants certain rights to the workers:—an 8-hour day in most industries, 9 in some trades, such as hairdressers, restaurant and hotel-workers, and 7 in dangerous work such as tanning tobacco, printing, building.

But in spite of these legal restrictions the workers, especially in the small factories, with few exceptions work a ten or twelve-hour day—in shoemaking, manual spinning, tanning, baking, cutting, engineering, carpentry, building, and a great part of machine spinning.

Moreover the women workers enjoy no rights in the way of maternity benefits, paid pregnancy leave, or others. They are confined to hard work at very low wages, sometimes half a man's wage. Children work 10 to 12 hours a day for a derisory wage and under deplorable health conditions.

Unemployment among the workers is growing day by day. The main cause is the invasion of our markets by American and British goods which compete with our national industry.

The big American and British monopolies are pursuing a policy of exporting mass consumption goods which the national industry could supply, mainly textiles, leather goods, nylon, drinks and liqueurs, toilet goods, soap, tobacco, matches, pencils, toys, pastry, suits, and various preserves.

Anglo-American imperialism is doing everything in its power to stifle national industry, to hinder its development by holding up the import of raw materials, machines, tools and instruments, and it does this with the assent of the various Syrian governments and the big importers.

The result of this policy has been the impoverishment of the workers, the increase in unemployment, the cut in the workers' wages, and the worsening of labour conditions.

From 1947 to the present day, wages been cut several times by between 25 % and 50 %, while the cost of living has continually risen or at best remained stationary, but at excessive prices.

We can say that healthy conditions of work do not exist in our country; the workers in the printing, shoemaking, pastry, and manual and machine weaving shops work in cellars where neither sun, light

nor air ever penetrate. This causes contagious diseases among the workers, especially tuberculosis.

The workers of Syria enjoy no social security scheme, especially when unemployed. Although the labour law provides for wages for days sick and compensation for accidents at work, the workers only receive something after protracted formalities, and any suits they may bring are more often than not of no benefit to them.

Measures for the prevention of accidents at work do not exist either.

In addition to this economic pressure exercised by Anglo-American imperialism over our country, it is invading our country with its piracy schemes; it compels us to give concessions to the American and British companies under conditions disadvantageous to the independence of our country, making it a satellite of the USA and Great Britain. Among these projects is that to lay a pipeline across Syria on behalf of the American Tapline Company, which recently obtained the assent of the fascist government of Colonel Zaim, against the wishes of the Syrian people, which, as is known, has fought fiercely against any concession of any privileged position to any foreign state in our country, and against the exploitation of the country and its wealth by foreign monopolies.

Towards the end of last year the Syrian working class participated with the whole people in demonstrations and strikes in all the towns of Syria and particularly in Damascus, Aleppo and Homs, with the primary object of preventing the government from allowing Tapline—the American oil company—to take its pipelines through Syrian territory. The government then in power had to bring the army on to the streets to counter the people's fury. Scores of dead and wounded were victims of these demonstrations and strikes, and the authorities also arrested hundreds of citizens who had proclaimed their hatred and disapproval of the collaborationist policy of the government of Syria with the imperialists and the their monopoly companies. Under the pressure of the masses of the people the government had to resign.

At the end of March 1949, Anglo-American imperialism helped to set up a government of military dictatorship, which answers with prison and persecution every citizen who might think of opposing the Anglo-American imperialists' plans. This government was led by Colonel Husni Zaim; and overnight he established a despotic, fascist, hitlerian régime which liquidated every vestige of liberty and democracy left to the Syrian people.

Parliament was dissolved and the Constitution suspended; 50 newspapers and reviews were shut down; all parties and even cultural clubs were dissolved; scores of citizens were arrested; scores more brought before the courts; among those arrested are a great many trade union militants and leaders, including comrades Jamil Osman, president of the hotel, restaurant and café workers' union; Nader Raslan, member of the committee of the tailors' union; Liane Telji, vice-president of the manual spinners' union; Abd-El-Jalil Daniel, member of the committee of the railwaymen's union; and two militant trade unionists, Abd-El-Rahman Abbara and Naim Aref.

Even the unions in name only which exist today, and which are led

for the most part by men who kow-tow to the present government-leaders and have proclaimed their support for the fascist hitlerite government are also threatened with dissolution and liquidation.

The few rights granted by the labour law, and which are generally speaking not applied, are liable to disappear under the despotic, hitlerite régime now ruling the country.

The Syrian people, who fought for 30 years against French imperialism, is today fighting for its true independence and for the guarantee of freedom and well-being for all the sons of the people; it will never allow its country to be made a strategic military base for aggression against peoples who are living in peace, or to light the blaze of a 3rd World War against the Soviet Union, the country of victorious socialism, or against the peoples' democracies.

In the present critical period, when the Indian, Iranian, Turkish, Greek and Arab working classes, and other working-class organisations in countries subject to a reactionary, despotic régime, are fighting vigorously, the Congress of Syrian Workers proclaims its complete support for the strengthening of the World Federation of Trade Unions, as an instrument for the unification of the struggles of the working class throughout the world and for the coordination of its efforts and struggles for its rights and demands, for the liberty of each country, for the strengthening of world peace, to prevent the warmongers, the American, British, French and other imperialists from unleashing a 3rd World War.

The Congress of Syrian Workers also salutes the efforts of the leaders of the WFTU, and protests energetically against the acts of sabotage and division of the British and American trade unions and their agents in the ranks of the working class of the world, acts designed to weaken the confidence of the workers in the WFTU, the setting up of which was a great victory for the workers of the entire world.

The Trade Union Situation in Iraq

The origin of the Iraq trade union movement coincides with the voting of the Constitution in March 1925 and the birth of the modern movement of national liberation. At the same time as the political parties and the cultural clubs—notably the Naddi Ettédamoune—saw the light of day, trade union organisations began to be formed. And it was during this period that the big unions, those of the railwaymen, the dockers, the tobacco-workers, engineering workers, building workers, electrical workers, oilworkers, printers, etc., were set up. Within a few years the progress made by the trade union movement was so rapid that before 1930 the Iraq Trade Union Federation, led by the worker Mohammed Salih Kazzaz, was founded.

In 1932, at the very moment when the imperialists and their lackeys were celebrating the spectacular entry of Iraq into the League of Nations, a general strike broke out in Baghdad. Pointing to the repeated and more than exaggerated increases in rates demanded by the British electricity trust, and certain of the entire support of the population, which hates everything which smells of imperialism, M. S. Kazzaz, in agreement with the political leaders, called on the inhabitants to boycott this trust.

This was the time of the famous and victorious hundred-day strike, which nothing, not pressure, nor police interference or terror, nor fruitless attempts at division, could break.

Trade union progress was methodically maintained since that time, and during and after the 2nd World War, and reached its height in the spring of 1946. For thanks to the victory of the United Nations over hitlerism and fascism, a victory which roused all the Iraqi people and particularly the workers and intellectuals, British imperialism under unanimous popular pressure, was compelled to dismiss the long-lived government of Hamdi Patchetchi and to replace it by a new cabinet with the patriotic and upright leader Saad Salih as Minister of the Interior. The latter abolished the martial law which had been in force for 10 years and made every effort to respect democratic rights and liberties. Without loss of time, therefore, the trade unions, as well as the political militants, set to work feverishly to build up their organisations.

The most important trade union organisations in Iraq are the following :—

The railwaymen, dockers (at the great and only port of Bassura), printers, tobacco-workers engineers, oilworkers, building workers, textiles, taxi-drivers, electricians, tailors, joiners, tanners, etc. The leading trade union militants are Ali Choukour (Railwaymen), Salih Bahr Ouloume (tobacco workers), Mehdi Hussein (Dockers), Nafie Selim (Printers), Kadoum Dijeli (building workers), and many other leaders and militants whose names we are obliged to conceal because of present political conditions in Iraq.

Note in this connection that according to recent statistics we have 1800 factories, the capital of 55 of which exceeds 4,000,000 dinars (or pounds sterling).

The strength of the trade union movement in Iraq compelled the Baghdad government and its British masters to pass a labour Code as early as 25 April 1946. Frequently modified and completed by various laws, such as that on the building of working-class housing (25 March 1941), on the banning of night work for women (28 March 1937), on accidents at work (9 March 1937), on occupational diseases (21 July 1939), on the work of young people (23 January 1938), etc., this Code, with certain restrictions, follows the lines of the social legislation known in European capitalist countries.

Article 3, para. 2(a) accepts the principle of a weekly rest period of 24 consecutive hours on full pay, while para. 3(a) accepts that of holidays with pay at the rate of one day per month worked; article 3 also requires notice to be given on dismissal. Moreover, decree 7222 of 15 November 1937 fixes the working day at 8 hours, save for authorisation or arrangement to the contrary.

Finally, in chapter 4, the formation of trade unions is dealt with. Article 23 formally recognises this right of the workers, but article 25 requires it to be authorised, it is true implicitly only, with the possibility of appeal to the administration.

When the great warmonger, Churchill, took up at Fulton the traditions of Hitler, and, still more, when Truman revealed his interventionist « doctrine » in March 1947 and Marshall, in June of the same year, translated it into the sinister plan that bears his name,

—yes, as early as that—the general situation, both from the political and the trade union point of view, underwent radical modification in our country. For 3 months after its establishment on 25 February 1946, the Saad Salih government was dismissed and replaced by that of the hangman Arched Omeri, who immediately began to persecute the trade union movement, an integral part of the national liberation movement.

It was at this period that the great Quawerbaghi massacre took place. The oilworkers in the Kukout region had come out on strike to support their demand for a wage-increase, presented months before. Arched Omeri ordered the police to fire on the workers massed not far from their place of work. Scores of workers were wounded, some seriously, and there were a certain number of fatal casualties. On 29 March 1947 Salih Jebour, the new prime minister, intensified the terror in all domains and, like everywhere else, tried to split the trade union movement. But, to the present day, neither he nor his predecessors, nor even Nuri Saïd, the first agent of British imperialism in Iraq, has succeeded in doing so. And it is to the glory of the workers of our country that we can say that there exists no government union in Iraq.

The Irak workers, with the democratic militants and the workers, played a decisive rôle in the memorable rising of January 1948 in which not only Baghdad but the whole of Iraq, experienced a total and unanimous general strike. It was thanks to this united general action that the hangman Salih Jebour was dismissed and the aggressive and servile Portsmouth treaty, signed by Bevin and Jebour on 15 January 1948, was abolished.

Taking advantage of the brief period of liberty which followed the 1948 rising, the militant trade unionists worked with great energy to reorganise the unions, hard hit by the terror of Omeri and Jebour. Considerable efforts were made to strengthen and tighten up the unions and also to set up the National Council of the Iraq Trade Union Federation. Better still, towards the end of April 1949, as all preparations had been completed, the militants got ready to ask for affiliation to the WFTU.

Moreover strikes broke out all over the country to compel the Sadir government to respect all trade union rights and liberties and in particular to give official recognition to the democratic unions—the only ones which existed. The most important strike was that of the railwaymen, who, after besieging the Cabinet building, compelled the government to give formal recognition to the correctness of their demands, and to pledge respect for trade union rights and liberties.

This was the situation when, under the camouflage of Pan-Arabianism and waving the sinister bogey, the Baghdad lackeys invaded Palestine to allow the British imperialists to annex the previously evacuated Arab Palestine, to colonise Transjordan, and to turn popular discontent towards the outside. Then, taking advantage of martial law, which was again proclaimed in May 1948, they intensified their terror more than ever.

Since May 1948, and in particular since the Nuri Said ministry formed on 7 January 1949, Iraq has been living under the greatest terror. The imperialists, seeking to impose a new Portsmouth on our

country, to form their aggressive and servile blocs, to continue to pillage our wealth, in a word to prepare for a war of aggression against the Soviet Union and all free countries, and to check the powerful national liberation movements, the most significant and heroic example of which is given by the Chinese people,—to achieve all this, they have trodden underfoot all rights and liberties, even the most elementary ones. The following will give you some idea of this:—

Ten concentration camps, including that of Nougrette-Seylmane, excavated out of desert, and made up of cells measuring less than one yard square, a living hell a tomb were the best sons of Iraq are buried alive.

20,000 political prisoners and detainees, 10,000 secret agents in Baghdad alone. 87 newspapers and reviews banned. All parties and organisations dissolved, « voluntarily » suspended, or forbidden.

And finally, murders. Let us mention those of Y. S. Fehede, General Secretary of the Iraq CP, Zeki Bessime, member of the Central Committee of the same party, and H. M. Chibibi, founder of the Party of National Liberation, all three murdered at Baghdad on 14 February 1949. Let us also mention the murder, at the same time, of the dockers' leader, our comrade Mehdi Hussein, assassinated at the Maude Hospital at Bassoura by the Commissioner of Police Izzette, and the fascist doctor Ahmed Syelmane.

The preparation for war which is reflected by the anti-social internal policy is accompanied not only by terror but also financial and commercial bankruptcy and the impoverishment of the masses of the people and even of the strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

Officially the budget deficit is 20,000,000 Iraq dinars out of a total of 25,000,000. The adverse balance of trade is 40,000,000 I. D. with imports at 50,000,000 and exports at 10,000,000.

As the purchasing power of the masses is very small, there is general commercial stagnation.

In comparison with 1939 wages have increased on the average 200 %, while prices have leapt up 600 %.

Here is the official table of the cost-of-living bonus granted by decree No. 30 to employees and civil servants, with effect from 1949 :—

BASIC WAGE	COST-OF-LIVING BONUS IN IRAQ DINARS		
	BACHELOR	MARRIED WITH ONE CHILD	MORE THAN 2 CHILDREN
5.....	5	6.25	8.00
6.....	6	7.25	9.00
8.....	7.50	9.00	11.00
10.....	8.50	10.00	12.00
15.....	8.75	9.75	11.75
18.....	9.00	10.00	12.00
21-25.....	9.25	10.25	12.25
30-35.....	8.00	9.00	11.00

As we see, it is only exceptionally that the employees and lower-grade civil servants have had increases of 100 %. And the same is true, with some rare exceptions, of the workers.

Hard hit by foreign competition, and hampered by laws which prevent them from thoroughly industrialising the country, the Iraqi employers are slowing up their production and dismissing workers. The foreign monopoly companies are doing likewise, affected by the general crisis which is threatening the whole capitalist system. Already the number of totally unemployed is estimated at 100,000, apart from the partially unemployed, whose number is beyond doubt considerable. For we should not forget that Iraq is a country where agriculture dominates, with 80 % of the population peasants. And at the present time there is a serious fall in the sale of agricultural produce, especially wheat and dates; Iraq produces 75 % of the world date supply, with 375 different varieties which are far superior to all others.

The foreign trusts and especially the British ones oppress the workers particularly severely, maltreating them and scorning all their rights and liberties. This is particularly true of Andrew Ware, who monopolises dates, and the petrol trust, which, despite the variety of names (IPC, MPC, BPC and KOC), can be traced back to the same interests. The latter, whose *net declared* profits are estimated at £10,000,000 sterling a year, pay the lowest wages in Iraq. So it is not surprising that the oilworkers are in a state of constant effervescence. Let us recall, for example, their famous strike of June 1948 and their heroic march to Baghdad, 400 kilometres away, to put forward and support their demands and to protest against police brutalities.

Let us also mention the administration of the railways and port of Bassoura, whose behaviour is odious in the extreme. Administered and controlled by the British, these two establishments hunt out trade unionists and dismiss them without respect for their rights and liberties.

And it goes without saying that there, as elsewhere, the police and the government give full support to all reactionary anti-working-class and anti-national activities. The behaviour both of the employers and trusts and the government is so odious that certain « right-thinking » papers and deputies are demanding changes.

After failing to checkmate the national liberation movement, including the trade union movement, by all the classical methods—outlawing of all democratic organisations, student, working-class, and political, censorship of the press, concentration camps, martial law, etc., the imperialists and their lackeys are having recourse to their last weapon, death and assassination. But this is a certain sign of weakness and bankruptcy, for nobody has ever been able to kill a movement, any more than they have been able to massacre a people. Here, as everywhere else, the patriots and all honest Iraqis are determined to balk the bellicose and servile plans. They are determined to fight till victory for the defence of their rights and liberties, for bread, national independence and peace. For they are convinced that all these problems are closely connected and are inseparably attached to the problem of unity. For without national, and international

and above all trade union unity there will be no bread, no independence, and no peace.

The Iraq workers and trade unionists, stigmatising the splitters in the most vigorous fashion, solemnly proclaim their attachment to working-class unity, achieved in the World Federation of Trade Unions. And, having greeted the 2nd Congress at Milan, they appeal to all trade unionists throughout the world to protest against the brutalities of the police government of Nuri Saïd, the hireling of the Anglo-American imperialists. They appeal to them to support their Iraqi comrades engaged in a terrible and noble struggle.

Finally, in asking the 2nd Congress to accept their affiliation to the WFTU, the trade unionists of Iraq are certain they express the unanimous desires of their comrades.

ETERNAL GLORY TO OUR COMRADES FALLEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION !

LONG LIVE INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE !

DOWN WITH WAR, THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR LACKEYS !

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

The Trade Union Situation in Egypt

When, in September, 1945 the Egyptian workers were asked to choose a representative for the World Trade Union Congress to be held in Paris, the request was received with an enthusiasm hitherto unknown in the history of the trade union movement in Egypt. The Egyptian workers realised that this Congress at last offered them the opportunity of unity; that it would be a chance of bringing to an end all the divisions and treachery of the past, of finishing with all those indirect or direct agents of imperialism and reaction from the Palace representatives down to the smallest members of the bourgeoisie in the different political parties, who up till then had organised the workers only to betray them, to divide and weaken them.

So about 100,000 workers organised in 101 trade unions elected Mohamed Youssef el Medarrek as their delegate to the Paris Congress and subscribed to pay the expenses of his journey. Unfortunately the unity thus achieved was not complete. A small group of Cairo trade unions, especially those concerned with Public Transport, which had long been under the influence of Prince Abbas Halim, chose their own delegate, Mr. al Qualioubi and a group of tradesmen's employees chose David Nahoum. Others, including Zeneddine, the well-known British agent, who obviously in no way represented the Egyptian workers, were sent to Paris by their employers, but did not succeed in being admitted to the Congress.

After his return el Medarrek continued his efforts to achieve unity. A Preparatory Committee for the creation of an Egyptian Workers' Confederation was set up. But the police immediately intervened, arresting el Medarrek and forbidding the Preparatory Committee to continue. Medarrek stayed in prison for 5 months, during which time a new attempt was made to widen the gap between the different trade union groups which had been avoided at the time of the Paris Congress.

After he was set free Medarrek continued his work for unity which went well in spite of police intervention. But he was again arrested in June 1946, together with a large number of trade union leaders. He was arrested yet again in June 1947 after his return from Prague, then in May 1948 at the time of the proclamation of martial law, but had to be released each time because of the wave of protestations in Egypt and abroad, and also because of the WFTU's interventions.

In spite of these persecutions of the trade union movement and its leaders; persecutions which hindered the establishment of a Trade Union Confederation, the Egyptian working-class movement continued to develop until May 1948. There were three main factors underlying its development.

During the Second World War the cost of living did nothing but rise until it was more than 3 times its pre-war level, while wages never rose above a 100 % increase.

From the end of the war onwards the owners and the government aimed at taking from the workers the trade union rights they had won in 1942. They began quite arbitrarily to close down and confiscate the funds of the militant trade unions, to dismiss the workers and to decree that certain categories of them should be forced to live in the country districts.

Of the promises made during the war as regards independence, the evacuation of the British occupation troops, the unity of the Nile Valley, democracy and the basic liberties, not one was kept.

A first wave of strikes broke out in December 1945, centred in the industrial area of Cairo, Choubra al Kheima. The police and the army intervened, surrounding the factories with tanks and machine guns. But, despite repression, the movement grew. In February 1946 a great student movement for independence and the evacuation of troops forced the government to resign. Workers throughout Egypt united with them and, with the "Workers' and Students' Committee", organised a one-day general strike whose immense success shook the imperialist-reactionary régime to its roots.

So for the first time the Egyptian working class showed itself as an independent force in the fight for national liberation. It was led by its "Workers' National Liberation Committee", which was made up solely of trade union leaders, among whom was el Medarrek.

In July 1946, the new government arrested hundreds of workers and democratic intellectuals on the pretext of its campaign against communism.

This wave of repression, which went on alongside the renewal of the negotiations between the Government of Sidky, then Prime Minister, and the British imperialists for the signing of a new "mutual defence" pact, put only a temporary brake on the popular movement. The year 1947 was marked by new and powerful strikes and demonstrations which forced Sidky to abandon the negotiations with Bevin. In September 1947, 30,000 workers in the largest textile factories of Mehalla al Kubra went on strike for more than two weeks, calling for wage-increases, the abolition of the iniquitous system of fines, the improvement of safety and hygiene measures and an end to police and employers' spies among the workers.

Many solidarity strikes took place, especially at Choubra al Kheima and Alexandria. The strike was brutally put down by strong police and military forces.

In autumn 1947, the workers in the Suez Canal zone struck and demonstrated against the imperialist war in Indonesia, and prevented the ship "Fulendam" which was carrying troops and arms, from taking on supplies before leaving for Indonesia. El Medarrek and his colleagues took an active part in this movement.

At the same time popular protest against the imperialist régime of oppression and misery expressed itself in an ever-growing wave of strikes and demonstrations. Not only the workers, particularly those in the textile, sugar and petrol industry, took part, but the middle classes also participated. The end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948 saw a strike of school teachers, government and railway engineers, doctors and nurses, students, lawyers, etc.

In April 1948 this great popular movement reached its climax when police officers and men went on strike to demand an increase in their miserable wages. This strike, which was supported by the workers, especially by those of the great Alexandrian spinning-mills, developed into a tremendous demonstration of popular unity against the Nokrachi régime of famine and submission to imperialism.

So the war in Palestine and the proclamation of martial law in May 1948, were the only straws for imperialism and reaction to clutch at as it tried to stem the mounting wave of popular opinion. For all the strikes since 1946 had expressed not only economic demands, but also more or less clearly demands for national liberation, thus striking at the very roots of the semi-colonial régime.

Already, before the proclamation of martial law on 14 May 1948, the government, by "legal" and illegal means, was vainly trying to halt the growing people's and workers' movement. We have already spoken of the closing-down of the militant trade unions (such as that of the Choubra al Kheima weavers) and the arrest of the trade union leaders.

The legal measures taken aimed above all at attacking the solidarity of the Egyptian workers (ban on the setting-up of a Trade Union Confederation, ban on the publication of working-class news, suppression of the trade union press), and their solidarity with the workers of other countries. Already in 1946 Sidky Pasha had introduced his so-called "Anti-Communist Law", which condemned to forced labour anyone receiving funds from abroad. But the utter stupidity of the former President of the Industrial Federation was soon revealed. Despite hundreds of arrests he could find no-one whom he could punish under this law. He had to learn to his cost that the struggle of the workers for their legitimate demands and international solidarity were not based on the receipt of "funds from abroad".

Learning from this lesson, his successor Nokrachi Pasha introduced in April 1948 a law which is worth more detailed quotation. Here are some of the principal articles :—

"Article 98c of the Penal Code is replaced by the following text :—

"Any person who founds, sets up, organises or directs without

government permission an association, organisation or group of any nature whatsoever, with an international character or affiliated to an international organisation, shall be punished with a maximum of 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of 50 Egyptian pounds.

"The penalties shall be doubled if permission is obtained by the use of a false declaration.

"Any person who is a member of such an organisation shall be punished with 3 months' imprisonment and a fine of 30 Egyptian pounds. The same penalties shall apply to any Egyptian living in Egypt who joins or *collaborates in any fashion whatsoever* with an organisation with headquarters outside Egypt, without first having obtained permission from the Government.

"Any person found guilty of one of these crimes shall be deported for at least a year to a place chosen by the CID."

This incredible law was accompanied by another called :

Law on the suppression of strikes

We quote the following passages :—

"Article 375 of the Penal Code shall be as follows :—

"Any person who uses force, violence, intimidation, threats or any *other illegal means* to oppose

"(1) anyone else's right to work,

(2) anyone else's right to employ or not to employ anybody he may wish.

(3) anyone else's right to belong or not to belong to any organisation,

"shall be punished by two years' imprisonment and a fine of 100 Egyptian pounds (at the maximum).

"The term any other illegal means includes :—

(1) following a person,

(2) hiding his tools or preventing him *in any way* from working,

(3) standing threateningly near his place of work or home.

"The same penalties apply to those who incite other persons' to one of these crimes'".

It is not hard to translate these laws into clear language : they mean the *suppression, pure and simple, of the most elementary trade union rights*—the right to strike, to picket, to oppose arbitrary dismissal and lock-outs by the bosses, to propagand for the trade unions, to fight against scab unions. The above-quoted law punishes as a crime *any connection between the Egyptian trade unions and the great World Federation of Trade Unions*.

On May 15 Egyptian troops crossed the Palestine frontier. The day before, martial law was proclaimed in Egypt, "legalising" the

most arbitrary repression by pro-imperialist reaction against the Egyptian people and its workers. From the first day of war hundreds of democrats, wafdists, trade unionists, students and workers were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Among them were el Medarrek, Mahmoud El Askary, Secretary of the Choubra al Kheima Weavers' Union, Taha Osman, Secretary of the Preparatory Committee of the Delegation to the First WFTU Congress, and 80 other trade unionists. The repression of the working-class movement was of unprecedented ferocity. Since April 1949 the government has launched a new wave of repression against the re-birth of the people's democratic movement, preparing the way for a veritable nazification of Egypt. *80 trade unionists are in danger of death at El Tor and other concentration camps.*

Since March 1949 the government has begun to transfer the detainees from the concentration camps near Cairo and Alexandria to El Tor in the Sinai desert. According to a declaration made to Parliament on 21 March 1949 by the Minister of State El Marei, there were 414 detainees at El Tor at that time. These detainees, among whom are El Askary, Taha Osman, and many other trade unionists, are thus isolated in the middle of the desert, more than 100 miles from the nearest inhabited place. The conditions of hygiene, food, housing and climate are such that they put *the lives of these comrades in immediate danger*. For example, for all medical attention there is one oculist, who has to look after more than 400 prisoners. The detainees may receive no visits of any kind.

In the middle of April 1949 the government set up a Special Supreme Court Martial to put down "communist" crimes. According to the daily paper "Al Ahram" of the 11th and 19th March 1949, this Court has already, after two short sittings *in camera*, condemned 6 Egyptian democrats to a total of 35 years imprisonment "for having spread Communist doctrines". Hundreds of arrests also took place during March, April and May, most of them on mere denunciation. Thus it is sufficient for an employer to ask the police to "relieve" him of a militant worker for this worker to be arrested and sent to jail or concentration camp. It is sufficient for a person to have in his possession a book "referring to" or even "held to refer to questions of communism" to be arrested and jailed.

These are the direct methods of repression of the working-class movement and at the same time of the whole democratic and National Liberation movement.

In its official report of April 1949, the Egyptian Labour Department indicates "that in 1948 the number of trade unions existing in Egypt was 616, and that of these, *135 trade unions were dissolved by government decree* as not conforming with the laws in force."

At the same time a law was passed by the Council of Ministers and the Council of State authorising the setting up of "trade union Federations" under strict government control. These "Federations" would be composed of unions of the same trades and would have the task of watching over the implementation of agreements and regulations and eventually of making collective agreements, on the condition that their activity was in the interest of the trade *as a whole*, that is of both owners and workers. To form such a Federa-

tion it is necessary to obtain prior approval from the government authorities for the affiliated unions and their leaders and responsible members. Since no law guarantees the implementation of any collective agreement that might be concluded, and the setting up of a General Federation of Labour is still forbidden, and finally the "Federations" can be dissolved at any moment by the government, this new law is nothing but an attempt to divide the workers, within the general framework of the government's repression, nazification and demagoguery.

This conclusion is corroborated by the intrigues of the reactionary political leaders (including the Prime Minister and even the king in person), who are showing great activity in getting their hands on trade unions which have been able to maintain some independence. If these unions show themselves recalcitrant to this control, they are persecuted under Martial Law, and new scab unions are created in spite of the trade union law of 1942, which specifically forbids the setting up of several unions in the same place of work.

In this way the splitting and nazification of the working-class movement has become the conscious policy of the government, in line with and completing the policy of direct repression.

The Egyptian workers have repeatedly shown their deep attachment to the unity of their ranks and to solidarity towards the workers of all countries. They hope that across the unprecedented imperialist repression by which the warmongers hope to transform Egypt into a springboard for their piracy against the peoples, their voice will be heard by the workers of the world assembled at this great 2nd Congress of the WFTU.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I now call on comrade Luis Luksic of Bolivia.

L. LUKSIC (*Bolivia*). Comrades, I shall give a brief summary of the problems of my country, by way of expressing my agreement with the speeches of the comrades who have dealt with item 10 on the agenda and in particular with the contribution of comrade Lombardo Toledano.

In its number for October 18, the "Ultima Hora" (Last Hour), the daily newspaper of the capital of Bolivia, published the following information, which is a partial reflection of the life of the Bolivian people.

Out of 227 children whose chests were examined by a school doctor, only 8 passed as fit, that is 3 %. It should be pointed out that this was not during a period of epidemic, but was rather due to the bad nutritional and living conditions of the people. For only 15 % of the children drink milk, and many adults never touch it. 50 % of the persons in these children's families have less than 1,500 calories a day.

26 % of these families consist of 5 to 7 persons, who all sleep in one bed. 70 % live in one room, which they use as dining-room, bedroom, kitchen, etc., and this is true even for families of up to 9 persons.

These statistics were obtained on the basis of information from the children of a public school and their families.

But the Board of Education in 1945 published a statement that 37 % of Bolivian children could not go to school, as they were too poor. And in fact they are naked or half-naked.

When I spoke, yesterday or the day before, to a worker in the Alfa-Romeo factory here, of the living conditions and wages of the Bolivian people, he asked me " But how do these people keep alive ? " My answer was that the people are immortal.

Of course, the average wage of the Bolivian workers is not high. They earn from 1,000 to 1,500 bolivars a month, or from £3 to £4.10 or about 10 to 15 dollars.

Many essential articles are dearer than in France or Italy, so that the children start work very young.

The profits earned by the mining companies are in striking contrast with the situation of the people. For example Patino Mines, the company which owns the best tin mines in Bolivia and also in the Malayan Archipelago and the Dutch East Indies, and also owns tin-foundries in England and partly controls the Steel Corporation and certain transport companies, earned from its Bolivian mines the following profits : in the Catavi mine, capital £2,700,000 sterling in 1943, profits for the same year reached 65 % of capital, and for 1944 59.5 %—that is in two years the capital more than doubled. These profits represented for 1943 a sum equal to 27 % of the national budget. Only 20 % of the total goes in taxes.

At the same trust's Araca mine, profits in 1943 were 112 % of capital, and in 1944, 91 %, so that in two years the capital has trebled.

The wages of the workers in the Patiño mines are very low. They vary from 30 to 50 or 65 cents. On the other hand this company's private police often shoot down the workers, with the support of the government police, also in the service of Patiño Mines.

In 1928 one of these massacres took place near Catavi. The exact number of dead has never been known, but it is known that more than 150 workers were murdered by the company's private police.

In 1942, during a three day massacre, 467 miners were killed.

During May of this year more miners were killed near Catavi. It was first announced that 150 had been killed; later the government changed its mind and announced that 50 had been killed. But judging by the number of troops involved and the various engagements that took place, people in Bolivia calculate that 1,500 persons were killed, or 30 times the government's figure.

This strike was dealt with like a civil war and the government declared general mobilisation. Nobody obeyed. On the contrary, a strike broke out, organised by the railwaymen, and followed by the factory-workers and other unions, and the strike became general.

At its wit's end, the government granted all the miners' demands—return of deported leaders, responsibility for the education of the children of murdered miners and compensation for their families.

During the struggle the miners drew up a programme of national

demands which later became a fighting programme for the action of the whole people. The main demands were the following :—

1. Nationalisation of the mines, railways and electrical energy;
2. Sharing out of land among the peasants and agrarian reform;
3. Better living conditions and higher wages for the working classes.

Comrades, there are in Bolivia four trade union centres—the railwaymen, the miners, the manufacturing-workers, and the General Confederation of Workers. The union of these four centres into one great national centre is very difficult to accomplish.

A year ago, as the result of a considerable campaign for unity, a co-ordinating committee was set up between the railwaymen's confederation and the Confederation of Workers, without however being able to obtain complete unity with the other two centres.

Unity has however been achieved in the struggle, and on two occasions. The first time was during the strike of the employees of the public services, and again recently during the miners' strike. It is possible that in a very short time we may be able to achieve effective and permanent unity.

Before concluding, I would like to point out that although 99 % of our country's exports are of ore, 80 % of the population of Bolivia lives in the countryside.

We do have a few agricultural workers' unions, but they face brutal repression. In many localities the peasants are murdered merely for asking the feudal landowners for schools and better living conditions. The struggle for the land has occasionally been one of their demands. The imperialists blockade the countryside, because they have an interest in keeping the peasants illiterate, far from the roads and lines of communication. By this means agricultural produce rots in the fields and the government must import food from the USA to feed the towns, while the peasants cannot sell their produce. That is how the greed of the mining companies distorts the economy of our country.

But we understand that with the unity of the working class, if we are united in the WFTU and the CTAL, the Bolivian workers, who will never go to war for their oppressors and the Anglo-American imperialist assassins, will soon abolish the terrible conditions of the Bolivian people.

I greet Congress, in the name of my country, and for that future of dignity for mankind and peace among the peoples.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU !

LONG LIVE PEACE !

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (G. Di Vittorio). I call on Comrade Farhat Hached of Tunisia.

F. HACHED (*Tunisia UGT*). Comrades, the Tunisian Labour Union is grateful for its first opportunity to speak in the name of the Tunisian

working class before a World Congress of workers, and considers it its duty to describe from this platform the general situation in Tunisia and among Tunisian workers.

Too many people in too many countries are ignorant of the true situation in Tunisia, a small Mediterranean country which for 68 years has been under a French protectorate.

We must here give a general outline of the situation in our country before dealing with the remedies which seem to us best suited to curing the evils.

The birth of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the painful but also hopeful conditions of 1945, gladdened the oppressed peoples who were fighting alongside the Allies for the liberation of mankind.

The workers in the colonial countries felt the hour of their double deliverance approaching—deliverance from the warlike powers which had let loose over the world the most frightful enterprise of destruction, and also from the forces of oppression which were keeping whole peoples and whole continents under their domination for the purposes of economic exploitation.

Has the WFTU not pledged itself to fight all forms of oppression of mankind and has it not taken a solemn stand against colonialism in all its forms?

The WFTU could not but take such a stand and could not remain indifferent to the fate of millions of men and women subjected, in the middle of the 20th century, to the most shameful exploitation.

Since its inception the WFTU has acted in accordance with the Charter it laid down for itself and we are convinced that its action will be still further increased as it wins the confidence of the workers in all corners of the globe.

The workers of all countries, united in one organisation for the defence of their common interests, against a common enemy, must give attention to the fate of all those workers who do not yet possess the same possibilities of struggle and do not yet enjoy the same liberties and means of action, since they are subject to greater repression from all-powerful capitalism and are fighting a régime of force and injustice fortunately unknown to the workers in countries which enjoy full national independence and the full rights of true popular sovereignty.

The reports presented by our comrades from Australia, Latin America and France on the general situation of the workers in Asia, Australasia, Africa and Latin America have magnificently analysed the causes and consequences of this unfortunate situation. I must nevertheless clear up a few points on the particular situation in Tunisia and on the struggle of the working class in our country against the forces of reaction.

Tunisia was occupied by the French army in 1881 and had to agree to being the Protectorate of France.

This régime, which was to take the form of control by the French representatives over the administration of the country under Tunisian sovereignty, was gradually transformed into a régime of direct administration under which the Tunisian has become a foreigner in his own land.

One sixth of our national territory is still under a régime of military administration, synonymous with terror and arbitrariness.

Civil liberties are stifled. Since 1938 a state of siege has again been in force. The press is menaced with suspension by an administrative act without judicial protection.

There is no democratic institution to ensure the people the possibility of exercising their natural rights in the control and management of its public affairs.

A Cabinet without power and a Grand Council representing the big economic interests and the privileged persons of the régime are the concrete results of the lamentable situation of the Tunisian people.

The administration is invaded by an army of civil servants whose motto is "Help yourself."

Land is offered to the colonisers, who have built up great estates after dispossessing the defenceless and impecunious small peasants.

The natural wealth of the country is conceded to big firms who appropriate the raw materials without the people being able to get the slightest profit from them. The last recent concession to the big colonial trusts is that for oil, which hands our country over to foreign powers.

Our national budget, largely made up from taxes on consumption goods, maintains a policy of racism and arbitrariness which hampers the people's evolution and harms its progress.

The workers are not protected against the abuses of the owners and our social legislation is scores of years behind that of the civilised countries.

We are constantly having waved before our eyes what they call the "iron curtain" to describe Russian policy. For our part, we know of no other curtain than that which prevents trade union militants from contacting the workers, as is the case at the Oued Elbil dam, where 3,000 workers are entirely isolated, defenceless and with no opportunity to organise in trade unions.

A people subject to such a régime can not, alas, escape from the serious consequences which follow from it.

It is sufficient to walk about the streets of Tunis or any other town in Tunisia to realise the depths of the people's distress.

The workers are unable to eat their fill, because of the decline in their purchasing power, itself the consequence of a low-wage policy enforced for the greater profit of a greedy owning class.

The trade union and critical press is persecuted and its active members jailed or fined.

Children, with no schools to go to and no means of support, wander round the streets, fill the prisons, and easily fall victims to sickness and vice.

In the countryside, the spectacle is one of desolation.

The agricultural workers, subjected to the whims of the big land-barons, experience frightful poverty under all its forms. They have no protection. No limitation of the hours of work, starvation wages, no sanitation measures and no programme for rural housing.

Unemployment, which takes special forms in Tunisia, and to which we will return, is wreaking havoc among the masses of the people and doing considerable harm to the moral and material health of the country.

There is no legislation on social security or insurance to protect the workers and their families.

Out of 850,000 children of school age, over 700,000 cannot find room in the schools.

The Administration brings only hindrances and obstacles to any private enterprise which seeks to make good some of the government's shortcomings in this vital field.

Out of a total of 27,000 civil servants in our administrative services, only 5 to 6,000 are Tunisians, and they are condemned to minor posts.

Out of an ordinary budget of 16 thousand million francs, 32 millions are allocated to the Ministry of Labour and to Social Insurance, and over one thousand millions to the Security Service, that is for the protection of privilege and colonialism.

Out of a special budget of 15 thousand millions, three-fifths are allocated to building dams in the regions favoured by nature, leaving to their fate the populations of the south and centre, who have to rely on public assistance in dry years.

As far as the labour supply is concerned, the government has never shown any concern for the lamentable situation of our workers, abandoned in favour of an increasing invasion of foreign labour.

The lack of manufacturing industry deprives us of work fruitful for our labour supply and profitable to our economy. Those factories which are set up recruit their skilled labour from the foreigners and generally employ Tunisian workers only for heavy labour at the lowest wages.

Increasing mechanisation, which is invading our country without a prior adaptation of our labour supply, is increasing unemployment in the towns and countryside.

Plans have been drawn up for a speeded-up course of vocational training for adults and of vocational guidance for young pupils. But no concrete results have improved the situation of our neglected labour supply, which is rotting in poverty and offering to work for starvation wages.

In agriculture, workers are paid scandalously low wages (140 francs, or 3 shillings for a 12 or 14-hour day), which is barely equivalent to the price of a pound of meat. They have no family allowances or social security.

Everywhere racial discrimination is applied to the detriment of the Tunisian worker. This discrimination is shown in recruitment, promotion, trade classification, extra advantages, etc.

These methods are certainly not practised by large-scale capitalism in order to satisfy the needs of the European workers, but merely to create and keep up discord between the elements of a working class with the same interests, and to prevent it uniting and defending itself more effectively.

But the Tunisian workers are not resigned to their fate.

They are organising in their trade union organisations. They are waging an unremitting struggle against their exploiters and those who starve them. They are fighting reaction, which is trying to maintain its domination over the people and the workers.

The daily action of the trade unions is consolidating and streng-

thening the struggle of the working class and gradually weakening the aggressiveness of the employers.

In spite of obstacles, in spite of the repression of workers on strike, the legal charges and jail sentences which rain down on the active members, the struggle for liberation is not slowing down, on the contrary.

Apart from the general strike of 5 August 1917, which cost 30 lives, more than 200 local or regional strikes have been successfully waged by our rank-and-file organisations.

The agricultural workers are at the moment waging a bitter struggle against their exploiters to win higher wages, shorter working hours, holidays with pay, etc.

We are well aware that a World Congress of workers is not a platform where the leaders of the trade union movement confine themselves to recounting their troubles. Congress is not here to listen to complaints alone. It studies the general situation of the working class and pays special attention to the constructive solutions capable of remedying the evils suffered by the workers and their families. It plans adequate measures to ensure the development of social progress in the world.

It is for this reason that we have outlined very briefly the situation in Tunisia, and tried not to burden the account with details that concern our daily trade union action.

In concluding this account, we will put before the Commission to be named for this purpose a draft resolution expressing the aspirations of the workers of Africa and the need to strengthen the unity of the WFTU on their behalf.

For the account we have given on the general situation in Tunisia reveals the difficulties facing the working class in our country and in all the oppressed countries of Africa and elsewhere where they do not exercise full national and popular sovereignty.

In all countries where the peoples are truly sovereign, the interests of the workers are safeguarded. All the rights of the individual are guaranteed and the working class leads that full life which is the aspiration of every man who loves justice and freedom and is imbued with the fundamental principles which govern humanity. The vigilant action of the working class leads to the full development of society, a society for ever rid of the evils of capitalism and of the coalitions of trusts.

In the countries subject to the oppressor's law there is no place for justice or the people's prosperity.

A handful of privileged persons live like lords while poverty ravages the masses of the people and condemns them to live at the mercy of their shameless exploiters.

What is true of the working class of the colonised countries is unfortunately true also for the workers of other sovereign or apparently sovereign countries where trade union activity is combatted as if it were a public danger.

The fear of seeing themselves dispossessed of the privileges through which feudalism exerts its grip on the working population drives reactionary governments to wage a merciless struggle against all emancipatory trade union activity.

Our brothers in Egypt, the Lebanon and elsewhere are also, alas, experiencing the rigours of this anti-social policy, and we must render homage to their courage and tenacity in their fight, in spite of reactionary manœuvres inspired by a backward-looking attitude now condemned beyond appeal.

Our brothers in Morocco also know the rigours of a policy of oppression which deprives them of their right to organise, the natural right of every worker.

The workers of Africa, subject to French, British, or Belgian domination, are treated in revolting fashion, with methods we denounce and despise.

While men are treated as inferiors by other men, and while whole peoples are under the yoke of the forces of exploitation and enslavement of humanity, there can be no social peace or prosperity or well-being for the peoples.

That is why we consider that the task of the WFTU towards these oppressed peoples, these men and women deprived of their rights and subjected to the most odious régime known to mankind, after slavery, we consider, I say, that this great and noble task takes on the character of a double mission, both protecting and liberating.

The task of the WFTU can never be considered finished as long as there remains in the world a community of workers under the yoke of inhuman colonialism, the enemy of progress and liberty.

The workers of these countries are in the vanguard of the struggle for liberation. They are in the front ranks in the people's fight against the oppressors within and without. Each day they bring fresh proof of their energy, bringing to victory the great principles of the trade union movement and the ideals of the great social revolution which will soon prevail.

They need the active solidarity of all free workers in the world.

We must never lose sight of the fundamental importance of the colonial countries in the game of the great powers who aspire to world domination.

The WFTU must solidly organise the workers of these vast expanses of Africa and Asia and make them capable of opposing all the imperialists' schemes. Their effective union with the free workers of the world must ensure the peace they desire and for which they are fighting.

Their own contribution to the defence of that universal peace will be all the more effective if it is the work of a strong and organised body of workers, conscious that right is on their side, and playing an effective part in building the great edifice of the society of tomorrow where brotherhood, liberty, well-being and peace will finally reign.

We are fighting tirelessly for our trade union rights; we are fighting for our democratic liberties. We are fighting to free ourselves from the colonialist hold, to win back our mortgaged future until we achieve our natural rights as free men.

We are fighting for better living conditions, collective agreements guaranteeing the workers' rights, full and entire trade union liberty, social security, the protection of our children and a better future for them.

We are fighting to make our country and our people a happy people, cooperating with the free peoples in the final establishment throughout the world of a true peace, brotherhood and friendship, guarantees of well-being and prosperity with all its advantages to mankind.

All those who may try to prevent us reaching these ends will find us in all places and under all circumstances resolute enemies who will fight them by every means.

All those who help us in the achievement of our legitimate and natural aspirations will be our friends and brothers.

The WFTU, which unites the great organised force of the workers of the world, will be for us the surest rampart and guarantee of that future which we all want to build with our hands and hearts. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Comrade Lazaro Peña, who will read the Resolution of the Second World Trade Union Congress on the WFTU's Report on General Activity, presented by the General Secretary.

L. PENA (*Cuba*). Read the text of the resolution :—

RESOLUTION

of the Second World Trade Union Congress on the Report of the General Activity of the World Federation of Trade Union presented by the General Secretary of the WFTU.

1) The IInd World Trade Union Congress declares that during the 45 months since its Constituent Congress, the World Federation of Trade Unions has acted in full conformity with the tasks and objectives stated in its Constitution; its essential goal has been to implement the fundamental resolutions adopted at the London World Trade Union Conference and at the Paris Congress as well as at the meetings of the General Council and the Executive Committee.

During all this time the WFTU has concerned itself with the problems of the day which are vitally important for the workers of all countries.

2) The IInd World Trade Union Congress approves the policy and activities of the Executive Bureau and Committee since the creation of the WFTU. The Congress recalls the efforts of the WFTU concerning :—

a) The energetic condemnation of the persecution inflicted on the trade unions and their leaders in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

b) The practical assistance given to the organisations affiliated to the WFTU.

c) *The measures taken for the creation of Trade Unions' Internationals by branch of industry (Trade Departments).*

3) *The IInd World Trade Union Congress approves the action taken by the WFTU to obtain representation within the United Nations. Despite the systematic opposition of the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and other capitalist countries, the WFTU after stubborn and repeated attempts, was able to obtain certain rights in the Economic and Social Council of UNO where it now holds the official status of a non-Governmental International Organisation.*

The World Federation of Trade Unions has placed vital questions for the workers of the world before the Economic and Social Council, particularly :

a) *guarantees for the exercise and development of trade union rights and liberties.*

b) *infringements of trade union rights and liberties.*

c) *the application of the principle "equal pay for equal work" for men and women workers.*

d) *the concrete struggle against inflation and for the preservation of the purchasing power of wages.*

e) *the improvement of the living standards of the workers in economically backward countries.*

f) *the fight against unemployment and for the application of a full employment policy.*

On all these questions, the IInd Congress recalls the efforts made by the WFTU in order to direct the Economic and Social Council towards solutions satisfactory for the workers. The Congress considers that the WFTU must carry out persevering action on all these problems without allowing itself to be held up by already existing difficulties or by those which may arise in the future, both in the United Nations Organisation and in the Inter-Governmental Institutions and Specialised Agencies in which the WFTU is represented.

On this point, the Congress protests strongly against the action of certain governments at UNO who oppose the legitimate rights of the WFTU and prevent the discussion of problems of vital importance for the workers put forward by the WFTU.

4) *The IInd Congress records that the WFTU has frequently protested in the name of the World Trade Union movement against the fascist dictatorship regimes existing in Spain and Greece and against the colonial wars in Indonesia. The WFTU has worked for the accelerated and the complete demilitarisation, denazification and democratisation of Germany, for the demilitarisation and democratisation of Japan and for the creation in these countries of democratic trade unions, widely representative of the organised workers on the basis of complete trade union unity.*

All these actions are consistent and concrete manifestations of the World Federation of Trade Unions' struggle, for peace and democracy in the world.

5) The IInd World Trade Union Congress approved the action of the WFTU Executive Bureau which in its September 1946 session at Washington warned the workers of the world of the aggressive objectives of international reaction, which had appeared again less than a year after the end of the IInd World War. The WFTU has on many occasions denounced the encroachment by reactionary Governmental circles and the employers on the legitimate rights and the standards of living of the working masses. The WFTU has unceasingly appealed to the working men and women to react energetically against all infringements of their rights and liberties. This direct action, exercised both on public opinion as a whole and on the working class has been completely indispensable to the activity of the WFTU in the United Nations for the defence of these same rights and liberties.

The IInd Congress observes, nevertheless, that the offensive of the reactionaries and the imperialists has not ceased to intensify. In spite of the continuous resistance of the trade union organisations and the working class in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, the purchasing power of wages has fallen during these last few years, unemployment has increased, the exploitation of the workers has intensified and their standard of living has deteriorated. The attempts of the workers and their trade union organisations to improve the situation of the working class meet with continuous opposition from the owning classes and Governments which apply policies favourable to the capitalist interests. In spite of the heightened repression, strike movements are continually multiplying. Anti-trade union and anti-labour laws are being passed to arrest the extension of this widespread social struggle, which, however, is continuing in all countries where the rights of the workers and their living conditions are being challenged.

The IInd Congress notes that in all countries where social conflicts are taking place, the trade unions, whatever the political tendencies and the religious opinions of their members inevitably carry on struggles dealing with the claims of the workers on the basis of the programme of economic and social demands which was drawn up by the Ist World Trade Union Congress.

6) The IInd World Trade Union Congress endorses the declaration of the General Council of the WFTU in 1947 that :—

“Everywhere, the forces of monopoly capital are attempting to split the unity of the working class, divide and weaken its forces and destroy its political power. Should these efforts succeed, a stable peace with economic security and rising living standards for all will become impossible to attain and the world would once again take the tragic path that leads to economic depression, international conflict and inevitably to another and far more terrible war.”

The policy of the most active capitalist monopolies is expressed in the action carried on by American capitalism : the plan for hegemony and the economic, financial, political and military domination, called the “Marshall Plan”, is one of the manifestations of this policy of force, on the part of monopoly capitalism which the General Council of the WFTU denounced at its Prague session in 1947

The World Trade Union Congress affirms that it is now evident to the organised workers of the world as a whole that the application of

the "Marshall Plan" has entailed in the countries in which it has been imposed, considerable increase in capitalist income and profits, clear restrictions to the free development of national industries and consequently a progressive and considerable rise in unemployment, worsening still more the already inadequate living conditions of the working populations.

7) The IInd World Trade Union Congress notes that, in order to pursue their objectives of domination and social reaction, the imperialist forces subsidise a vast propaganda aimed at creating a propitious atmosphere for a new world war. In order to attain these objectives: the reactionary forces seek to weaken the working class and to divide its ranks in order to prevent its organised resistance to their criminal designs against humanity.

8) The WFTU constitutes one of the most serious obstacles to the accomplishment of the abominable designs of the imperialist forces. It is not surprising therefore, that these forces and their agents have made furious attacks against it aimed at discrediting, dividing and destroying it.

9) The IInd World Trade Union Congress fully endorses the action of the majority of the Executive Bureau and Committee in January 1949, in refusing the discreditable proposal of the leaders of the British TUC and the American CIO aiming at suspending the activities of the WFTU and thus doing away with this world trade union organisation. By maintaining the WFTU and by pursuing the implementations of the decisions of the World Trade Union Conference of London and the Constituent Congress of Paris, the Executive Bureau and Committee of the WFTU have inflicted a defeat on the reactionary forces and the warmongers, who, in fact, had put all their hopes on the interference of the leaders of the American Federation of Labour and of several leaders of the TUC General Council and of the CIO, to accomplish within the ranks of the international trade union movement the objectives of the Anglo-American imperialist policy.

10) The Congress condemns the breakaway leaders acting under the orders of the reactionary and imperialist clans against the interests of the workers and against the organisations which courageously defend the programme and policy of the WFTU. Those members of the Executive elected at the time of the Ist World Trade Union Congress, who have not presented themselves to the IInd Congress to give account of their mandate, have thereby demonstrated their contempt for democracy and for the pledges contracted in common. (Applause.)

The IInd World Trade Union Congress has been clearly informed of the attempts made by the leaders of the TUC and the CIO to sabotage the application of the most important decisions of the WFTU, (creation of Trade Departments, convening of the Pan Asiatic Trade Union Conference, WFTU policy in Germany and Japan and the democratic unification of the trade unions of these countries, etc): the Congress considers their withdrawal from the Executive Bureau on 19th January 1949, as the confession of the failure of their policy aimed at paralysing the WFTU.

11) The Congress note with satisfaction that the attempts of the leaders of the TUC and CIO to do away with the WFTU have met with complete failure. In spite of the fact that the TUC, the CIO and several other National Centres have left the WFTU, it continues to be the powerful and combative trade union organisation which unites the trade unions of the immense majority of the countries of the world irrespective of race, nationality, religion or political tendencies. (Applause.)

The reports of the Auditing Committee and the Credentials Committee have given proof that the financial situation of the WFTU is sound and that the immense majority of organised workers throughout the world have remained united in the ranks of the WFTU.

The IInd World Trade Union Congress can therefore, in the name of 71,966,516 actual members of the WFTU, endorse the activity of the directing bodies, the Executive Bureau, the Executive Committee and the General Council. (Applause.)

The Congress confirms the necessity of applying in an even firmer manner the trade union policy of the WFTU which should strive to maintain and consolidate the unity of the world trade union movement and to create within the WFTU the widest possible rally of organised workers without any discrimination.

The Congress recommends the future directing bodies of the WFTU to make endeavours by means of continuous and sustained action to draw all workers, and also members of organisations which have broken away from the Federation, into participation in the common action of the working class on the basis of the economic and social programme of the WFTU.

12) Having endorsed the activity of the WFTU in UNO, the IInd Congress recommends the Executive Bureau and Committee :—

a) energetically to pursue the work undertaken to guarantee full rights of representation for the WFTU in the Economic and Social Council and in Inter-Governmental Institutions and Specialised Agencies.

b) to defend the vital interests of the workers with tenacity and perseverance in all international institutions including the ILO.

13) The IInd Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to extend the work of liaison between the World Federation of Trade Unions and all the National Trade Union Centres and with all trade union organisations which are maintaining their relations with the WFTU. It calls on all these organisations to support the day to day and continuous activity of the WFTU in favour of the interests of the workers by implementing an extensive propaganda plan (radio, conferences, meetings, journals and reviews, pamphlets) aimed at making known the role and activities of the WFTU on economic, social and political questions of capital importance for the world working class.

14) The IInd World Trade Union Congress expresses its firm conviction that the National Trade Union Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals for each branch of industry (WFTU Trade Departments) and all the trade unions of each trade in every country, will assist by

every means in their power to maintain a continuous and direct link between the tens of millions of workers, men and women, spread throughout the world, and the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The application of the decisions and resolutions of this IInd World Trade Union Congress shall be the highest duty of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

(Loud and prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Has anyone any objections to make to this resolution ?

The Chairman put the resolution to the vote. *It was adopted unanimously.* (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I would like to make some important announcements. As the elections of the Bureau, Committee and General Council are to take place tomorrow it is indispensable for each delegation to hand the names of its candidates up to the Platform before the end of this session.

The members of the Provisional Organising Committees of the Trade Departments of Agriculture, Radio workers, Transport workers, Food workers and Oilworkers are asked to meet tomorrow at the following hours, to put the final touches to the Appeals of their respective Trade Departments : 9.30 a.m., Radio : 11 a.m., Agriculture : 3.30 p.m., Transport : 4 p.m., Oilworkers : 6 p.m., Food.

The representatives of the chemical industry workers of all countries in all countries present at this Congress should meet tomorrow at 5 p.m. in room 19 to discuss the organisational problems of the Constituent Conference of the Trade Department of the Chemical Industries.

Yesterday delegates received a questionnaire asking for the names and addresses of trade union organisations which might be invited to the Trade Departments of the WFTU already in existence and to those which are being formed. Comrades who have not returned this questionnaire duly filled up to the WFTU Secretariat are asked to do so as soon as possible.

We will continue discussion from where we left off. I call on comrade Alicher Beissenov of the USSR.

A. BEISSENOV (*USSR*). The delegates from the trade union Centres of Africa and Latin America have told us that after the Second World War the economic and social condition of their countries greatly worsened.

The result of the imperialists' direction of the economy of these countries is that the labouring masses of the colonial countries and the dependencies suffer poverty, hunger, unemployment, inhuman exploitation and political and racial discrimination.

The position of the workers is very different in those countries where the imperialist yoke has been shaken off and where the people are reaping the benefits of real national independence. In the libe-

rated territories of China and North Korea, the result of the liquidation of capitalist enslavement has been the achievement of far-reaching social and economic reforms, and a real improvement in the living standard of the workers.

The people in the colonial and dependent countries, inspired by the example of victorious China, have intensified their fight for economic and social independence, fighting at the same time against the American and British warmongers.

On their side the Anglo-American rulers are attacking the liberation movement in Asia and trying to drown it in blood.

However, when we consider the facts related at this Congress, we can say that, despite the attempts of the imperialists, the struggle being waged by the peoples of Burma, Viet-Nam, the Malayan Archipelago, South Korea and the Philippines is extending and consolidating itself. The workers' organisations have been getting stronger and have been leading the national liberation movement, since the war ended in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia.

In India and Japan the extent of the strike movement is unprecedented in the trade union history of these countries.

Delegates here have spoken of the heroic efforts made by the democratic trade unions in the colonial and dependent countries to mobilise the working-class forces in the struggle for national independence, for improvements in the material and moral welfare of the workers, for democratic liberties and for a strong and lasting peace. The development of the trade union movement in these countries is a serious obstacle to the achievement of the imperialists' plans of enslavement.

The reactionary governments of the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia, acting on the dictates of the Anglo-American dictators, are destroying the progressive trade unions, arresting the leaders en masse, beating up, punishing and shooting the leaders of the working-class movement. In India alone more than 15,000 militants of the democratic trade unions were thrown into jail.

In Japan and, in South Korea the puppet reactionary governments in collaboration with the American occupation authorities are persecuting trade union militants in the most arbitrary fashion possible, for their activity and are exercising terrible repression. The American occupation authorities do not allow the workers' representatives in Japan and South Korea to have any contact with the other countries of the world. Thus Mac Arthur's HQ did not grant permission to the delegates from the Japanese trade unions to leave Japan and come to Italy for the Second World Trade Union Congress. At the same time, the governments of the Asian and Latin American countries are resorting to a bloody repression, and are setting up pseudo-trade unions which are merely spy unions against the workers. We know, for example, that the leaders of the so-called Indian National Trade Union Congress are encouraging all police measures taken by the Minister of the Interior against the democratic trade union press of India and against the All-India Trades Union Congress.

A WFTU delegation has visited Japan, South Korea, Iran and Tunisia to examine the living conditions of the workers of these countries. An African Trade Union Conference was later held. The

WFTU has more than once vehemently protested against the persecutions of the leaders of democratic trade union organisations.

The British TUC leaders and those of the CIO have concentrated all their energy on sabotaging the decisions taken by the WFTU at its Paris Congress, and it hoped thus to hinder the decision taken to call a trade union Conference for the countries of Asia.

After their departure from the WFTU, the reactionary leaders of the TUC, the CIO and the AFL used violence, blackmail, slander, schemings and corruption as it intensified its work of sabotage all over the globe.

In Latin America, for example, the people who had been the WFTU's emissaries aligned themselves with the imperialists and set up a pseudo-trade union called the Inter-American Confederation of Labour in order to attack the Labour Confederation of Latin America.

In Asia, the splitters are trying to create a Labour Federation which is nothing more or less than a police Federation whose membership will be made up of strike-breakers with the duty of doing the dirty work in the government trade unions.

It is now obvious that the reactionary bosses at the head of the AFL, the TUC and the CIO are the accomplices of the imperialists who are attacking the democratic trade union movement in the colonial and dependent countries.

But, in spite of everything, democratic trade unions throughout the world are arising and developing. The anti-imperialist movement is continually growing.

The Soviet delegation considers that the WFTU should give more help to the trade unions in the colonial countries, for it considers that one of our most important tasks is the improvement of the living standards of the workers in the colonial countries where the democratic trade unions are fighting so hard.

In the name of a firm and lasting peace throughout the whole world, the Soviet delegation considers that the 1949 World Congress should mandate the new Executive Committee to ask the Economic and Social Council of UNO to place on the agenda of its next session a report by the WFTU on the violation of democratic rights and liberties in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We think, moreover, that the WFTU and UNO should send joint commissions to India, Iran, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela to study the situation on the spot.

In order the campaign more actively for the workers, the Soviet delegation asks Congress to support the proposal to convene in 1950 an Asian Trade Union Conference, another for the countries of Africa, and to set up a WFTU bureau in Asia.

We must charge the executive organs of the WFTU to call on the Nehru government to free comrade Dange, member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and General Secretary of the All-India Trades Union Congress, together with other leaders of the AITUC. It must also demand that the government of Iran should pardon comrade Reza Roustani, General Secretary of the Central Council of Unified Trades Unions.

We must also protest to the British Government against the repressive measures taken against the militants of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trades Unions.

We must also protest to the government of the United States against the violation of the Potsdam agreements and the decisions taken by the Far East Commission on the democratisation of Japan, against the suppression of the economic rights of the workers' organisations in Japan and South Korea.

I believe that Congress will accept these proposals and will solve the great problems that are facing us today.

LONG LIVE THE WFTU.

(Loud applause.)

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 8th JULY 1949

9.30 a. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of B. Blokzijl of the Netherlands.

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I declare the session open. The following countries should immediately send up the names of their candidates for the General Council of the WFTU : Bolivia, Finland, Guatemala, Italy, Israël, Luxemburg, Poland, Northern Rhodesia, Trieste, and the USTT of Tunisia.

I call on Luu Duc Pho of Viet-Nam.

LUU DUC PHO (*Viet-Nam*) *. Comrades,

It is first of all my duty to introduce you to our country and to the present state of its struggle for National Independence.

Our country, Viet-Nam, was a French colony of an area of 130,000 sq. miles and a population of 20 millions, situated in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, in South-East Asia, along the shores of the Cina Sea. The French colonialists divided it artificially into Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina and incorporated it, along with Lao and Cambodia, into what they called French Indochina.

Viet-Nam is an essentially agricultural country. It produces rice and rubber in abundance. It has rich mineral resources of coal, iron, tin and zinc but its industrial development has been practically insignificant, because the colonialists thought only of exporting our raw materials and imposing their manufactured goods on us.

Eighty years of French domination have been eighty years of crimes. The colonialists sought to maintain their regime by terror and obscurantism. For every school, they built three prisons and ten opium dens. In 1945 they burnt rice as fuel in their factories while two million of our countrymen were starving.

During the Second World War, they handed Indochina over to the Japanese fascists, without any resistance. From the military bases of Indochina, the Japanese were able to launch their successful attacks against the Allies in South-East Asia.

Despite this betrayal, the people of Viet-Nam placed themselves

* We reproduce here the full text of the Viet Nam delegate's speech, a shortened version of which was made from the Congress rostrum owing to lack of time.

resolutely on the side of the Allies and organized their own struggle against Fascism, under the leadership of the Viet-Minh Front, the Front for the Independence of Viet-Nam.

In August 1945, at the moment of Japan's capitulation, a revolution broke out in the whole country. The revolutionary forces conquered power from the hands of the Japanese, overthrew the monarchy, brought down the puppet Bao-Dai, and chose, at every level, popular committees derived from the mass of the people. Thus was the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam born. Shortly afterwards the whole people in the general elections of January 1946, chose its General Assembly, which gave the country a Constitution and elected a national coalition Government, the present Government of President Ho-Chi-Minh.

In September 1945 the British imperialists, in the name of the Allies, landed their troops in the south of Viet-Nam to disarm the Japanese soldiers. Thanks to their benevolent complicity, the French colonialists returned to our country and, lost to all sense of shame, immediately began their war of reconquest.

Three and a half years have elapsed. The French colonialists, taking advantage of their superiority in arms and munitions, have put our country to fire and sword. Every day they intensify their work of pillage, rape, torture and massacre. Hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen have been summarily executed in reprisal, whole villages have been burnt, churches, pagodas, market-places, public meetings have been shelled. Following the classical policy of "Divide and Rule" they organize puppet Governments with Quislings like Nguyen Van Xuan and Bao-Dai, recruit Vietnamese for their colonial army, collect as much as they can of the population's possessions to "feed war by war."

All these manœuvres have failed utterly. They have spent hundreds of billions of francs and sacrificed more than 40,000 soldiers, and yet :—

—90 % of the population obeys the orders of the Ho-Chi-Minh Government.

—95 % of the wealth they have accumulated in eighty years of exploitation has been reduced to ashes : factories razed to the ground, mines and plantations destroyed, warehouses burnt, railways and roads cut.

—90 % of the territory of Viet-Nam remains under the control of the Resistance Government of President Ho-Chi-Minh.

In vain does colonialist propaganda claim victories and talk of pacification. It cannot conceal from the eyes of the world and from the people of France the obvious collapse of the plan for colonialist reconquest.

The war of national resistance, far from weakening the Viet-Nam Republic, has been and still is an opportunity unique in its history for the uniting of all citizens into a single bloc and for accelerating their military, political, economic and social maturity.

From the *military* point of view, the inexperienced self-defence units of the early days have been grouped into a regular army, strong and well-trained. Equipped with American arms captured from the

enemy, rich with the tactical and strategic experience of three years of stern struggle, this army has everywhere won the initiative. Moreover, all able-bodied people are enrolled in the people's militia. They constitute immense reserves, ready to engage combat wherever the enemy dares to venture. The balance of forces is rapidly changing to our advantage. The slogan has been launched : 1949 will be the year of preparation for the general counter-offensive which will finally chase the colonialists from our country.

From the *political* point-of-view, the Viet-Nam people in their entirety, without distinction of class, religion, or political views, are wholeheartedly behind the Ho-Chi-Minh Government. Even the inhabitants of the regions provisionally controlled by the French militarists are devoted to the regime of liberty of the Democratic Republic. All are united in a single National Front, the "Union of the Viet-Nam People."

Recent international events (the victories of the People's Army in China on the one hand, and the treachery of the Dutch in Indonesia on the other) have been another proof to the Viet-Nam people of the far-sighted policy of the Ho-Chi-Minh Government. They have been a clear proof that this Government has guided them in the only right path to the true independence of the country and the real happiness of the masses. Stronger than ever is their determination to struggle until final victory is won, whatever the duration or the extent of the sacrifices necessary, whatever the extent of the assistance which the other imperialists might lavish on their French colleagues.

From the *economic* point of view, you will see below a sketch for an independent economy, sufficient to maintain the resistance movement and to feed the population adequately.

The Indochinese piastre, freely printed by the colonialist authorities, is completely banished from the free zones. The only money used is the Viet-Nam piastre. A gold coin, too, has just been issued, under the name of "Dong Viet", weighing 0.375 grammes and assayed at 0.900 gold.

From the *social and cultural* point of view the conditions of the Viet-Nam people have notably improved. Begging, gambling, drunkenness, prostitution, robbery and brigandage have greatly decreased in the free zones. The unemployment problem is solving itself. Everybody has a job in resistance activities and everybody feels his work is useful to his country.

Schools are more numerous than before. In 1948 their number was double that of 1946.

The people's education movement is registering unparalleled successes. More than 10 million Vietnamese have been freed from illiteracy which, under the colonial regime, affected 90 % of the population.

A new culture, full of vitality, is springing up in the midst of the struggle. Literature, theatre, painting, music, faced with the living reality of the National Resistance Movement and taking inspiration from the heroism of the people, have produced and continue to produce true works of art.

The New Life movement has been launched throughout the country and in spite of the war is developing under the slogans "Work,

Thrift, Integrity, Honesty"—slogans of which we are given a living example in the daily life of the father of the people, President Ho-Chi-Minh.

To sum up, French colonialism in Indochina shows us the picture of an old tree with rotten roots, while the Viet-Nam people are growing like a young shoot full of new sap. The Viet-Nam people have become conscious of their strength, of their rights and of their duties. Together with all peace-and freedom-loving people they will continue their invincible march forward to the liquidation of imperialism and the construction of a future of justice and prosperity.

After the First World War, the French capitalists began the intensive exploitation of our country. The newly-created industries, mines and plantations found at their disposal a plentiful and entirely unprotected labour-supply. Hard, unending toil, famine wages, the brutality of foremen, malaria and industrial accidents—this was the lot of the worker.

This pitiless exploitation forced the newly-formed working class into the struggle. At first there were only sporadic, unorganized cases such as the assassination of foremen. It was only from 1928 that the first underground trade unions were formed at Haiphong, then in the towns of Hanoi, Nam-Dinh, Saigon, in the coalmines, on the rubber plantations... Strike followed strike, including those of the Aviat automobile factory at Hanoi, the cotton-mills at Nam-Dinh, the saw-mill at Ben Thuy, the distillery at Binh-Tay (Cochin China), the mines at Campha (Tonkin). These manifestations were very clearly marked as class struggles. The slogans were for the increase of wages and the decrease of hours of work.

The bloody repression unleashed by the colonialists held the working-class movement in check without managing to weaken it. It took new strength with the arrival in power of the Popular Front in France. Once more the working class unleashed its offensive for the increase of wages, the decrease of hours of work, social legislation, trade union rights, the right to strike and other democratic liberties.

More than 1,000 strikes broke out in 1937, the most noteworthy being the strike of 20,000 miners in Hongay, one of 4,000 railway workers of the Truong-Thi works who were out for 35 days, the workers of the Saigon arsenal. During this period the legal forms of organization, the Friendly Societies, underwent a rapid and vast expansion.

The unleashing of the Second World War provided the colonialists with the opportunity to exercise a ferocious repression. Our militants were arrested, deported, killed in their thousands, but the movement carried on in the form of underground cells. In the new circumstances of the struggle, the trade union movement was practically inseparable from the National Liberation movement.

It is, moreover, worth noting that the working class has always played a leading role in the struggle for national emancipation. From 1930, after the failure of the national liberation movement of Yen Bay, the direction of the national liberation movement passed into the hands of the working class. It was the working class which took the leadership of the insurrections in Cochin China in 1940 and in Bac-Son in 1941 against the united French and Japanese Fascists. Their

militants contributed to a great extent to the formation of the Viet-Minh front, within which the Association of Viet-Nam Workers for the National Welfare constitute the strongest and most active organization.

The birth of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam provided entirely new opportunities for the activities and organization of the working class.

From August 1945, the Association of Workers for the National Welfare grew continuously. With the period of temporary calm which resulted from the agreement of March 6th 1946, the factories and mines started up again; many of them functioned under the direction of colonialist bosses. On the other hand, the World Federation of Trade Unions was founded under the banner of the broad international solidarity of the working class. Under these conditions, the narrow framework of an organization of a national character such as that of the Workers for the National Welfare no longer conformed to the needs of the workers of Viet-Nam.

In May 1946, a National Congress of this Association decided to found the General Confederation of Viet-Nam Workers (TLD) in the spirit and following the principles of the WFTU.

The workers re-formed their unions and completed the building of the TLD on the 20th of July, 1946, on which day it made its first public declaration before the people of Hanoi, the capital of Viet-Nam.

It had barely begun its activities when the French attack against the capital, on the night of 19th December, spread the war of colonialist aggression to the whole country. Mass resistance brought considerable changes to the composition and organization of the TLD. In the towns affected by the war, many workers volunteered for the front. Towns previously unaffected were also demolished one after another. Workers left the factories and went into other work in the country. Trade union cadres left for the front or for service in resistance organizations. The TLD sent special teams of workers into the occupied areas to collect machines and materials for and ultimat regrouping of the factories. It organized production camps to give work to those as yet unemployed. Trade union activity properly so-called only got under way again after the restoration of industrial undertakings in the rear and when the workers returned to their professional jobs.

The TLD united under its banner, at the end of 1948, 255,584 trade unionists, distributed as follows :—

North Viet-Nam	102,989
Central Viet-Nam	79,012
Southern Viet-Nam	73,583

This total is almost equal to that before the general Resistance movement, but in fact it includes a large number of new members, replacing old trade unionists who have volunteered for the front.

Only 20 % of this total are specialist factory workers. The remainder is made up of small artisans, road porters, Civil Servants and agricultural workers.

The TLD has as yet been able to organize only a part of the workers in the towns under the temporary domination of the French militarists, because the underground character of the movement there demands exceptional precautions.

Nevertheless, among the working masses of these regions, the TLD continues to exercise a decisive influence, thanks to secret trade union cells.

Among the different types of wage earners, only some have succeeded in building a vertical organization on a national scale. These are :

The Armaments Federation, the Mines Federation, the Rubber Federation, the Postal Union, the Wireless Union, the Railway Union.

At all levels and in all branches, the Executive Committees are elected democratically and without distinction of sex. Their members are chosen from among the old militants hardened in the struggle under the colonialist regime and also from the new devoted and enthusiastic members with solid professional qualities.

The present General Secretary, elected at the Second National Congress in place of Comrade Le Hong Tan, is Comrade Nguyen Huu Mai, a former railway worker. A militant worker since 1937, he has often been the victim of French and Japanese fascist terror. He particularly distinguished himself in the battle for the capital, at the beginning of the war of resistance.

Everywhere and with everybody there is patent a gigantic effort to improve the administrative work of the Unions and to develop the sense of scientific organization.

Special attention is given to the formation of cadres, the bulwark of the Confederation. Concentrated courses are available at all levels for the theoretical training of militants, in accordance with the programmes drawn up by the Federal Bureau of the TLD.

From 1947, the Federal Bureau itself has organized each year a two-month course to train the cadres of the provincial unions.

Under the banner of a broad "new life" movement within the unions, all the workers are continually striving to improve their trade union, cultural and technical education. Trade union meetings regularly set aside a portion of the time to the education of members. Each union unit has its "internal journal" or wall newspaper, which serves as a tribune for the exchange of experiences. Evening courses are organized in the workshops for the struggle against illiteracy or for teaching new technical knowledge to the workers.

The Workers also participate in military training courses. Workers learn to keep their work secret, to safeguard the machines and material entrusted to them and to use ordinary weapons. In this way they can protect their workshops from enemy destruction and themselves repel surprise attacks in cases where the troops of the regular army are not immediately available.

With the object of making its maximum contribution to the tasks of the National Resistance Movement, the TLD, after the 1st May 1948, organized a competition of patriotic emulation among the unions. This competition is part of a vast campaign launched by the Government throughout the country and includes every branch of activity with a view to killing more of the enemy, destroying more enemy plants, building faster, raising the people's living standards. Competition takes place between individuals as well as between villages, provinces, popular organizations and public services. Each side draws up a programme of activity in conformity with the circumstances and

conditions of work and challenges are issued for the completion of these programmes in record time. The jury takes into account the devotion and initiative of the participants as much as the positive results.

The most deserving worker receives the title of Hero of Labour and is paid particular attention to at public meetings, as an example to all workers.

The unit which wins the competition is rewarded by the TLD and is put forward for the Government's praises and particularly those of President Ho-Chi-Minh.

This competition of patriotic emulation is still only at its beginning. Despite the as yet imperfect results, it has given a great impetus to the production drive, to the improvement of living and labour conditions and to the preparation of the general counter-offensive.

This creative enthusiasm of the working class of Viet-Nam, its spirit of sacrifice, is explained by its clear awareness of its role in the present struggle against colonialism. It understands that it is not working merely for wages or to fill the capitalists' bank-book, but for National Liberation, the essential pre-requisite of its own emancipation. It understands that its own true welfare can only be realized within the general welfare of the whole Viet-Nam people.

That is why the working class remains faithful to the policy of National Union of the Ho-Chi-Minh Government. This unity is realized first within the TLD, the single organization of all the workers of Viet-Nam, without distinction of race, belief or sex. It is realized next by the comprehensive collaboration given by the workers of Viet-Nam to the organizations of the other classes of the population in the common struggle against colonialist aggression.

Does this policy of national union imply a narrow nationalism? No, for the new democracy of Viet-Nam is part of the camp of the democratic forces of the world against the forces of reaction, misery and war. The working class in Viet-Nam resolutely takes its place within the international working class in the common struggle for the liquidation of the regime of the exploitation of man by man and for the building of a new world of peace and liberty.

In spite of its isolation, it has always faithfully carried out the decisions of the WFTU and, as soon as the opportunity arose, it was eager to affirm its active solidarity with the other national trade union organizations.

On 27.7.46, the TLD organized in all the towns of Viet-Nam an "anti-France day".

Collections were taken among the workers in October 1948 for financial aid to the striking miners of France.

The present splitting attempts within the WFTU have roused the indignation of the working class of Viet-Nam. In its name, the TLD desires to reaffirm solemnly its confidence in the WFTU and its unshakeable determination to struggle for the unity of the international working class.

The working class of Viet-Nam brings an active contribution to the tasks of resistance and national reconstruction. Three years of work have put to its credit important results in the fight at the front and in the rear.

The number of soldiers provided by the working class is relatively large. The proportion of worker soldiers in the army is more than 10 %, although the working class represents only 3 % of the total population of the country.

In the towns, the workers form the majority of our fighting forces : the proportion of workers in the army is as follows :—

80 % in the towns of Haiphong and Namdinh,

50 % in the towns of Hue and Hanoi,

60 % in the Saigon-Cholon region.

In the mining district of Hong-Quang, all the officers, soldiers and members of resistance committees are workers.

Certain units organized by the unions are entirely composed of workers, such as the Saigon Battalion, the self-defence units of the Hanoi railway workers, the Ho-Chi-Minh Battalion of Haiphong, etc.

Glorious victories have been won by the railway workers of Tourane, the rickshaw-coolies of Hue, the rubber-plantation workers of Cochin China.

A battalion of workers of the cotton-mills at Nam-dinh launched several attacks on an enemy fortified position and sacrificed themselves to the last man.

The workers of Bean-street in Hanoi, stayed on the battle-field although their supplies of ammunition were exhausted and threw stones at the enemy. Some carried bombs in their arms and threw themselves against enemy tanks which were blown up with them.

Among the fighters who have become famous are many workers, such as Hoang-Tho in the Saigon-Cholon region. Vu-van-Su, the " Grey Tiger " of the Hanoi suburbs, Sau-Dau and Tran-van-Dien, minefield heroes who have destroyed dozens of tanks and hundreds of French soldiers on the roads.

Workers in the factories have also had opportunities for killing the enemy.

During the French offensive against Viet-Bac in the autumn of 1947, French troops seeking out our arms factories came up against the stubborn and deadly resistance of the workers' self-defence units. The workers defended the factories, saved the material, and even captured a good quantity of arms from the enemy. During the same French offensive, the artillery repair shop inflicted an unexpected blow on Colonel Communalo's regiment at Cock's Pass by using guns under repair, without wheels or breech-blocks, manhandled into position and fired with iron rods.

The honour of the first act of sabotage falls to the trade union federation of Nam-Bo which ordered the general strike at Saigon on 23 September 1945. All public services, all factories and workshops, all means of communication, all shops, all markets were closed down. The strike lasted for three months with the support of all classes of the population and ended in an extensive campaign of sabotage : the waterworks, electrical factories, stocks of oil and petrol, as well as a number of other establishments, were demolished or burnt down. The colonialists had to eat dogs and rats. The town of Saigon, without water, electricity, or upkeep of any sort, was fearfully dirty and threatened with epidemic. It was only with the help of the English,

Indian and Japanese troops that the French managed to solve this intolerable situation.

At Nha-Trang a similar general strike was declared : the workers, cooperating with the whole population, laid siege to the town and resisted more than 1000 Japanese soldiers stationed there and an increasing number of newly disembarked French troops.

In Northern Viet-Nam destruction began only with the unleashing of general warfare. All the urban agglomerations were razed to the ground. Railway lines were torn up along 1200 miles of track. After 2 years of considerable efforts, and with an enormous supply of men and money, the French succeeded in re-laying a few short branches. Every day, before beginning the work, they mobilised their troops to surround 2 or 3 of the surrounding villages, forcing all the civilians, men, women, children and old people, to go and bring in the scattered rails. But more than once, the work they finished by day was undone the same night by the village guerillas.

In the towns temporarily occupied by the French, the work of sabotage continues at an accelerated rate also. Warehouses and factories are often attacked and burnt down. More generally, sabotage takes place every day, silently, but not without serious damage to the colonialists.

Of all this work of sabotage, that which demands the most trouble, patience and courage, is the destruction of the rubber plantations and the coal-mines, the two principal resources of the colonialists.

As far as *rubber* is concerned, the colonialists had about 60 million rubber-trees in Southern Viet-Nam towards the end of 1940. If exploitation is carried on without hindrance, these plantations bring them in more than 25 billion piastres a year.

It is clear why they spared no expense or French blood to keep them. They engaged troops to mount guard night and day. In the 4 provinces richest in rubber, they used as many as 20,000 soldiers. And yet in 1947 more than 5 million trees were destroyed, cut down, or burnt, more than 2 million "tin trays" and 3 million "bowls" were broken, and many factories and warehouses demolished or burnt. Losses reached 2,500,000,000 piastres, without counting the number of soldiers killed or the arms captured.

This work of destruction was intensified in 1948. Thus on 29.11.48, during a single night, 6,226 trees were destroyed at Ben Cat; on the 3rd and 6th December 20,318 trees were destroyed at Thu Dau Mot.

Rubber export figures are less than 50 % of the 1940 figure.

As for *coal*, production fell from 2 million tons in 1940 to 262,000 in 1946 and to 248,000 in 1947. Of the 20,000 workers pre-war, only 7,000 remain, of which 3,000 are Chinese, whom the colonialists pay double the salary they pay Viet-Nam workers. These latter left en masse for the free zones at the outbreak of general hostilities. Before leaving, they destroyed factories and installations.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, the workers of Viet-Nam initiated a vast plan of reconstruction of the rear, having as its principle objectives the following :—

—to intensify production to meet the needs of a Resistance movement of long duration.

—to lay the bases for future national industry.

Under the leadership of the TLD, the workers of Viet-Nam have obtained appreciable results in the sphere of transports, arms-manufacture, spare-part manufacture, the development of trained workmen and in participation in agricultural work.

In all provinces the local trade unions organize the transfer to safety zones of the instruments of production and raw materials. They also organise bodies of armed engineers who infiltrate into the areas occupied by the enemy, dismantle the machines, bring them back down to the last screw, and collect raw material. Even locomotive boilers were dismantled and transported to the free zones. Pieces of iron weighing 1 or sometimes 2 tons were carried on human backs from the battle-front to our maquis, along muddy roads cut in a thousand places. Night and day, under extremely difficult conditions, our transporters covered hundreds of miles on foot, sometimes without enough rice to fill their stomachs.

The Railway Union of the 5th District succeeded in transporting from the occupied region several "Pacific" locomotives and hundreds of tons of material and scrap-iron.

The workers of Hue, carrying machines towards the maquis, were attacked half-way by the enemy. They fought him on the side of a steep mountain, and preferred losing human lives to letting the machines fall into the enemy's hands.

The workers of Haiphong were surprised by the enemy while loading their boats with machines saved from the occupied zone. Without hesitation, they scuttled their craft, knowing that they could refloat them later and salvage the machines.

These are the heroic exploits of the Viet-Nam workers in the history of transport during the National Resistance.

More difficult still was the establishment of arms factories. Most of the important factories had to be set up in the depths of the jungle. The workers had to cut down trees to build themselves houses, lay the foundations of the factory buildings, dig wells, cook their own food. It was rare for the machines to arrive at our bases in good condition; many pieces were lost en route; sometimes pieces from one machine were transported to two different provinces.

Yet the year 1947 saw each province provided with at least one arms factory, each district with at least one workshop for the manufacture of grenades and the repair of rifles. Some units of the regular army had a mobile workshop.

In some localities new machine-tools have been made, making mortar shells and rifle barrels out of old rails.

In all the factories the speed of production is increasing. In 1948 the overall output increased by 60 % over 1947. In the 3rd war zone it even doubled.

For anti-tank grenades, for example, 30 man-hours were needed for each one at the beginning of 1947. The same task now takes only 30 minutes, thanks to the perfecting of a new method of manufacture.

From the point of view of quality, too, noteworthy progress has been made. To cite only one example, the number of dud grenades fell from 20 % in 1947 to 8 % at the beginning of 1948, and 3 % at the end of the same year.

Apart from armaments we must provide for ourselves a great many

products that the French blockade prevents us from obtaining abroad. Thus we have set up paper-works, soap-works, match factories, phosphate-works, blast furnaces of small dimensions. The difficulties are many : we lack raw materials and machines. Frequent air-raids oblige us to disperse our factories and our workers.

Nevertheless a great step forward has been taken in the rationalisation of work and the improvement of technique. Laboratories are working in the middle of the jungle to perfect new methods of production. Thanks to the devoted research of our intellectual workers and the ingenuity of our workers, important results have been obtained. They may seem insignificant in the eyes of comrades from other countries, but in our present conditions of struggle, they have a real importance.

Radio workers have built, out of old abandoned material, a great many small transmitting and receiving sets.

A section of the postal workers have succeeded in changing all telephones into portable listening-sets. The length of telegraph-wire installed is now 4,000 miles, twice the pre-war amount.

Sulphuric acid is prepared in sufficient quantities by the lead-chamber method, which the French technicians could not do during the last world war.

The rational exploitation of saltpetre deposits, the preparation of cordite and fulminate of mercury allow our grenade and bomb factories to be adequately supplied.

In the medical services, the delicate task of preparing vaccines (anti-tetanus, and dry small-pox vaccine) and essential medical supplies is carried on with much more rudimentary instruments. Cotton-wool, gauze, surgical instruments, laboratory glass-ware, are also produced in sufficient quantities from local materials.

The TLD has assisted the Government in setting up camps for war refugees, providing work and the means of existence to tens of thousands of citizens who had to evacuate the towns under French attack.

In these camps 10,071 persons live by manual labour : cotton spinning and weaving, pottery, smithing, etc.

The manufacture of paper and weaving in particular have obtained remarkable success.

The amount of paper needed by the millions of pupils in the popular education courses is provided by the small-scale industry of these war-refugees in the camps organised by the TLD.

Cotton spinning and weaving had almost died out under the colonialist régime as a result of the invasion of foreign cotton-goods and the cotton-monopoly of the French capitalists. Today, there is renewed activity in these fields. We began by building weaving machines on the old rudimentary model. Later on, we were able to improve these and increase output tenfold, succeeding in this way in providing clothes for an appreciable section of the population.

Town workers who have gone back into the country have helped in the improvement of methods of cultivation. In the provinces of Nghe-An and Quang-Nam they have installed electrically-driven pumps, irrigating thousands of acres of rice fields.

In certain regions the agricultural workers form labour teams which

work all the rice-fields in turn, obtaining a better harvest and a rational distribution of labour.

If the enemy threatens attack during the harvest-period, the unions immediately mobilise the workers in the surrounding regions to bring the harvest in quickly.

The employees of the public services and the workers in factories and workshops, who have to live in groups, look after farm-yards and vegetable gardens in their leisure hours, in order to provide a part of their own meat and vegetables.

The Union Federation of employees in the administrative services in the 3rd interzone are taking the initiative in a new plan, called the "three tree" plan, which invites each member to plant three trees and tend them until they bear fruit.

In a word, construction is growing in the midst of destruction. Outside the demolished towns, smaller centres are rising. On the roads made impassable to the French motorized troops, maintenance work is being carried on to permit the movement of pedestrians, horses, bicycles, and carts.

All this labour of reconstruction is undeniably very backward for this atomic age. Our meagre inheritance, the particular present conditions in Viet-Nam, greatly limit the effectiveness of our efforts. The blockade prevents us from importing machines from abroad. Even the books and achievements of advanced countries reach us rarely or late. We are compelled to start from scratch, and with our bare hands, to build our country, with a technique that is half modern and half feudal, half scientific and half backward. The results are out of all proportion to the forces at our disposal.

When all is said Viet-Nam industry is an infant, but it is a sturdy infant, sure of its life and its future.

In accomplishing these tasks for the Resistance, the Viet-Nam worker has been tested in the fire and been changed and tempered. He has had the opportunity of fighting, destroying, creating, organising and directing. He has shown a new spirit, a spirit unknown in the period of slavery.

These few examples, chosen from a thousand others, bear witness to this.

Printshop C..., surprised by a sudden attack by French parachutists, had to be hastily evacuated. Comrade T..., who had left the shop with the others, could not reconcile himself to abandoning the big linotype machine he was in charge of. He returned alone to his sweetheart (that is what he called his machine) and tried to save what he could. While he was dismantling some parts, shots were heard a short distance away. He just had time to hide in a thicket before the French troops arrived. They smashed all that was left, set fire to the workshop, and searched everywhere. For hours comrade T... lay motionless in the thorny bushes, assailed by hundreds of mountain leeches all over his body. But as soon as the enemy had left, and in spite of his wounds, T... returned to his machine, salvaged some scattered parts and put them in a safe place. Once back at camp, he fell seriously ill. The loss of blood and the strain and fatigue of this incident cost him two months in hospital.

But his devotion saved vital parts of the linotype machine which,

is now the only modern machine in the National Printing House. Hy, a stevedore, picked up a satchel containing 80,000 (1400 times his monthly salary) which he supposed belonged to some Government official. The poor comrade, who has a family of 4 children, spent 3 sleepless nights thinking it over... On the fourth day he made up his mind and delivered the satchel and all its contents to the permanent trade union committee to be passed on to the Government.

"It's Government money", he said. "I'd rather starve than steal from the Government." Such was his decision.

The workers at the arms factory at L. were discontented with the brutal behaviour of the director. The union laid their protests before him and forwarded them to the TLD for action higher up. Before the matter was decided on, the director repeated his brutalities and swore at the shop stewards. The Union Executive decided to demand a public apology from the director and his solemn promise not to repeat his actions. On the director's refusing, a general meeting of the workers decided on the following measures:—

—1st day : to work 2 hours longer (11 hours instead of 9).

—2nd day and onwards : to increase the working day from 11 hours to 12.

—If their claims should not be met, all the workers would go without their midday meal.

On the 2nd day of this demonstration, the director had to give in. Higher authorities, informed of the matter, later relieved the director of his post.

In this way a deep transformation has been produced. Conscious of his role, of his rights as well as of his duties, the new Viet-Nam worker accepts sacrifices and takes up his responsibilities in the struggle for National Liberation.

The resistance has changed the conditions of the working class in Viet-Nam. In our areas, the former capitalist industry has been completely destroyed and replaced by an entirely new industry, adapted to war circumstances and answering the immediate needs of the people. Almost all the new factories belong to the state or to popular organisations. To build them, the workers have given their maximum efforts unstintingly.

The most deserving worker is promoted to be manager, with a slightly higher wage. He lives under the same conditions as his comrades and works in close collaboration with them. At union meetings he reports to everybody the general progress of the workshop and takes the union's advice in carrying new plans. Victory is the supreme objective; differences are ignored. And when there are differences, the union itself intervenes.

Apart from the factories, there is no private industry worthy of the name. In some cases, workers have got together and pooled their small savings to start a small workshop and win a bare livelihood with a few tools and a little material picked up in the war-devastated areas.

These small workshops, guided by the unions, are being transformed into production cooperatives.

In other cases, former owners who have left the regions temporarily

occupied by the enemy have set up small factories with a few workers (generally from 1 to 5). Owners and workers live in about the same conditions. These firms barely cover their costs. To help them to survive, the unions fix the relations between owners and workers in a spirit of give and take.

Class contradictions, for the moment, are less acute than before the war. We are concentrating our forces more on the crushing of invading colonialism, enemy number 1 of the working class and of the whole people of Viet-Nam.

The Resistance has brought together intellectual workers and manual workers. Before, Confucian prejudices and the separatist policy of the colonialists had kept them apart. Now, they are working side by side in the new communities, working for a new life. The intellectual workers have the opportunity to work with their hands and are giving up their bureaucratic habits; the manual workers are striving to raise their intellectual level and are learning office methods to enable them to work on a wider scale.

The Resistance has put the town workers among the peasants. The isolation due to the difficulties of communication makes each region an economically self-sufficient bloc where the worker tries to satisfy the needs of the peasant and the peasant to feed the worker satisfactorily. Together they lay plans for the defence of their workshops and granaries. Together they organise military manoeuvres, entertainments, study-groups. They exchange opinions and experiences. The workers learn the peasants' patience, while the peasants' routine is shaken up by the workers' initiative.

Such a state of affairs is certainly salutary for both groups and will greatly facilitate the harmonious development of a new economy.

As soon as it took power in August 1945 the Government of President Ho-Chi-Minh set up a Ministry of Labour whose different departments established in all the towns and industrial centres regulated relations between owners and workers in favour of the latter.

The presidential decree No. 29 SL, approved by the National Assembly and promulgated in 1946, put an end to the regime of barbarous oppression of which the working class had been victims.

It regulates questions of apprenticeship, collective agreements, wages and different allowances, with their conditions of payment, mode of recruitment, conditions of work and security of the workers. It puts an end to the many abuses that the colonialists had hitherto permitted themselves, in order to get rich at the expense of the "native" workers of Viet-Nam.

It grants workers the right to trade union organisation and the right to strike, the right to participate in the control of public services and government undertakings through the Works Committees.

But soon the unleashing of general warfare completely upset the conditions of the working class and the owning class. No uniform regulation could be applied to the many and complex cases of an industry which was striving to adapt itself to the special conditions of our National Resistance. The unions have settled to the best of their ability all the problems that cropped up, in accordance with the local interests of the workers and in conformity with the needs of the Resistance.

We went back to this social legislation only at the beginning of 1948, when the economic life of the country had been stabilized and industry had again begun to develop.

On 20.7.48, a government-organized conference brought together delegates from the different ministries concerned (Interior, Labour, National Economy, National Defence) and delegates from the TLD to decide on the conditions for the reapplication of the social legislation.

The workers have the right to a broader and more active share in government undertakings. Their basic wage is guaranteed, but special restrictions, concerning, for example, hours of work, annual holiday, travelling—necessary for the National Resistance—were willingly accepted by the TLD delegates in the name of the working class.

Generally speaking, the material living conditions of the Viet-Nam workers is still at a relatively low level in comparison with workers of more advanced countries. A day's food consists of 700 grammes of rice (1 lb. 9 oz.), some vegetables and just sufficient of other foods to make the rice tastier. The worker's clothes consist of two cotton suits a year and a conical palm-leaf hat. Shoes, knitted goods, toilet articles seem luxury goods to him.

This diet is that of the immense majority of the people.

The ability to satisfy one's hunger and to clothe one's body is already a great conquest that the New Republic has brought to the whole population. This was almost a dream for the majority of workers under French domination.

At the present moment, this minimum is continually being improved. The conditions of the Resistance do not allow us to set aside credits and material to make the life of the workers much more agreeable.

We have successfully tried to remedy this state of affairs by a better organisation of our collective life. Through the TLD, experiments of proven efficacy are passed on to all factories and workshops, especially the Government ones, in which full facilities are given us.

The establishment of factories in remote areas, in the middle of the jungle, sets the difficult problem of the accommodation of the workers. At the beginning the straw huts built for the workers were of a temporary nature: they were badly kept up and lacked all comfort.

Today, with the experience gained in many moves, the workers have adopted models of spacious huts, hygienically built of inexpensive materials. The bachelors live together in large communal huts, while families have private quarters partitioned off from each other.

Together the community builds lecture halls, conference rooms, a hospital, a rest home for convalescents etc. Sports grounds are laid out under the trees to avoid the enemy's air reconnaissance.

Cleanliness and order is maintained in each city by teams of workers chosen by the unions each taking their turn.

In many of the factories the bachelor workers co-operate in their cooking. This collective arrangement ends by drawing in the married workers too because, by spending the same amount of money they assure themselves of regular, substantial and well-cooked meals.

A restaurant is often organised by the union inside the factory so that the workers can have an extra special meal from time to time at a reasonable price.

The co-operative movement was started in the first days of independence. It has some fine results on record: a centre at Hanoi has 12,000 members and branches were set up in every large town in the country. The wide-spread nature of the war has disorganised the system just when it was developing well.

At the moment small food co-operatives are being set up in factories far away from markets and urban areas. They provide the workers with necessities at a low price and are a boon to large families. The factory management gives much help to these co-operatives and often provides them with funds. Just now they cannot link up with each other because of the difficulties of transport and communications.

When the situation improves the TLD plans to bring these separate co-operatives together so that they can more effectively help to raise the living standards of the workers.

Friendly societies have been set up to help workers who have been victims of accidents at work as well as large working-class families. Apart from grants from the Government and various popular organisations the workers hand over a day's pay once a month—the result of a voluntary Sunday's work.

The TLD has tried to organise special camps for the children of workers serving in the army or in armaments factories. In their parents' absence the children receive a general education and the beginning of a more specialised training. This kind of work merits a great deal of attention on our part but our means are still very limited and will not allow us to develop this on a large scale.

Summing up, in the liberated areas the workshops are collectively owned and the workers will certainly have a part to play in them. At the moment they voluntarily consent to make sacrifices for the Resistance, but the unions are vying with each other to wage war on the poverty inherited from the past, and that caused by the war.

The life of the workers in the regions occupied temporarily by the enemy is very different from all this. In the industries retaken by the enemy, there has been resuscitated in all its horror the regime of oppression and exploitation in which the worker is rated no higher than a beast of burden. The high prices continually mounting of necessities, the frequent repressions of the colonialists who always suspect an alliance between the inhabitants and the Resistance forces, complete the transformation of these regions into a real hell on earth.

Because of the blockades imposed by our troops against the enemy positions, food stuffs are getting rarer and rarer. Rice costs 3 times as much as it does in the liberated areas; fruit and vegetables cost 10 times and fuel 20 times as much. Even water in some towns is difficult to get. At Hanoi and Haiphong, for example, working families, have to get water from the drains to wash with and sometimes even have to use it for cooking.

In the rubber plantations and the coal mines the colonialists make the workers spend 13 or 14 hours a day on piece-work, to increase their own profits, of course, but also to prevent the workers from having time to "meddle in politics."

Blackmail and repressive measures are added to prevent infiltration by the "rebels." We've lost count of the cases of arbitrary arrest, of torture and summary execution following accusation of contact with

the liberated areas. Every act of sabotage that takes place seems to give the soldiers a good excuse to descend on the working class quarters and to ransack all the houses searching for women and money.

95 % of the workers are illiterate. However, those who do learn to read and those who read the newspapers are " Viet-Minh suspects ", are arrested then declared to have " disappeared. " Workers' meetings are forbidden, even of only 3 or 4 members. On the other hand the colonialist hirelings build for them gambling hells, opium dens and night dives.

But nothing can prevent the workers from turning their eyes and thoughts toward the liberated area. Defying all danger, they take part in underground Resistance organisations. Many of them have been killed. Those who are left take over their work, more than ever convinced that national emancipation is the only way to achieve the emancipation of the Viet-Nam working-class.

Thirty years of struggle and of sacrifice for the cause of national freedom, three years of active participation in the defence of the New Republic against attempts at colonial reconquest have justified and strengthened the honourable position held by the working class of Viet-Nam.

The TLD has been able to mobilise all the workers in the armed struggle against the invader and in building and construction behind the lines. It has upheld and consolidated working-class unity inside the framework of unity of the whole people. These results have justified its policy and heightened its prestige in the eyes of the people and the government of Viet-Nam.

Nevertheless, it must recognise that it has a certain number of inadequacies in its work :—

- 1) The isolation which has been forced upon it prevents it from having regular contact with the trade unions of other countries. The lack of international contacts and exchanges of experience makes it concentrate completely on the immediate task of national liberation and it risks the possibility of becoming too narrowly nationalist.

- 2) Leading cadres are lacking. Most of the former leaders are taken up with the necessary and vital work of Resistance and cadres lack sufficient training.

- 3) Above all material resources are very limited and the TLD has not the opportunity to set up administrative offices, nor the means of communication that are necessary to it. The trade union has to content itself with a kind of small-scale organisation that can only with difficulty draw all workers into its activities.

- 4) The living standards of the workers are not yet as high as they should be.

The TLD cannot simply attribute all its imperfections to the level of the economic and cultural development of the country and to the difficulties arising from the war of Resistance. It must reconsider its plan of action and the method of putting it into operation so that its results may be more positive.

In order that it may achieve its historic mission, the working class

of Viet-Nam calls for support from all the workers of the world. They can give us substantial aid by :—

1) Boycotting all undertakings connected with the colonialists. In particular they can prevent or hinder the shipment of troops and munitions to Viet-Nam.

2) Denouncing their ambitions and barbarity to the whole world. The French workers especially can dissuade those young Frenchmen who want to join the expeditionary force against Viet-Nam. They can call on the soldiers at this moment in Viet-Nam to refuse to take part in the fratricidal fight.

3) Asking their different governments to recognise the Ho-Chi-Minh Government, the only legal government elected by all the people of Viet-Nam. At the same time they must unmask the puppet governments of Bao-Dai and Nguyen Van Xuan, the unscrupulous hirelings of the colonialists.

4) Organising as far as possible supplies of arms, munitions, machines, medical equipment and chemical products.

For the TLD in particular we are asking our sister organisations :—

—to establish regular relations with the General Confederation of Workers of Viet-Nam, to tell them about their experiences of struggle and of union organisation.

—to give the militant Viet-Nam workers material aid so that they can keep in contact with the other national unions.

—to welcome and receive young Viet-Nam workers who will be sent from their country to perfect themselves as trade unionists and workers.

—to protest against the treatment of Viet-Nam workers in the zones temporarily occupied by the colonialists.

—to intervene in favour of the Viet-Nam workers in France and in the French colonies, demanding that they should have the same rights as French workers.

As regards the trade union movement in Asia, we entirely approve Comrade Liu Ning I's report.

We add our voice to his in the proposals concerning :—

—the immediate withdrawal of British, Dutch, French and American troops from China, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya, Southern Korea and the Philippines.

—trade union freedom in the countries of South Asia.

—the immediate release of the trade union militants Dange, Gandhi, Mirajkar, and Yusuf.

—the convening of the Pan-Asian Trade Union Congress.

As far as the colonial and dependent countries are concerned, we would point out that the young trade union movement has to face up to the old imperialism. This struggle requires special attention on the part of the WFTU. Not only can there be no question of demanding the same moral and material obligations from these trade unions as

from the others, but also they must be actively assisted to raise themselves to the average level and to carry on an effective struggle against their common enemy on their own ground.

We therefore propose to the next Executive Bureau that the Colonial Department should be initiated as rapidly as possible in the departments of the WFTU and surrounded by colonial delegates ready for immediate work : training of cadres, distribution of material means, special relations.

In addition, it will be necessary to conduct a policy of assistance of the weakest trade union organisations by the strongest. In this way the trade unions which have the same interests would associate together and coordinate their action in order to combat the same direct enemies.

In conclusion I would like to present the Congress with the joint greeting of the Asian delegations : 27 delegates from China (among whom is Comrade Liu Ning I) 2 delegates from Mongolia, 1 delegate from India, 1 delegate from Indonesia and myself, Viet-Nam delegate, meeting in Prague last June 26th for a free exchange of ideas and experiences. These comrades were unable to continue their journey to Milan as a result of the refusal of visas by the Italian Government. They entrusted me with the mission of telling the Congress that nothing separates the workers of Asia from those of the other continents, that nothing will halt the forward march in Asia of a billion men and women who will always remain united under the banner of the WFTU in the common struggle of the proletariat of the world.

A Viet-Nam truly independent and democratic is a powerful guarantee of world peace and of the victorious construction of a truly human society. It is with this firm conviction that the Viet-Nam working-class in the forefront of the Viet-Nam people is shedding their blood knowing that they have the approval and support of their fellow workers in all countries.

Once more we proclaim our unlimited confidence in the final victory of all the forces for peace in the world.

Together with all the other national trade union organisations, those that really serve the interests of the workers, we will know how to keep firm and strong the international unity of the workers.

Now more than ever the workers of the world strengthen their ranks around the World Federation of Trade Unions to carry out successfully their class's historic mission and to safeguard mankind once and for all from the evil of capitalist exploitation.

LONG LIVE DEMOCRACY AND PEACE !

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I now call on Rodolfo Guzman of Costa Rica.

R. GUZMAN (*Costa Rica*). I represent Costa Rica, a small country of Central America. I bring fraternal greetings of solidarity from the working class of my country to this great and victorious Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Comrades, in studying the economic and political conditions of each of the five countries that form Central America, we must bear in mind that its problems are problems which concern Central America as a whole.

Central America forms the link between North America and South America. It is the shortest line of communication between the Pacific and the Atlantic. It is therefore one of the most important gateways of international trade, owing to the hegemony of the United States. For the United States, Central America constitutes a maritime frontier.

Our countries are one-product countries, depending absolutely on the North American market. In Guatemala, for example, coffee comprises 61 % of the total exports; in San Salvador, it comprises 84 % of them; in Costa Rica, 51 %. Honduras and Nicaragua export only bananas. With these as the basis of the foreign trade of Central America, it is natural that our countries' economies are entirely conditioned by the price of a single commodity. The cultivation of a single product means a permanently unfavourable balance of trade, which our governments try to balance by loans on onerous conditions which only bring our economies and our sovereignty even further under the sway of imperialism.

The economy of single-product countries is in greater danger than those of many-product countries. The only export market offered to us is that of the United States, and since we have only one market, the fate of our exporters is intimately bound up with the economy of the purchasing country. The immediate prospects of the United States show signs of the worst crisis in the history of capitalism. As there are no alternative outlets in the economy of Central America, the breakdown of the capitalist economy will soon produce the most terrible misery. For example, there are very great possibilities of a fall in the price of coffee. Such an event would be catastrophic for the economy of our country.

If the second world war brought about the general weakening of world imperialism it strengthened, in contrast, the imperialism of a single country the United States.

The imperialist struggle between the United States, Britain and Germany has been won in Central America by the United States. Thus the United States has become absolute master in the field of direct investments, raw material exports, and Latin America's foreign trade. In the field of foreign trade, for example, the shift of competition to the benefit of the United States is absolute. Up to 1939, exports from Central America to England amounted to 32,500,000 dollars. Exports to Germany amounted to 67,800,000 dollars. But during the years 1946-47-48, exports to England dropped to 4,000,000 dollars and were negative as far as Germany was concerned.

As regards imports, Central America imported goods from England to a value of 48,100,000 dollars in 1939 and from Germany to a value of 108 million dollars. During the years 1946-47-48, it imported nothing from these same countries. The foreign trade of Central America has fallen entirely under the control of North American imperialism. The railways, electric power, air transport, the mines, the big agricultural undertakings, etc. are in the hands of the great American monopolies. 72 % of the working population of Central

America works in the fields but nevertheless our agriculture has remained in a backward state. Our farmers are poor and have not sufficient capital to be able to resist extra-economic pressure and, as a result of their limited means, they are unable to satisfy the increasingly urgent need for fertilising the soil. The agricultural workers are therefore in the service of the big imperialist companies.

The poverty of our peoples is terrible. In 1946, the National Income stood at 677 million dollars for the whole of Central America, representing an income of 78 dollars per person on the average. In reality, personal income is much lower for the working masses in the countryside. The cost of living has risen by more than 200 %, taking 1936 as the base year, but wages have remained the same.

Two other serious problems present themselves at the present time in Central America : that of petrol, which the American imperialists wish to take over, whatever the methods employed, and that of the Panama Canal and the future Nicaragua Canal. The two canals in the hands of the imperialists are transforming Central America not only into a base for the economic domination of the United States, but also into a military zone of the North American armies. In case of war, Central America would cease to be the geographic and historic meeting-place of five peoples fighting for their national liberation and would be transformed into a barracks for the North American army in which all vestige of national sovereignty would disappear.

For these reasons, the imperialist policy in Central America has always been directed towards the formation of anti-democratic and anti-worker governments in its service, specially set up to hand over our natural wealth to the great monopolies, and to crush the labour movement which is at the head of the people's resistance in defence of their national rights. With the exception of Guatemala, at the present time trade union liberties do not exist throughout Central America. Neither in Honduras, nor in San Salvador, Nicaragua or Costa Rica does the working class possess the right to organise in free and independent trade unions.

In Costa Rica in April 1948, with the aid of imperialism, the reactionary forces overthrew the traditional democratic government under which the working class had won important social gains : social legislation, social security, agrarian laws, reforms of the taxation system, etc. and the opposition of the democratic Government to the oil agreements. The " coup d'état " of April 1948 in Costa Rica opened the way to repression against the labour movement. Our trade union headquarters were besieged and closed down by the police, our trade union property confiscated by the Government and trade union activity banned. The best labour leaders were imprisoned and sentenced after trial. Comrade Carlos Louis Fallas, leader of the agricultural workers of the United Fruit Co. and labour MP was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. Other comrades were murdered by the governmental forces, as for example, Comrade Federico Picado Saenz, General Secretary of the Limon Federation of Port Workers, and other comrades. Directing the repression of the labour movement, the agents of the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation were shamefully installed in the Ministry of Public Security.

But the working class is resisting the aggression. In general, the

working classes of Central America are waging a constant struggle against the imperialist dictators. Great strike movements are recorded in the history of the fight of the working class of Central America : in Costa Rica, in the agricultural plantations of the United Fruit Co., on the railways, etc.; in the United Fruit Co. banana plantations in Guatemala; on the railways in San Salvador; in Nicaragua; in Panama, the working class wages a continuous struggle against the railway trust in the hands of the imperialists; also in Nicaragua, victorious strikes have taken place in the mining areas which are in the hands of the imperialists. The working class of Central America is fighting heroically under difficult conditions for the programme of the CTAL and that of the WFTU.

After the second World Trade Union Congress, the working class of Central America will raise still higher the flag of unity, of battle, and of constant struggle for peace, justice and liberty.

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). The Soviet delegation asks permission to make a declaration on the Greek trade unionists condemned to death. I call on comrade Kuznetsov.

V. V. KUZNETSOV (*USSR*). The Soviet delegation asks the 2nd World Trade Union Congress to make a decisive intervention in defence of the ten Greek trade union seamen.

Faithful sons of the working class, they were active fighters in the Resistance movement during the Hitlerite occupation of Greece. After the liberation of their country they campaigned for its democratisation and for the better living standards for the workers. Because they served the people body and soul this group of Greek seamen was condemned to death in 1948 by the monarcho-fascist government of Athens. This outrageous sentence was not carried out only because of the intervention of democratic and social organisations and of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation.

But the Greek monarcho-fascists are burning to execute the condemned seamen who are today in prison.

We feel that Congress cannot remain indifferent to the lot of these militants of the Greek working-class movement, and that it must rise in protest against the judgment threatening our Greek comrades.

The Soviet delegation proposes that we address to the governments of Greece, the United States and Britain, as well as to UNO, a strong protest against the death sentence and, in the name of the 71,500,000 workers represented in the WFTU, to demand the immediate release of these innocent victims of the monarcho-fascist terror. *(Long applause.)*

The Soviet proposal was put to a vote by show of hands and adopted unanimously.*

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Ocampo of Chile.

S. OCAMPO (*Chile*). Comrades, Chile is now finding itself faced with serious political, economic and social problems which are aggravated by the treacherous behaviour of the present President of the Republic towards the people.

* For text of protest, see Appendix.

Everyone remembers that Gabriel Gonzales Videla was elected President of the Republic by a combination of the left-wing democratic forces, in which the Confederation of Workers of Chile took an active part, willingly undergoing many sacrifices. Their object was not to enable an individual to succeed, but to realise a programme wholeheartedly desired by the people of Chile, a programme which we can summarise in this way :—

Campaign against imperialism; campaign against feudal reaction and for certain agrarian reforms; campaign for national economic independence; development of a national industrialisation plan; a democratic taxation system; campaign against the high cost of living and for the respect of the trade union movement.

Six months after it had been elected this government betrayed the people and its programme. On the grounds that the war between the United States and the Soviet Union would begin within 3 months, it launched, for the American State Department, a most bitter persecution against the workers' movement alleging that this was its best possible way of contributing to the war against the USSR, and it ranged itself alongside the American imperialists, but not the American people who have no desire at all for war.

On the same pretext it broke off relations with Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, falsely charging them with intervening in the strike that the miners of my country were heroically waging.

And, charging Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia with being satellites of the Soviet Union, they also broke off relations with the workers' fatherland.

Naturally inside my country and abroad we could see that this melodramatic speech-making was aimed only at accelerating the sell-out of the country to the American monopolies.

As a matter of fact, the present government speeded up the conquest by foreign capital of our national wealth, and helped towards the colonisation of our country.

In the United Nations and the ILO, moreover, the Chilean representative was reduced to acting the shameful rôle of lackey to American imperialism.

A brief survey, for the time at my disposal allows of nothing more, will show the reasons for what I have just described.

Chile produces 25 % of the world's supply of copper. It is the world's biggest copper reserve. At Chuquibambilla is the world's largest copper mine, which alone produces 15 % of the world's production. Last year more than 400,000 tons were produced by the mines of Chile. Of this, 95 % was treated in establishments belonging to United States firms : Anaconda Copper Mining, Chile Exploration Company and Andes Copper Mining.

90 % of production is exported to the United States. Two-thirds of the mining population of my country work for American companies.

Our iron is almost completely controlled by the Bethlehem Steel Company.

The United States firms, Guggenheim and Co., the Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Co., and Lautaro Nitrate control 75 % of our nitrate production; the Tarapaca and Antifagasta Companies, which are of a national character control 20 %, and independent companies have 5 %.

The Chilean deposits are unequalled any where else in the world. Electricity is also controlled by American capital. The Chilean Electricity Company, which is American, has received free concessions from the present government, which has handed over to it the power stations that had been planned and built by the preceding progressive governments.

Recently oil has been discovered. These deposits have been handed over to the United Geophysical to work. This exploiting which is beginning in Chile is controlled by the Chile Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil. Borax, iodine, preserved foods, tyres, telephones, glassware, chemical products, radio, etc., all are in the hands of United States firms or their associates.

In 1947 the profits from capital invested in Latin America were revealed to be more than 273 million dollars. In 1948 they were even more. It is worth while calculating the annual profits in order to understand the importance the Americans attach to the complete conquest of our countries.

Chile has given 6.8 % profits each year to American capital investments. Peru gives 9.5 % profits on American capital invested there. It is estimated that the Americans now have nearly 700 million dollars invested in my country, as opposed to 500 millions invested in the other countries.

Last year Chile exported to the United States goods worth 407,500,000 pesos out of a total export of 1,113,700,000 million pesos. Chile imported from the United States 42.25 % of her total imports.

The results of the monopolist control of trade and industry are truly tragic for my country.

Taking 1913 as 100, our purchases from abroad have increased by 200 %. On the same basis, manufactured goods that we buy have increased to between 1,700 and 2,000. The same is true for copper. Taking the 1937 price as 100, in 1947 we got 111. On the other hand when we buy goods made from copper, we pay an increase of 253.70 on each 100 pesos we paid in 1937.

The capitalist world is drawing towards another crisis. It wants to extricate itself from growing crisis by means of war or the increased exploitation of the workers in all parts of the world and especially in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Obviously if war is provoked the peoples will punish the war-mongers. And the crisis they are trying to foist onto the working masses will be violently combatted by the workers.

But for the time being countries such as Chile are suffering the horrors of the impending crisis.

In 1929, as we all remember, there began a crisis that lasted until 1933; copper, which Chile was selling at, say, 100 in 1929, fell to 30.

The new crisis which is on the way is already affecting us as an exporting country, since 74 % of our exports consist of copper and nitrate.

The price of copper has already dropped a good deal on the world market controlled by the Americans. The consequences for my country are; fall in wages, high cost of living, unemployment, etc. The policy of national betrayal will today be clear to thousands of human beings who did not believe what we said. The Chilean people will certainly

punish the rulers which betrayed them and led them to ruin and poverty, but meanwhile we are undergoing all the consequences.

Here is a telegram that was published in the world press on the 15th of last June :—

“The Anaconda Mining Co., the Chile Exploration Co. and the Andes Copper Mining Co. have sought permission from the government to dismiss 2,260 miners and 254 office workers in order to remedy the fall in the price of copper on the world market. Because of this fall the President of the Republic called an immediate urgent cabinet meeting to give warning of a possible economic crisis.

“Copper is Chile’s chief export and a cut in its production will be a serious blow to trade. According to the statistics of the minister Alessandri the 90,000 tons a year cut at the Chuquicamata and Potrerillos mines will mean for Chile a loss of 27,000,000 dollars in foreign currency and 40,000,000 in taxes.

“It is considered in official circles, that the recent suggestion put to the American House of Representatives of putting import duties on copper is a violation of the good-neighbour policy and of President Truman’s plans to aid the development of less well-developed areas.”

Here is what another telegram said :—

“SANTIAGO DE CHILE. 5 (Special). The Cerro Negro copper company, situated in Cabildo, has stopped mining. RCA-Victor firm has asked permission from the government to dismiss 203 workers. If this factory does not obtain the currency allowance it has asked for from the Council of Foreign Trade to import needed raw materials, it will close down completely, thus throwing 600 more employees out of work.”

Already there is considerable unemployment in my country. There was formerly always about 20,000 people partially or permanently unemployed. This year the figure has increased because of the crisis to :—

Building workers between.....	10,000 and	15,000
Public works		10,000
Miners		15,000
Textile workers		4,000
Others partially unemployed		15,000

Wages have always been low and today they are more so than ever before. Ellsworth, author of the book “Economic Problems of Latin America” shows that the Chilean worker earns 100 dollars, while the American worker gets 700.

Moses Pobleto, member of the International Labour Organisation and author of the book, “Malnutrition in South America”, shows that research undertaken in Chile proves that there are 481,000 people seriously undernourished and 1,409,800 people who do not have enough to eat. These figures were established in 1942.

Between 1942 and today it is estimated that the population has so increased that we can say today that the number of people who do not receive enough to eat has risen to nearly 2 million, that is 42 % of the total population.

It has also been estimated that the housing shortage has risen to 500,000 houses.

The life of the peasants is no less tragic, and this is where the governmental betrayal is especially damnable, because it had promised to campaign against the "latifundios" (large estates), whereas now it is the landowners who, together with the agents of American imperialism, are dominating the national life of Chile.

The agricultural economy of Chile consists of three superimposed strata: in the country it is the rule of feudalism (monopoly of the land). About 3 % of the landlords possess between them 50 % of the 6 million hectares of land suitable for cultivation; this means that 1,200,000 hectares are sown. About 20,000,000 hectares capable of being converted into forests or of being cultivated are lost.

At the other end of the scale we find the "minifundios" (land divided into excessively small holdings, of whom the majority are not bigger than 2 or 3 "cuadras" of land).

About 40 % of the population is engaged in agriculture, that is, about 2 million people.

The agricultural labourer earns from 15 to 20 pesos a day. The official rate for the dollar is 41 pesos, and on the black market it reaches 75 pesos and more. As a result, the purchasing power of the working masses is negligible.

Agricultural production has not increased. In October of last year, on the occasion of the Annual Cattle and Agriculture Exhibition, it was announced that there was a 2 % increase in production. If we take into account the fact that between 1900 and 1945 the population of Chile increased by more than 2 million people, a 2 % increase in production means that the agriculture of the country has retrogressed.

The policy of high prices for agricultural products has not succeeded in increasing production. At best, one crop has been replaced by a better paying one.

The campaign against "government control", or state intervention in business and industry has succeeded in undermining such control with the help of the present Ministers of Finance, Economy and Agriculture.

An example of the measures that tend to favour the monopolies and the landowners, is given by the following measures:—

Ten year tax exemption on real estate; share incomes and rent excluded from surtax; exemption of the dividends of joint stock or limited companies engaged in building other than of a working class nature.

Threats or promises are used to silence protests. Financial problems are increasing in size and gravity, and no way has been found of arriving at a solution to the financial catastrophe that looms ahead.

To put a so-called end to the process of inflation, measures have been taken that are themselves inflationary. Here are some examples:

"Inorganic" paper money was issued to the amount of 4,576 million pesos in July 1947, to 5,567 million in May 1948, and to 6,000 million in June 1949. The total paper money in circulation is 16,000 millions.

This means that monetary inflation has been increased by the means that were supposed to check it.

The currency has been very greatly devalued; a note valued at

100 pesos in 1947 was only worth 12 pesos in 1948, and wages during this time do not show an equivalent increase.

But while the people are being sacrificed, the great landowners' profits are increasing.

The Chilean government wants the world to believe that liberty and democracy exist in Chile. That is not the case.

It is an anti-democratic, anti-national government and has betrayed its country.

There has been talk in the United Nations of the violation of human rights, but the Chilean government has violated them all, without exception.

I) By violence, calling in the army, navy, police and militia, it broke the transport, post-office and telegraph strikes, as well as those of the workers in the copper and nitrate mines in 1947. The traitor Bernardo Ibanez Aguila, helped the government by providing blacklegs and strike-breakers.

II) The government drove thousands of strikers' families from the miners' huts. Private dwellings were forcibly entered. Whole families were transported in padlocked wagons to places far from their home where there was no food and sanitary conditions were frightful. This was a true case of genocide, the crime so much talked about at the United Nations.

III) By agreement with imperialist undertakings and national reactionaries it threw thousands of workers into unemployment.

By means of emergency regulations and extraordinary powers the government and the business concerns suspended individual, social, trade union and political guarantees.

IV) It is keeping hundreds of prisoners in unhealthy areas of the country, and it is detaining prisoners in the concentration camp at Pisagua, which has been denounced by the main world organisations as being typical of nazism. Here many of our comrades died.

The camp had been closed as a result of world-wide protests, but today it has been re-opened and contains 200 new prisoners.

V) Torture equipment has been installed there.

VI) The opposition press has been eliminated by imprisoning the staff and directors. The government controls the newspapers by bribery and threats, and as the majority of the press is capitalist-owned, at best it hushes up these attacks on liberty, and at worst it helps the government to commit them.

VII) Under Law No. 8789 the government has eliminated over 30,000 workers from political and trade union life. Under this law any citizen may be condemned to excessive penalties on mere accusation by the police or by provocateurs. These sentences are heavier than those for murder or theft. If the accused person's innocence is recognised, the informers are not punished in any way. The State pays the costs of the denunciation.

VIII) Under government leadership the scandalous electoral farce

has just begun. Corruption under this government has become so deeply rooted that all organisations and all parties, with the exception of those in the government, have denounced the new Parliament as illegitimate and immoral and as the worst insult to the country. In this Parliament the government has won a precarious majority.

So shameful was this farce that the students protested in the following terms :—

“ Chilean university youth is greatly shocked on learning the details of the recent general elections for the National Congress. Not to mention the manifest evidence of material interference against opposition candidates, the main university organisations have learned of even more serious facts which make these elections morally null for the democratic life of Chile. Through complete connivance by the authorities in the most widespread and shameful bribery, the majority at the recent elections to the Chilean Parliament was purchased with tens of millions of pesos.

“ On 6 March 1949 the people met a powerful enemy who bought its conscience after depriving it of its liberty.”

This document is signed by all Chilean students.

But the Chilean people and its working class are not giving up the struggle.

To the violation of social legislation, the ban on organising the great peasant masses, we must add police persecution of our leaders. The most shameful case is the recent trial of our General Secretary, comrade Bernardo Araya, who, after being unjustly condemned with a group of comrades (because they had held a meeting) to 100 days in prison and 500 pesos' fine, had his sentence increased to 5 years' prison, five years' banishment, the loss of civil rights and 20,000 pesos' fine, owing to pressure by the government on the courts.

The resistance and the struggle are developing. Recently there were many strikes among the builders, steel-workers and glass-workers, and they were successful.

When the opposition papers are banned, the trade union organisations and groups bring out their own periodicals, which circulate in thousands of copies. The struggle against unemployment, dismissals and starvation, and for a lower cost of living and the independence of the trade union movement, is increasing. These struggles are particularly intense in the coal, copper and nitrate regions.

For the traitors who follow the employers' agent Ibañez have no support among the working class. They are met with increasing scorn. At the recent elections the government promised to nominate Ibañez as Senator. Despite bribes and official interference, this creature was put to rout by the people. On May 1st, the traitors organised a meeting which was attended by less than 400 people, while our Confederation of Workers of Chile,* despite police repression, had over 20,000 at theirs.

The failure of the imperialist-minded trade union leaders in Chile was so patent that the American Federation of Labour decided to transfer to Cuba the decomposing corpse known as the International Confederation of Workers.

The workers of Cuba will receive this corpse and will certainly bury it with full honours. As for us, we are glad to be rid of the

odour, but are sorry that our comrades in Cuba will have to put up with it, if only for a short time.

The Chilean working class is fighting and will continue to fight against this rule of violence and these evils.

The people see that the government in raising the bogey of communism and of war against the USSR, has succeeded only in making war against its own people.

We hope that the workers of the world, and especially those who form the ranks of that great army of Liberation and Peace, the WFTU, will give us their encouragement and fraternal solidarity.

We Chileans know that the peoples fighting for liberty, independence national sovereignty, and democratic rights will be with us.

The workers of Chile know that the free and independent workers' organisations throughout the world, unsubjected to reactionary governments and capitalist monopolies, will be with us to help us fight and win.

LONG LIVE THE CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS OF CHILE !

LONG LIVE THE CTAL !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Mr. Schuil, Chief of the Workers Organisations Service of the International Labour Office. (*Applause.*)

J. SCHUIL (*ILO*). Mr. Chairman, Delegates :—

I cannot but feel honoured—as my eyes wander around this hall—that my Director-General has appointed me, along with my colleague Mr. Gallone, to represent the International Labour Office at your Congress and to convey to you its sincere thanks for the opportunity to be with you on this important occasion.

It is only fitting that the International Labour Office should have sent observers to the Congress of an organisation with which it maintains consultative relationships. But our visit here is more than just a formal courtesy. The ILO is always glad when, within the limits imposed by its own heavy time-table, it is able to attend a trade union Congress. There is a very good reason for that. For the ILO is deeply conscious of the fact that the trade union movement is at the very basis of its strength and that without the continued support of the workers of the world, and their organisations, it is without pith or marrow. When the ILO was created thirty years ago, at the insistent demand of organised labour, many political and psychological obstacles had to be overcome—many hesitations, misunderstandings and even tergiversations to be swept aside. But the bold conception underlying labour's demand for the creation of an international instrument for the pursuit of social progress and social justice everywhere has prospered, and it would take too much of your time if I attempted merely to enumerate all that the ILO has been, and is doing on behalf of the working people of the world.

Certainly the International Labour Organisation is as yet by no means perfect; surely it is only on the threshold of the immense possibilities before it; surely it has only begun to tap the new fields of activity

which, through the combination of both legislative and executive, operational action, will, I feel confident, eventually make it not only the World Parliament but also the World Ministry of social and industrial affairs. All that is true. But let me assure you—not as an official of the ILO just trying to boost his house, but as a trade unionist who has had 25 years of experience in the international trade union movement—that the ILO is acutely aware of its present limitations, on the one hand, and of its opportunities, on the other hand. As my Director-General put it in his Report to the 32nd Session of the International Labour Conference—the Session which has just been concluded in Geneva and from which I have hurried here—as my Director-General put it, “the International Labour Organisation must be geared so that it can constantly meet the challenge of its time. It must always move forward, and, when necessary, expand, or it will move backward and wither away”. And the Director-General was happy to be able to say in his reply to the general debate on his Report that there had been “agreement with his general proposition that circumstances have changed since the early days of the ILO; and that if it is to be a living organism to serve the purposes enunciated in its Charter, if it is to be a vital force for peace, it must not become institutionalised, it must not become bureaucratic, it must not live in the past, but it must, if necessary, be prepared boldly to formulate new plans and new methods of work to enable it to cope with real and living social and labour problems in the world today.”

These are not empty words. The ILO is already being geared to the challenge of its time. It is branching out in fields of activity, in realms of “direct action” (if I may use this term), that would probably have meant heresy thirty years ago. The change is not only taking place in that bee-hive of activities which is the ILO headquarters on the shores of the Lake of Geneva; it is not only taking place in the ILO’s branch offices in Rome, Paris, London, Washington, New Delhi and Shanghai; it is not only making itself felt in the vast machinery of the ILO’s annual Conferences, regional Conferences, Governing Body sessions, and the meetings of its 25-odd industrial, advisory and technical Committees. No, ILO activity is no longer confined, as it were, to the “smokefilled” rooms. The ILO is establishing a net-work of technical missions and field offices all over the world—giving direct, expert, practical “on the spot” assistance to all these Member States who care to ask for it. Again, as the Director-General put it so forcibly, the ILO “is, and must become even more, a vital living organism which strikes out hard at the roots of social injustice and unrest.”

To strike hard and efficiently, the ILO needs the support of the trade union movement, and it will always be glad to cooperate to the full with all organisations that share its aspirations and are prepared to support it in terms of practical undertaking. Again I make no apology for quoting the Director-General of the ILO in his reply to the Conference when he said “I believe sincerely that there is one force in the world which makes our undertaking vital and which only we can exploit, if we have the wisdom, in the interest always of universality, world peace and security. It is the aspiration common to all peoples wherever they may be for the improvement of their standards

of life and work in a world free from the threat of war and free from the danger of the lightning and total destruction of all that has been so painfully and laboriously achieved. This aspiration is not the prerogative of a single region, a single people or a single creed—it transcends from a humanitarian point of view all prejudices and limitations and stands beyond us as a shining light and possibility which beckons alike to all peoples of courage regardless of creed or race.”

The instrument is there. It is up to all people of good will to use it properly for the advancement of mankind. I am sure that the trade union movement, in the future as now and in the past, will be alive to its possibilities.

(*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Dahmane of Algeria, a member of the French delegation.

G. DAHMANE (*Algeria*). Comrades, I have been asked by the French delegation to speak on the reports dealing with trade union activity in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and in particular with comrade Le Léap's report on African problems. Allow me first of all, though, in the name of the Moroccan workers, and in particular of the Algerian workers I represent, to express warmest fraternal greetings to you, the most responsible and the most beloved leaders of the workers of your countries, who are taking part in this magnificent Congress.

In his report comrade Le Léap revealed the conditions under which the workers of Africa, who have to fight against the shameful pressure of French colonial rule, live and struggle.

Now I want to tell Congress that a genuine representative of the Moroccan workers—the General Secretary of the General Confederation of Moroccan Trade Unions—should have taken part in this Congress and have been a member of the French delegation, but the French Resident in Morocco has forbidden him the leave Moroccan soil.

The colonial authorities of the Moroccan Protectorate took this step to prevent the oppressive rule under which the Moroccan people live from being denounced before an international Congress of workers. They wanted at all costs to prevent comrade Tahar from being at this Congress.

The Moroccan workers, who are determined to fight against the oppressive colonial régime, know that this behaviour of the French Resident in Morocco is proof of a weakness that the French colonialists can no longer hide, proof that they cannot continue much longer their exploitation of the Moroccan workers.

The French colonial authorities in Morocco are maintaining their régime only by the sword.

The Moroccan workers are deprived of the most elementary liberties.

Trade union rights are only half-recognised in Morocco, and the trade union representatives cannot move about inside the country without authorisation from the Residency.

The least sign of trade union activity among them means repression and perhaps imprisonment.

These are the methods that colonialism in Morocco has to resort to in order to keep its position.

So from this platform we vehemently protest against these actions in order that the workers of the world may know of them. I think that Congress will protest against the refusal to allow the General Secretary of the UGSCM to take part in the second Congress of the WFTU. (*Applause.*)

The French colonialists go about saying that Algeria forms an *extension of France beyond the Mediterranean*.

Nothing is more false and absurd. Our country, which was conquered by force 120 years ago, is still under colonial domination.

With an appropriate administrative rule, with its military zones, its mixed Parliament and a Governor-General who possesses full powers, it could not be otherwise.

In Morocco colonial oppression shows itself in all its forms.

In the field of politics I will give only one example. Just before and just after its elections our country lives in an atmosphere of terror. The Algerian elections put the country in a real state of war. After our last elections there were people killed and imprisoned, victims of the police and army in the service of colonialism. The voting centres were occupied by the military and the voters carried out their electoral duty threatened by revolvers and sub-machine guns: they were forced to vote for the candidates chosen by the administration.

Oppression also makes itself felt in cultural matters. All Arab culture has been banished. Arabic, spoken by 9/10ths of the Algerian people, is regarded as a foreign language. 1,300,000 children run the streets because there are no schools.

The entire economy is in the hands of a small group of financial sharks who are in absolute control. The great majority of the population, particularly the workers, are excluded from everything. Their efforts and their labour only serve to enrich the colonialists.

In this essentially agricultural economy, the majority of the inhabitants (70 to 80 %) live directly or indirectly on the produce of the soil, which represents 80 % of the economic resources of the country.

The best lands in our country are in the hands of a few big colonialists. To give a characteristic example of this exploitation worthy of feudal times: while 470,000 small owners possess between them 2,400,000 hectares of land (in the worst positions on the mountain-sides), 13,000 big land-owners have divided up among themselves 3,300,000 hectares from the best lands.

Industry exists in Algeria, only in so far as it serves the interests of the lords of the country.

The main industry is extraction, plus the transport undertakings allowing for the dispatch of the extracted raw materials to the principal Algerian ports for shipment abroad.

Despite the exploitation, an Algerian proletariat has been born that is developing and becoming daily more aware of its responsibilities.

This is how it is made up: in industry and trade—150,000; Government workers—120,000, agriculture—about 600,000.

There is no doubt that the trade union movement has gradually made advances among the proletariat.

At first the Algerian trade union movement was made up of a few trade union militants from France (railway workers, postal workers, teachers, etc.), and the first trade unions were completely composed of Government workers of European origin.

But as the struggle developed, other categories of workers appeared. Important changes took place, especially through the development of industry and trade.

Great changes took place during the strikes of 1936 as a result of the unity achieved in action by the French and Algerian trade unions.

Parallel with the struggle and the organisation of the workers, a national movement sprang up among the workers of Arab-Berber origin, a natural expression of the desire of our people for liberty.

During the years 1939-1943, the black period of Vichyism and Fascism, our trade union movement, like that in France, was dissolved, but the activity of the workers was not arrested by this.

The strike of the miners of Kenadza in 1941 (300 workers were imprisoned) is the proof of the part taken in the struggle against the Vichy and Fascist rule by the workers of our country.

Like all the countries desirous of liberty and democracy, Algeria took part during the second world war in the struggle to free the peoples from the forces of Fascism.

The Algerians took seriously the aims for which they were called on to fight, and it is this widespread people's movement which led to the development in our country of a powerful liberation movement, which today is the strongest force in the country.

By a huge majority, the Algerian workers want to see the disappearance of the colonial rule which has brought oppression and exploitation in its wake.

All this has naturally greatly influenced our trade union movement, which because it is above all a revolutionary movement, cannot remain indifferent to the desires of our people.

The membership of our trade union movement has considerably increased. The 60,000 members that there were in 1938 increased to nearly 300,000 in 1946, thanks to the steady entry of Arab-Berber workers, who are the most exploited, and who have joined the ranks of the CGT and now constitute 75 % of our membership.

During the war, the women and especially the Moslem women entered production and took part in our struggle. This is a historic precedent if we take into account their customs and their position in most Arab countries. They even take an active part in strikes and even act as shop-stewards.

Although it is affiliated to the great French trade union centre the Algerian trade union movement has its own individuality and peculiarities. These have never been questioned by the CGT which has always been most helpful. It understood the necessity of leaving us complete freedom of action, because of the Algerians' national aspirations, their demands and problems, which are different from those of the French workers, and the need to adapt the form of our struggle and organisation to the economic conditions in the country.

We ourselves understand perfectly the need for the present to be more than ever closely linked to the French CGT and this principal

is fundamental to us. We are fighting against common enemies, the imperialist trusts; those which exploit the French workers exploit us the Algerians too.

Every day we profit from the experience of the glorious French working class; our own strikes are often leavened by those of the French workers.

It was through struggle that the Algerian trade union movement was forged.

The great strikes lasting 2 and 3 weeks, of December 1947 which brought more than 100,000 Algerian workers into the trade union movement; the historic strike of the Algerian miners who held out heroically for more than 3 months, the strike of the agricultural labourers, till then considered as slaves by the colonialists; the united action by the Government servants of all categories which took place on the 15th of last June, all these actions have valuable lessons to teach all workers taking part in the fight for freedom. This is the result of the growing class consciousness of the workers and of the maturity of the Algerian trade union movement which shows itself capable of victoriously conducting its own campaigns.

In the daily sharpening struggle the Algerian workers are defending the demands which the imperialist trusts and the reactionary government in their pay, are refusing to meet.

The workers understand daily more and more that their exploiters, the enemies of their class, wish to crush the working class in order more easily to enslave it and drag it into the war that they are preparing.

The capitalist imperialists consider that their régime can be saved only by a new war, which will enable them to squeeze more super-profits from the workers.

Here is an example of the profits made by the colonialists in Algeria: the Oucza Mines Company admitted to 441 million francs' profit in 10 months, while their reserves reached 1,050 million francs.

The big colonialists made a net profit of 180,000 francs per hectare in their vineyards in the year 1947-8.

To salvage their régime and their class interests they have no hesitation in lending their support, backed by a Government devoted to their interests, to the war plans of American imperialism.

The Marshall Plan means for Algeria American control of her economy. The country has also been brought into the Atlantic Pact, that instrument for imperialist robbery and aggression.

The American imperialists are furthering their policy of aggression by taking over control in North Africa, and the official propaganda being put out by the French authorities is giving a big build-up to a Four-Year Military Equipment Plan.

The credits for this plan for the year 1948-9 amount to 81,000 billion francs, to be shared out as follows: 43,000 billion for Algeria, 27,000 billion for Morocco, and 11,000 billion for Tunisia.

These credits are earmarked for the construction of war-bases, the building and widening of roads, such as the strategic route right across the south of North Africa, and the building of air fields, ports, etc.

Altogether, under the cloak of the famous "aid to backward coun-

tries," American control of North Africa is being extended and given official blessing.

The peoples of North Africa, and especially the workers and people of Algeria, are vigorously replying to all these more or less camouflaged manoeuvres.

All the national and progressive organisations are uniting to call a halt to such actions. Algeria's support of and participation in the World Peace Congress and the setting-up of a permanent Peace Committee in Algeria, are a proof of the Algerian people's determination to fight for peace.

The Algerian workers and the Algerian Trade Union Movement are taking an active part in, and most of the time are leading, the campaign for unity and action of all the democratic forces in the country.

By doing this, the Algerian workers know that they are taking part in the anti-imperialist fight for Peace, and for the strengthening of the democratic forces in the world. The Algerian workers will never allow their country to be used as a base against the free peoples of the world.

The Algerian workers will never be the soldiers of imperialism. They will never fight the workers of friendly countries, the workers of the Soviet Union or the Popular Democracies, nor will they ever at any time be the enemies of the French working people, whom they are well capable of distinguishing from the French imperialists and their reactionary government.

In taking part in activity of this kind the Algerian trade union movement believes it has struck a blow for peace.

By their clear and definite refusal to be the accomplices of criminal imperialism in the filthy war against Viet-Nam, the Algerian dockers, as comrade Olga Tournade has already told you, know that they were working for peace.

In its struggle for its demands, and for peace, our trade union movement is also making a clear stand in the struggle for freedom for the workers and the oppressed peoples. There can be no separation between the fight for our demands and the fight for liberty.

In entering battle for the settlement of their claims against the mining trusts, the main basis of the colonial régime in Algeria, our miners, by holding out for 3 months, struck a shrewd blow at the very centre of colonialist oppression. They were supported by the solidarity of the entire population. 4 million francs were collected, of which over a million came from their comrades, the French miners. All this shows that the feeling of unity and brotherhood between all workers, without distinction of race, is strengthened in the fight and enables them to splinter that favourite weapon of the colonialists, Division.

This unity in action which is growing up never fails to strengthen the position of our trade union movement, which, through these struggles, becomes the advance-guard of the movement for national liberation, to which it imparts a truly democratic stamp, for it stresses the common fight of the anti-imperialists and the French working class.

By taking the lead in the movement for national liberation the Algerian trade union movement is also tying itself more closely to the international working class movement. It is avoiding all danger of

a chauvinist nationalism and is taking up its position in the struggle being waged by the workers of the whole world against imperialism; Algeria, that is, stands in the democratic camp.

Our trade union movement, which is above all anti-colonialist, has very definite objectives inside the framework of its struggle for freedom. It knows that the best revolutionaries are those who give themselves aims which can be attained, such as the freeing of political prisoners, the annulment of the elections for the Algerian Assembly, the suppression of mixed communes and of the southern territories, the recognition of Arabic as the official language alongside French.

Of course, we are meeting many difficulties in our work for these objectives.

We are anxious to bring about the complete unity of the working class in our country. That will enable us to go ahead in all our work.

By the unity of action we have already achieved on particular issues, we are drawing to us a number of those European workers who are still members of the CFTC and the FO, which are essentially colonialist organisations.

Our trade union movement is already a force to be reckoned with, for it represents unanimity among all the workers wishing to put an end to colonialism no matter what their political or religious opinions. Our trade union movement, which contains in its ranks, and at all levels, nationalists, non-party progressives, socialists and communists, may be considered as the greatest organised force of the Algerian people.

For all the workers of the world the World Federation of Trade Unions represents a future full of hope and they themselves cannot but be filled with optimism. But the workers of colonial and semi-colonial countries look forward with even greater hopes. For living as they do in utter inferiority, deprived of all democratic freedom, undergoing all the oppressions that a colonial régime can bring them, they must understand that unity, solidarity and mutual help among all workers on an international level are decisive factors in their freedom and liberation.

And the achievement of such aims is possible only if an organisation like the WFTU exists, develops and spreads its influence throughout the world.

Inside the framework of trade union activity on an international level, the fact that the WFTU is organising and uniting all the workers of the world for the achievement of common objectives means that it cannot allow working people in some part of the world to submit to the exploitation of mediaevally-minded régimes.

By its organisation and its work the WFTU is linking together all workers; it is enabling them also to find out facts on the living conditions of their fellows in other countries. And their knowledge of these facts rouses the indignation of the workers who may belong to a colonising nation. Such indignation can only lead to constant mass working-class pressure on the governments of their countries to call a halt to the exploitation of workers whom yesterday, they did not know and who, today, are fraternally united and organised with them in the ranks of the same organisation.

So the WFTU breaks down one after another the barriers which

the imperialist capitalists have set up between the workers and peoples of the world.

The trade union movement and the workers of Algeria are very anxious to see unity of the workers of the world inside the WFTU. They regret that the breakaway leaders, acting, we are sure, against the will for unity of the majority of the workers they represent, have brought about a division which profits only the enemies of the workers, including those in the countries affected by the split.

We are certain that the unity of the working class, which has suffered only a temporary setback, will be soon achieved, thanks to the healthy majority of those desiring solidarity in these countries.

Our trade union movement is more than ever convinced that the WFTU will further grow and develop in the future. It will be a decisive factor in the struggle of the workers of the world for better standards of living, for an end to exploitation of man by man, for well-being, democracy and peace throughout the world.

All honour to the Trade Union Centres which, with so much effort and self-sacrifice have worked for and taken part in the setting-up of the WFTU, for the unity and consolidation of the world working-class front against the common enemies.

All honour to the militants, to those well-loved national trade-union leaders who, by their effective and loyal participation in the work and organisation of the WFTU, have made it capable of overcoming all the obstacles which the sworn enemies of the international working class have not ceased to throw in their path, and have known how to use this international weapon of the workers to create a bulwark unaffected by all the attempts and manœuvres of Deakin, Carey and Co.

All honour to the trade union centres, and to all the workers who have maintained their faith in the WFTU and have given it their unconditional support.

All glory to the struggle entered upon by workers all over the world to free themselves from capitalist oppression and to bring nearer a future of well-being and liberty.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF ALL WORKERS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Elliott, observer for the Seamen and Waterside Workers of Australia and New Zealand.

E. ELLIOTT (*Australia*). Comrades, I speak as an observer at this Congress. 231,000 workers have sent observers. Most of them come from colonial or semi-colonial countries. This shows their desire for affiliation and their great interest in the WFTU and its broad progressive policy, which supports both the immediate interests and the most distant objectives of all the workers of the world.

Proof of the faith of the workers in the WFTU is the fact that I was able to be present at this great Congress. Travelling by plane from Australia, it took three days and two nights to reach Milan. We flew over Indonesia, the Malay Archipelago, Burma, India, Iraq and

Transjordan, Israel and Egypt, and finally Italy and Milan. Eleven thousand miles above countries containing hundreds of millions of workers separate this Congress from Australia, but all these workers are here in spirit.

I represent the seamen and the dockers of Australia and New Zealand. Because of the geographical position of their country, Australian workers have taken an active part in organising trade unions among the peoples of Asia and the Pacific. During the war we in Australia organised into trade unions workers of Indonesia, China, the Malay States and India.

All these magnificent anti-fascist fighters later returned to their respective countries, where they are trade union organisers experienced in the fight against capitalism, and for prosperity and peace.

There exists in Asia and in the Pacific a solid foundation on which the activity of the WFTU can be built. The millions of workers of China and Indonesia, Malaya and Viet-Nam, have shown their courage in fighting international exploitation.

To build free and independent unions, they need the guidance of the WFTU. Two years ago, the British TUC sent to Malaya a so-called "organiser" who works for the interests of the British owning class.

The WFTU should now organise Departments for Asia and the Pacific, so as to be able to give special attention to the solution of the problems before these thickly populated countries.

The WFTU has consolidated its position in face of the attacks of the Anglo-American splitters. It has come out of the first battle with banners flying. We must now push on and organise into trade unions the millions of workers in Asia and the Pacific, and in this way strengthen still further the organisation of the WFTU. (*Prolonged applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). The next speaker will be Comrade Messadi, of the Tunisian UGTT.

M. MESSADI (*Tunisia UGTT*). Comrades, I will be as brief as possible. The different reports we have heard on the activities of the WFTU have given us a very broad picture of where our main efforts should lie.

But insofar as we have met here to think freely on the problems, all the problems, of the future of the proletariat throughout the world,—insofar as we have the duty of each making our own contribution to the common task by pointing out inadequacies in past work and the direction in which the activities of the WFTU should be more particularly aimed,—to that extent the Tunisian delegation has the duty of drawing the attention of Congress to one point, to a gap in the various reports, a point that seems to us of vital importance: that of the defence of the first of the workers' social rights, of the first possession for any man—the right to education and culture.

Economic interests, social rights, material well-being, etc., are doubtless essential for labour; all this makes up the worker's real life. And the problems these raise are doubtless fundamental. We are all in agreement with the general principles of the WFTU insofar as they concern the fight against unemployment, the fight to meet the

need for security in full employment of the workers, or for continued improvement in wages, in hours of work and in the workers' living and working conditions, or for complete and adequate social legislation to protect the workers and their families against the risk of unemployment, sickness, accidents or old age, or for all other measures to improve the economic and social well-being of the workers.

All this is contained in the various reports, and all of it remains the basis of the continued action of the WFTU and of all the affiliated National Centres.

But it is not enough.

Man does not live by bread alone; he needs something more than economic security, physical health, material well-being, the improvement of his material means of life and his conditions of work, etc.,. He needs also, and as imperatively, as vitally, intellectual health, the improvement of his spiritual means of life.

Man is not an animal, a purely physical machine; it is not sufficient to give him bread and circuses, as in the Latin tag.

We are familiar with a certain kind of education which does try to reduce man to that,—which tries to confine mankind to that degrading definition, and which seeks to limit his needs and aspirations to material objects. We are familiar with these false, crudely materialist philosophical conceptions which try to restrict the development and flowering of the human being and assign no other object to his activity than physical well-being and material happiness. To these anti-human conceptions, any other aspiration, any other ambition must be regarded as pure verbiage. And up comes the argument of the "primum vivere..."

All right, let us accept this argument: "primum vivere"—first live! Every human being has the right to live—but not to live anyhow, nor to a limited extent. He has the right to live a full life,—he has the right to give all his intellectual and physical capacities their maximum development. He has the right to demand and obtain the full satisfaction of both his physical and intellectual, material and moral needs.

Which of our National Centres, in any case, has ever contented itself with asking for bread for the workers,—without asking at the same time for peace, liberty, and justice?

And what do we do; all of us, in our trade unions organisations, if not work, by different means and in addition to our daily demands, to educate, to cultivate the worker and give him the ideas that bourgeois education has not sufficiently developed in him?

We know full well, when we do this, that social, economic and political demands are in essence humanist: they have at their basis a higher human culture.

The whole system of our demands constitutes a true philosophy, in which we create a certain conception of what man should be, of what human society should be, of what humanity should be. And it is because of this philosophy that we do not accept the capitalist bourgeoisie, any more than a capitalist society or a capitalist humanity.

And if it is true that we all believe that our destiny lies in our own hands,—that human dignity is primarily made up of our feeling that we are our own gods,—that man makes himself, and next, with his

own hands, builds his world and his condition,—if this is true, then we think, comrades, that the first task to fulfil for the workers is to ensure them and their children the full development of their being, of their physical and spiritual being, of their body, their health, their intelligence and their minds.

We must put an end at last to the era of paternalism. We want no more of these tiny intellectual élites which lead—or which claim to lead—the masses of the people towards happiness. We must begin the era of fraternalism, under which, with all men brothers and equally adult, each man may build his own happiness and that of all in fraternal cooperation. And to this end every man, every worker, must have access to the highest culture, with limits placed only by his own possibilities and aptitudes.

Without this, all our other work is in danger of failing.

You cannot build a good society, humane, just, free, peaceful, smiling, with human beings who are failures, incomplete, or beings whose minds are imprisoned in the shades of ignorance, or poisoned by a false culture.

Physical health and strength are not enough. For there exist sicknesses, diseases of the mind which, though less visible than those of the body, are no less serious. All the delays on the road to progress and civilisation, all retrograde trends, every kind of reaction, arise to a great extent from the insufficiency, the distortion of culture.

The battle for peace, for political and social justice, for democracy, for liberty, is a long stern battle which is won first on the level of the mind. If there were a sufficiently developed and sufficiently humanised education and culture, to train human beings who would put the notion of social justice above egoistic material interest,—understanding between the peoples above all national patriotic pride,—then the battle for social justice and peace would be quickly won.

But we are well aware that we have unfortunately not got that far yet !

In many countries we live in an age of criminal barbarism, where the normal development of the human being is deliberately prevented, sabotaged, or violently distorted.

Let me here give the testimony of a man who, by his job as a teacher, by the political and social situation in his country, by his daily contact with the working masses of the people of his country, lives daily through the drama of the absence of culture and instruction, and sees the ravages wrought by illiteracy in his country. And these ravages are more terrible than those of epidemics, for instead of killing a few individuals or causing physiological disturbances, illiteracy kills the mind, kills what makes a man human and gives him the feeling of his dignity, his rights and his freedom.

I don't want to repeat what has been said on the particular situation in the colonial countries from this point of view. Allow me, however, to point out in passing that in the colonial countries education is doled out with a dropper. All the world knows this and knows the underlying reasons for it. In Tunisia, for example, after 68 years of the Protectorate, the percentage of illiterates is terrifying, since even today only 1 Tunisian child out of 9 or 10 can find a place in the schools. For the colonial countries as a whole the percentage is rarely higher;

particularly in Africa, the policy of racial discriminations adds a particularly intolerable element to this situation. For in Tunisia it is a fact that, although only 3 % of the Arab population goes to school, 23 % of the foreign population do so, that is practically all the children of the colonisers and assimilated elements.

But if the problem of education takes the form I have just described in the dependent countries, in the civilised countries of Europe and elsewhere the capitalist régime puts no less seriously the problem of culture.

Doubtless, in contradistinction to the dependent countries, the non-colonial countries benefit fairly widely from primary education. And their situation in this respect is envied by many colonial countries.

But even where it is widespread culture is still not always free; it is often controlled; it remains profoundly bourgeois, for it is the reflection of the nature of the capitalist economic régime. And when the capitalist colonising countries agree to distribute a little of it among the colonised countries, they always exaggerate its faults, reduce what freedom it has, direct and orient it in an even narrower fashion and make it an instrument of enslavement more often than of liberation of men.

For we are everywhere still at the stage of narrow national patriotic education;—we have too often before us an education which, instead of forming people for the service of humanity, trains them for the exclusive benefit of one country, of one class. Chauvinist nationalism is a slow poison which some kinds of education distil into the mind. Racial pride is another equally virulent poison. Pride in the national culture and the scorn of the national cultures of other people is a third poison as corrosive as the first. The notions of superiority of one people over another, of one language over another, of one culture over another—everything which tends to differentiate, to oppose men and peoples—all this is the very basis of many types of education, and is particularly clearly apparent to us colonials.

But if in the colonies the phenomena takes the aspect of racial discrimination, in capitalist countries it remains essentially the same, taking on the aspect of class discrimination and tending to perpetuate social inequalities by justifying them. The working class is still the most unfavoured, and access to the highest culture remains as a whole the privilege of the wealthy classes. We only have to see how badly technical and vocational education is organised in many countries. In France even, it is only since the last war and since the new drive of the French working class to win its rights, that we have witnessed a reorganisation of technical and vocational training. In Italy the plans for reform are still being discussed. As for the colonial countries, it will suffice to say that in Tunisia, for example, the total attendance at technical and vocational establishments is 8,000, out of a completely ignorant mass of 300,000 wage-earners.

So, comrades, in taking stock of the cultural situation of the workers throughout the world, we have seen :—

1. that in the colonial and semi-colonial countries the general tendency is towards almost complete illiteracy (as in Tunisia);
2. that in the non-colonial countries, despite the expansion of

primary education, culture is not always free, and above all it tends to form not human beings in the full meaning of the word, but beings more or less distorted, incomplete or crippled, chauvinist, xenophobes, or devoted to the capitalist régime which formed them;

3. that primary and higher education is not everywhere in the reach of the working class and is insufficient, and that this class, intellectually and also vocationally diminished in this way, thus remains in a position of weakness compared with the owning classes, more favoured materially and morally.

It is for these reasons that I was forced to observe that the pre-occupation with improving the cultural condition of the workers did not have the necessary prominence in the various reports heard so far, and in the general activity of the WFTU as a whole.

From this point of view, it seems to me that the conclusion to be drawn from all I have just said may be summed up in the following points :—

1. The WFTU should intensify its activities, both with UNESCO and the colonialist governments, to obtain universal primary education in the dependent countries; it should collect reports on the cultural situation in the dependent countries and pass them on to UNO.

2. It should coordinate the work of all the National Centres—in particular through the Teachers' Trade Department—with the object of improving the education of the masses of the people, vocational and technical instruction, the social education of the workers, and the fight against illiteracy, by the different experiences of the various countries.

3. Finally, the WFTU should publicise the slogans of true human culture : that which confines itself to no dogma, no sectarianism; which rejects that false spiritualist philosophy which tends to bring scorn of material goods, to form submissive, resigned beings, renouncing all; a culture which at the same time rejects as vigorously that crude, animal materialism which tends to empty man of every higher spiritual aspiration and reduces him to his material appetites and his physical needs. I confess that personally I am more ashamed for humanity before a completely ignorant, narrow-minded, dead-souled worker than before a starving, naked worker.

But what we must not at any cost tolerate is that he should be both starving and ignorant, both naked and unthinking.

The working masses have the right to the most complete life, to the complete development of their human personality. The defence of their social rights implies therefore that at the same time as they are defended against unemployment, against low wages, against accidents at work, etc., they be defended also against ignorance or a perverted culture which deforms their mind and soul.

It is only by doing this that we will succeed in forming men in whom the feeling of their right to a decent material life, to security and well-being will be in direct proportion to their feeling for the essential notions of true culture : the notion of justice, of liberty, of human fraternity, of peace;—men who in a word will have a soul, an ideal, and who will have the material and intellectual means to reach this ideal. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Wickremasinghe, of Ceylon.

S. A. WICKREMASINGHE (*India and Ceylon*). Comrades, I would like to add a few words on the problem of immigration.

This question has been dealt with by a comrade in a special report.

Immigration is a serious problem in the Asian countries, in particular for the emigrant labour of India and China.

The system of immigrant labour-power began with the abolition of slavery. In fact, it is even more profitable to the workers' exploiters than slavery. So it is a question which must be considered seriously.

It concerns not only workers who emigrate towards the American continent, but also the workers in Africa, who are subjected to various compulsory measures. Having too many taxes to pay, they are compelled to leave their own territory to work elsewhere in order to be able to earn enough money to pay their taxes.

That is why everything which concerns immigrant labour in Africa and Asia must be very carefully studied by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Yesterday I received a document from the representative of the International Labour Office. It is a copy of the convention approved at Geneva by the ILO.

At its last meeting, the ILO dealt with the problem of immigration as far as labour is concerned. A draft resolution was proposed for final ratification.

I think we should make a careful examination of this report, so as to know the grave dangers which threaten the workers in countries where the labour supply is affected by mass emigration towards other countries.

The contracts given are quite inadequate. You might think that they deal with all the questions, but this is far from being the case. For example, Article 6 of the Convention adopted last month in Geneva enumerates a series of rights that all immigrant workers should enjoy: wages, conditions of work, trade union activities, social security, etc.

Article 8 of the Convention explains that immigrant workers who are admitted with their families into the countries of their destination will not if they have been definitively admitted be repatriated to their country of origin for any reason such a sickness, and that these persons shall return home only at their own request. This clause gives no real protection to the immigrant worker.

I believe that the WFTU should insist that all immigrant workers have the same rights as the workers of the country they enter. Immigrant workers must enjoy the elementary trade union rights.

To show you how little attention is paid to the workers' rights, I will quote an example from Burma. The Burmese workers went on strike. The Indian workers wished to join them. The Burmese government and the Indian government told these workers that they were not real citizens of Burma, and that if they went on strike it would be interfering in the internal affairs of the State of Burma. The Indian workers did stay away from work at the same time as the Burmese workers went on strike, thus revealing great class solidarity. But they

could do no more, for if they had given any effective aid they would have been deported from Burma.

The law should therefore give immigrant workers the same citizenship rights as the workers of the country they enter.

Last year a law was introduced, which is still in force, refusing such rights to the immigrant Singhalese workers, who can be deported by the administration with no valid reason given. Nor is this all : a worker may be deported for purely political reasons if his presence does not please the State.

I therefore stress that this question of immigrant workers is a very important problem in the world today. We must no longer allow the capitalists to exploit the countries of different continents as they have done for centuries. Even today, emigration is a weapon utilised by the capitalists against their own working class when the labouring masses in a country have rebelled : exported labour becomes an instrument of social and economic oppression.

There is thus a double exploitation on the part of the capitalists.

Our duty is to get to the root of the problem and to insist that every worker sent from one country to another to work is given elementary rights similar to those of the citizens of the country of his destination.

In this way the situation of immigrant workers will be improved, and the number of them sent from one country to another for purposes of exploitation will be decreased.

In conclusion, I draw the attention of the Federation to the fact that we must study this question in relation with the work of emigrants particularly from India, South Africa, Ceylon, British Honduras, Madagascar and elsewhere, and also the Chinese emigrants who are persecuted in Malaya, deported in hundreds of thousands because they have not the same rights as the Malay workers, and finally with those of Africa, exposed to different forms of exploitation.

Thank you. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokziyl*). Comrade Buckle, who was to speak now, has agreed to forego the presentation of his report from the rostrum in view of the lack of time. His speech will be inserted in the minutes as if he had made it at the Congress.

D. BUCKLE (*Transvaal*). Comrades, the problem of the migration of labour is one which deeply concerns South Africa. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that the problem there assumes proportions greater than in any other country.

Indeed, it is not so much a question of promoting equality in economic and social rights for immigrant workers as one of bringing about the total abolition of the migratory labour system if South Africa with its expanding industry is to make the best use of its resources in land and people.

Migration takes place for various reasons, one of the most usual being the desire to improve economic circumstances. Consequently, discrepancies in wage rates and in economic opportunities as between town and country promote migration.

During the period immediately before the war and during the war itself there was some improvement in South Africa, of the wages paid

for non-European labour particularly in the larger urban centres. At the same time wage rates in the uncontrolled part of the labour market, particularly in agriculture, remained static and even fell because of the relatively large supply of labour, the poverty of the physical environment and the low level of efficiency. The fact that the number of Africans admitted to skilled trades is severely restricted by legislation which limits the number of African apprentices and makes long periods of apprenticeship compulsory accounts for the large number of young Africans in the ranks of migrant labour. Furthermore, the wants of Africans in rural areas have increased in variety and the means of satisfying them have not increased correspondingly. The result is that Africans on the European-occupied farms yearn for the relatively higher money wage rates and the greater freedom and variety of urban life.

Similar influences are at work among the African population of the reserves. So overcrowded have some of these reserves become that the prospects for the population are increasing lack of opportunities, growing impoverishment and they are forced to go out to work if only to maintain their standard of living, low as it is.

In some areas frequently subject to drought, an exodus to the centres of employment outside the reserves is necessary in order to obtain the means to buy even food.

But there are other pressures, those of an administrative character, which are designed to induce Africans to go to the mining towns for spells of work. And here let us consider briefly the major direct taxes peculiar to Africans, the general and local taxes which are regulated by the Natives Taxation and Development Act, 1925, as amended. The general tax, commonly called the Poll Tax, is without doubt an iniquitous imposition, a most blatant infringement of personal liberty. The tax, as its name implies, is a fixed sum per head irrespective of earnings or earning capacity. It is paid by every male African between the ages of 18 and 65 years and is levied at the rate of £1 per annum. There is in addition a local or hut tax of 10 shillings per hut per annum levied on the occupier up to a maximum of £2.

Let it be noted in passing that not only are the direct taxes levied on the Europeans much lighter—they are in any case based on income—but the age limits are also narrower, for no European under 21 or over 60 years of age pays tax whereas only Africans of under 18 and over 65 years are exempt.

We should also pay some regard to indirect taxation which affect the African through increasing the prices of essential and conventional necessities. These taxes constitute a most onerous burden on the poorest section of the population.

The tax system, both direct and indirect is both regressive and discriminatory. Thus the Social and Economic Planning Council in Report No 7 states :—

“ A Native family generally pays a higher proportion of income in taxation than a European family earning perhaps twice as much. ”

Another part of the same report says :—

“ One of the main objectives of Native taxation is, or was, to exert

pressure on Natives to seek work in agriculture, mining, or manufacture. In this object it is probably very successful."

It is clear that all these different forms of taxation by accentuating the already great poverty of the Native in the reserves, tend to increase the drift to the towns as also the supply of Native labour seeking work. The mining industry is particularly affected by the pressure to supplement incomes. The labour supply of the mines depends on the number of Natives who can be induced to supplement incomes and work for definite periods without bringing their families with them into the towns.

The argument put forward by the Chamber of Mines to the Native Mine Wages Commission is that an increase in wages would induce the native worker to stay for longer periods in the reserves, and if this is correct, as I believe it is, then abolition of the Poll Tax would have the same effect. The fact is that the present system of Native taxation ensures a larger supply of labour for the mines than would otherwise be secured at existing wage rates.

But it should be pointed out that the drift into mining is of a different order from the general drift into the towns. Those who take up work in the mines do not become permanent miners. This course is not open to the Africans who enters the industry. The urgent need of those who offer themselves in the market for migratory labour is to add to a family income which is generally too low to maintain an adequate standard of living. Taxation by increasing the income required by the family increases the flow of this type of migrant labour.

The Poll tax is a typical imperialist imposition preventing the African from living and working where he wants. It is difficult to distinguish the deprivation of personal liberty involved from the actual imposition of "forced Labour." All African territories impose a Poll-tax and the system as applied in the territories adjacent to the Union of South Africa is evidently designed to help the latter with its labour problems.

This practice not only forces the African into semi-serfdom but helps to break down his family and tribal life through the annual mass migrations which give rise to widespread disease, demoralisation and social chaos.

A study of the origin of native labour in the gold mining industry on the Witwatersrand reveals that of the 360,000 native Africans employed half come from territories outside the Union of South Africa.

They are distributed as follows :—

From the Union	180,000
High Commission Territories.....	63,000
Portuguese East Africa	87,000
Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia..	30,000

The absence of able-bodied males from their own villages results in a serious deterioration of agriculture and agricultural methods. This is the root cause of the prevalence of malnutrition and deficiency diseases.

The ratio of absentees to total males of all ages is as follows in Union territory :—

Cape (except Transkei)	35 %	} Average 32
Transkei Territories	31 %	
Zululand	28 %	
Natal (excl. Zululand)	33 %	
Transvaal	32 %	
Orange Free State	34 %	

Outside the Union :—

Basutoland	50 %	} Average 35 %
Swaziland	40 %	
Nyasaland	17 %	
Northern Rhodesia (E. Province).....	33 %	

So it is true to say that the imposition of Poll-tax results in less than 50 % of the able-bodied young men in villages in the Union adjacent territories being left to cultivate their land.

Apart from the deplorable conditions of housing in the locations and in the shanty towns that have grown up in the outskirts of cities like Johannesburg, the migrant workers are exposed to all manner of wrongs for they are the most difficult to organise in a country where the organising of non-European labour is a difficult undertaking at the best of times. Under the new Unemployment Insurance Bill which excludes all Africans earning less than £182 per annum, immigrant workers are to be excluded regardless of the size of their earnings.

Migratory labour is an anachronism in South Africa. It is not a question of improving its conditions but of abolishing it altogether. That is the view of the Lagan Commission on Native Labour, appointed by the Union Government last year. To do this it will be necessary to struggle energetically for the abolition of the Poll tax and for the introduction of a system of taxation applicable to all whether European or Non-European.

It will be necessary for the WFTU to make this a special point of its work on the Economic and Social Council of the UN, the ILO and also a part of its general campaign to end discrimination among the workers.

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Adilbish, member of the Mongolian delegation. He arrived last night with his comrades after having been held up in Prague for two weeks by visa difficulties.

(*Congress rises and gives a long and thunderous ovation.*)

D. ADILBISH (*Mongolia*). Dear Friends !

We, representatives of the trade unions of the Mongolian People's Republic, are happy to be present at the Second Congress of the WFTU, at this meeting of representatives of the mighty organisation uniting many millions of the working class of the whole world.

I have come here from distant Mongolia and have brought you warm and hearty greetings from the workers and employees of our People's Republic, as well as the best wishes for success to the Congress in the interests of strengthening and developing the WFTU, which is fighting for solidarity and cooperation of the working class of the entire world for the sake of friendship, democracy and peace among the peoples.

The young working class of our Republic is a product of the People's Revolution of 1921. Our working class is the youngest in the world. It was born and grew up only after our Revolution and the creation of the national industry in our primarily cattle-breeding country.

Before 1921 we had neither native industry nor our own working class.

During the years of independent existence without feudal lords and capitalists we have created our national industry, which has changed the outlook of our country.

The appearance of the working class in our country is a great achievement of our people's revolutionary regime, which having bypassed the capitalist way of development, has attained great achievements in the economic, political and cultural fields of construction of our State.

The democratic order in our country has created exceedingly favourable conditions for the development of our formerly oppressed people.

Our People's Government, headed by Marshal Choibalsan, has created all the conditions for our country to march as swiftly as possible from feudalism to socialism along the non-capitalist way.

A great part in solving this historic task in our country is played by our young working class, which is organised in trade unions. Our trade unions, which have grown and developed together with the growth of our Republic, are democratic organisations of the working class. They have become a school of the working class, an organisation which is educating the working class in the spirit of fraternity, friendship, international cooperation and class consciousness.

Our People's Revolutionary Party and the People's Government have given great rights and possibilities to the working class, as well as to all the toiling masses of our country and to all social organisations, including the trade unions.

The Trade Unions of the Mongolian People's Republic take an active part in the management of State affairs and play an important role in the social life of the country.

A great number of the workers, trade union members, are being promoted to leading posts in government, economic and social institutions.

Hundreds of workers are members of the Aimak Hurals and of the Small Hural of the Republic (the local and supreme organs of State authority respectively), ministers, heads of departments, managers of enterprises, etc.

The trade unions unite in their ranks, workers, employees and intellectuals of all professions irrespective of their nationality, social position, religion, property, sex or citizenship.

In all their activities the trade union organisations proceed from the interests of free and independent Motherland, from the interests of

the working class and watch closely that legislation on labour and wages is fulfilled.

The trade unions of the MPR from the very first days of their existence have fought for international solidarity of the working class and close brotherly friendship with the Soviet Trade Union.

In the Organisational Regulations of our trade unions it is written: "The Trade Unions of the MPR are vitally concerned in strengthening friendship among the working class of the whole world."

The trade unions organise competition among the workers in plants, factories, transport, administrative and other institutions.

At present the toiling masses of our country are striving to fulfil the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy and culture, which was adopted in 1947.

About 20 % of trade union members have been honoured by the Government with high awards and medals of the MPR for labour heroism displayed in the interests of the independence of our Motherland and its future progress.

About 90 % of all the workers have taken part in production competition. Their goal is not only the quantity of production, but also the high quality of the commodities of mass consumption. There is a constant increase in the number of advanced workers, who produce many times more than their production norms. During the last seven years, the number of advanced workers has increased 14 times.

This is still another proof of the high moral qualities of trade union members.

The Trade Unions are carrying on great cultural and educational work among the working people. Every enterprise has its own clubs and reading-rooms where the workers have the possibility of meeting, to hear lectures and reports and read newspapers, etc. In short, they have all the conditions for self-education, cultural recreation and entertainment. We now have 70 clubs and 600 reading-rooms.

Trade Union organisations conduct and settle all questions of State Social Insurance and the safeguarding of labour. This has been written down in the Constitution of our country and in our Labour Legislation.

In our country, the Labour Act has established the eight-hour working day, the six-day working week and annual paid holidays of 2 weeks to 1 month for all workers and employees without exception.

Trade Union organisations every year increase the number of sanatoria and rest homes. The number of people who have made use of these recreational facilities has increased seven times between 1940 and 1948.

By 1952, the end of the present Five-Year Plan, the number of sanatoria and rest homes will have doubled and the number of people who will be able to make use of these facilities will be 8 times greater than in 1947. Sanatoria, rest-homes and special clinics created by the trade unions for the working people, are supported from Social Insurance funds. The workers and employees are sent to rest-homes and sanatoria free of charge.

All workers and employees during temporary disability, as well as women while pregnant or after child-birth, receive allowances from the

social insurance funds. The workers receive pensions in old age and in case of disability.

In 1948, the Social Insurance funds were three times greater than in 1940.

The most important ways of improving working conditions at the enterprises are safety technique and protection of labour.

In our country labour is the honourable duty of every citizen. We have neither capitalists nor unemployed. Our workers do not know what unemployment means. They do not know capitalist crises *and everything that is connected with the capitalist system of managing industry.*

All plants, factories, mines, etc., belong to the people, who have created them.

For the great success in the economic development of our country we are obliged to the general and unselfish assistance of our great neighbours, the Socialist State of workers and peasants—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The peoples of the USSR from the very first days of our Republic's existence, have been constantly rendering brotherly assistance in developing and strengthening our democratic State.

Our trade unions have developed and acquired their present strength with the assistance of the trade unions of the USSR, the most democratic trade unions in the world.

We are proud of our friendship with the Soviet Trade Unions which are giving us brotherly assistance in all our activities.

As you know, the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to the working people of the whole world calling on them to rally round the Federation.

Expressing the will of the working class and all the toiling people of the country and with the purpose of strengthening by all means international trade union solidarity, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the Mongolian People's Republic has applied for membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The trade unions of the Mongolian People's Republic support the unity of the working class of the entire world and fully associate themselves with the democratic camp which is headed by the great Soviet Union. We condemn the infamous acts of the instigators of a new war and their direct henchmen, the reactionary leaders of the TUC, the AFL and the CIO, who are trying to break down the unity of the working class of the whole world.

After the appeal of the International Committee of Intellectuals for the Defence of Peace and the International Democratic Federation of Women to call the World Peace Congress, the Central Council of Trade Unions heartily responded to this appeal and took part in the work of that Congress.

The Mongolian trade unions are of the opinion that our deliberations on the trade union activities in the countries of Asia, Africa, Australia and Latin America will have great importance for the future struggle of the working people of these continents, for their democratic rights, for freedom and for democracy.

The working people of the Mongolian People's Republic follow with deep sympathy the heroic struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa,

Australia and Latin America against the attempts of Anglo-American imperialism and its satellites to suppress the national liberation movements, to retain colonial regimes, slave conditions of labour and miserably low living conditions for the workers.

The Mongolian people are delighted by the great victories of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and by the success of building democracy in Northern Korea.

Together with the toiling masses of the whole world, the Mongolian working class denounce the intrigues of reaction, attempting to destroy democratic trade unions in the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, in Australia, Malaya, India, Japan, Indonesia, Iran, Southern Korea and other countries. We feel deep solidarity for the struggle of the working class in these countries, fighting for the preservation of their rights, for freedom, unity and democracy.

The representatives of the Mongolian trade unions welcome the WFTU's decision to call the Conference of Asian trade unions in November. The convocation of this Conference will help to work out necessary measures for improving the conditions of the toiling people of Asian Countries and for strengthening the activities of Asian trade unions. That Conference will also stimulate the growth of unity and friendship within the international trade union movement.

We stand for developing still further the activity of the trade unions of Asia, Australia, Africa and Latin America, for the defence of the vital interests of the working people in these countries, for carrying on decisive struggle against every attempt to split the democratic trade union movements, for the fight against imperialist oppression, against the instigators of a new war, for democracy and for peoples' security.

We hail with enthusiasm the decision of the Congress regarding the acceptance of the Mongolian Trade Unions into the WFTU.

The Congress may be assured that the trade unions of the MPR, brought up in the spirit of international solidarity and friendship between the peoples, will firmly stand for trade union unity, will support all decisions arising from the WFTU's Constitution and will actively fight in the ranks of the Federation for peace, democracy, for friendship of the working class of the whole world.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

LONG LIVE THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WHOLE WORLD !

LONG LIVE TRADE UNION UNITY !

(Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). The next and last speaker in the discussion this morning will be Nela Martinez, delegate from Ecuador.

N. MARTINEZ (*Ecuador*). Comrades, In greeting the 2nd World Trade Union Congress in the name of the Federation of Indians of Ecuador, I agree with the conclusions drawn by comrade Vicente Lombardo Toledano on the fundamental importance of assisting the struggle and organisation of the great peasant and Indian masses of Latin America. Indeed, as he said, our fight for emancipation began more than a hundred years ago. The political independence of the

Spanish colonial régime did not abolish the feudal system of exploiting the land, a system brought to our country 500 years ago. The Indians continue to be the victims of the most inhuman exploitation and discrimination as in colonial days. In Ecuador they are a majority, but they are oppressed by a minority which owns the land, and they are excluded from political and economic power in the country. The Indian people's resistance showed itself in huge, spontaneous, armed risings which were put down by the military in bloody pitched battles, where the primitive tools used for working the soil were employed as weapons against the full force of the army of Ecuador.

Since 1922 there has been an organised trade union movement in Ecuador which has enabled peasant and Indian masses to become class-conscious, and to join with the workers' groups and the progressive forces of the country. With the organisation of the Ecuador Confederation of Labour, affiliated to the CTAL and the WFTU, native and peasant trade unionism developed and today the Federation of Indians, which has 10,000 members represents the interests of more than 2 million Indians. The peasant trade unions' struggle is carried on in the most difficult conditions. Although there exists freedom of organisation in the country, the Indians, who have been deprived for centuries of all rights, have to carry on semi-legal trade union work because of violent oppression by their employers. When the big haciendas are put up for sale in Ecuador they still specify that they contain so many acres, so many head of cattle, and, last, so many Indians. Although slavery and serfdom have in law been abolished they still exist in practice, for our countries live in a state of contradiction, with a backward economy that will not correspond with the democratic form of government nor with the laws passed through the energy of the peoples' demonstrations. These laws remain a dead letter because the essentials of the feudal forms of exploitation have been neither altered nor destroyed. The peasant and Indian masses cannot expand the home market as long as their wages remain at the miserable rate of 5 or 6 cents for a ten or twelve-hour working day: or as a result of the fact that in many haciendas not only do they not receive any wages, but also they have to work on the land by way of rent. The Ecuador landowners have conceded a fairly advanced Labour Code and social insurance scheme for the workers, but neither the peasants nor the Indians are able to benefit from it. The existence of these vestiges of feudalism determines the complete dependence of the country on imperialism, makes impossible any improved agricultural technique, and hampers industrialisation. The common interests of feudalism and imperialism are manifest. Neither wants the transformation or economic progress of the country. They are satisfied with buying and selling raw materials, with dissipating the national wealth on buying and selling luxury articles, and with making the exploitation of the peasant the only profitable national industry for a handful of native and foreign exploiters.

It is for these reasons that in our country the struggle against feudalism is united with the struggle against imperialism. The cultivation of the banana in Ecuador represents today an example of the coalition between the imperialist elements and the Creole feudal elements. Export of this fruit is cornered by three or four foreign

firms, including the great monopolies, the United Fruit Company and the Standard Fruit Company, monopolies which work on the basis of the exploitation of the Ecuador peasant.

The government of Ecuador is pro-feudal and pro-imperialist, and daily gives greater concessions to the American monopolies and hands over the management of the country to the so-called American "technicians." The Galapagos Islands which were restored to the nation after an ardent campaign of the progressive political forces and of the Ecuador Confederation of Labour, has once more fallen under Yankee dominion as a result of the handing over of military bases to the American military mission, which is instructing the Ecuador army and moulding its outlook, making it aggressive and preparing it to put down any attempt at national liberation. The Yankee educational mission officially intervenes in the conduct of education, and is preparing the reform of school-books, with the special object of eliminating from history and geography those aspects it considers nationalist, but which in fact give our people awareness of its true nature and of its struggles for liberty. The concession to the Standard Oil Company of 5 million hectares in eastern Ecuador and another concession at the same time to the monopoly electricity company to develop the whole fishing Pacific coast industry, put our country in the grip of the American monopolies.

The incipient crisis in the United States has already struck our nascent industry. From this state of affairs rises the growing popular discontent which has found expression in a series of strikes and in the broad struggles of recent months, which have involved many workers in the country's most important branches of production.

The fundamental importance that the 2nd World Congress of Trade Unions has placed on the situation in the colonial and dependent countries will certainly strengthen the fighting spirit of the peasant and Indian masses of Latin America, where the struggle for the land is also the most effective way of fighting for democracy and against imperialism, the surest way of advancing true national independence.

I ask this 2nd World Congress of Trade Unions to pass a resolution stressing the vital need for the proletariat of Latin America to help and guide this great anti-imperialist agrarian revolution which is developing among the peasant and Indian peoples of Latin America. The waging of this struggle is all the more important since the arms imperialism is handing over for internal oppression and aggressive purposes way pass into the hands of these peasant masses who are thirsty for land, into the hands of the Indians who are hoping for the hour of their national and social liberation, into the hands of the peoples of Latin America who this time will achieve full national independence, on the basis of sharing the land among the peasants and achieving final national emancipation.

The importance given in this Congress to the developing situation in the colonial and dependent countries brings to the forefront the conduct and guidance of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution in Latin America by the Latin American peoples with the solidarity of the international proletariat, represented by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

∴ (Long and enthusiastic applause.)

The following speeches are those of three delegates who, either owing to lack of time, agreed not to read them from the rostrum, or who sent them to Milan as they were unable to attend the Congress through difficulties in obtaining an Italian visa.

M. GUTIERREZ (Guatemala). Members of the Praesidium, Comrade leaders of the WFTU, Comrade delegates, it is a great honour for the trade union movement of Guatemala to be present for the second time before the World Federation of Trade Unions and to attend the proceedings of the Second World Trade Union Congress which will without doubt be of great benefit to the liberation and progress of the workers of countries which are living under economic regimes in which social class antagonisms still exist, and also of great benefit to the whole of humanity.

Our country, Guatemala, is situated in Central America with Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica as neighbouring countries. It has an area of 108,889 square kilometres and a population estimated on 31st December 1946 at 3,546,624 inhabitants. 1,537,243 members of our population belong to a mixed nationality called Ladin, and 1,914,133 to various indigenous groups, according to the figures given by the 1943 census. There are about 13 indigenous nationalities of which the principal groups are the Maya and the Quiche. In their purest form, the indigenous nationalities represent the true national spirit and the most vigorous elements of the national liberation movement. Our population can also be divided into an urban group composed of 922,553 inhabitants and a peasant group of 2,528,823.

The principal activity of our country is agriculture and the main products are those from large-scale cultivation—bananas, coffee, sugar and resin, which are the principal exports. Also produced on a large scale are maize, haricots, wheat and rice which are consumed by the population. The cultivation of bananas represents the sector in which the penetration of foreign capital is most advanced. For an area of 38,000 acres under bananas there are 6,800 national cultivators subjected to the conditions imposed on them by the foreign companies which control the internal and external transport of the countries. There are 17,298 landowners possessing more than 10 "manzanas" of land, 142,987 with less than 10 "manzanas" of land and a peasant population of more than 620,000 who possess no land. These figures alone are sufficient to illustrate the degree of misery, backwardness and lack of culture of the people which is of such an extent that we have about 1,763,148 illiterates and 51,254 semi-illiterates who are now awaiting the measures by the Government created by the Revolution in its campaign against ignorance. This last problem is very serious in view of the fact the majority of the illiterates are found among the indigenous nationalities for whom special alphabets will have to be drawn up.

The industrial production census of 1946 gives the following figures : 776 industrial undertakings with more than 5 workers, employing as a whole 19,447 workers; more than 1,195 workers in the home; and 4,195 undertakings employing less than 5 workers making a total of 8,231 workers. The total amount of wages paid each month to the

industrial workers is 832,345 dollars, being an average daily wage of 60 cents to 1 dollar, which is insufficient to feed a worker's family. At present, the workers are being mobilised in support of a minimum wage. 59 % of the raw materials used by our nascent industry is home-produced and 41 % comes from abroad.

During a century and 29 years of independent life, most of the governments have been dictatorships which have prevented the economic, political and cultural development of the country.

In 1871 a liberal revolution took place resulting in the separation of the Church from the State, the establishment of secular education and the creation of means of communications, thereby bringing about a certain amount of progress in the country, particularly by the transformation of the great church properties into secular property. In 1944 the democratic revolution of October took place which had to face great problems which had not been solved during the previous revolution, particularly as regards social problems, and it was with this revolution that a labour movement made a definite appearance, fighting for its organisation and most urgent and essential demands.

The democratic revolution of October, with the support of the people, found itself faced with many problems of an economic, social, political and cultural nature, and the following achievements were made: the creation of the National Bank of Guatemala, the Institute for the development of production, the Social Security Institute which is gradually developing both as regards size and in relation to the risks which it is called upon to cover, the Oil Institute which is required to watch over the national interests against the avidity of the world organisations which have for so long been monopolising oil supplies. The democratic forces are at the present time faced with great problems such as the passing of the law which is to introduce agrarian reform, the fundamental aim of which is to liquidate all vestiges of feudalism in order to achieve the development of capitalism in the country.

The trade union movement set up in 1944 is grouped in 3 Centres: the Confederation of Workers of Guatemala with 5 departmental federations 71 trade unions and 11 agricultural societies; the Trade Union Federation of Guatemala with 33 trade unions, and the Central Regional Federation of Workers, with 6 trade unions composed of peasant workers. Since 1946, a National Committee for Trade Union Unity (CNUS) has been in operation. This body, which represents the workers' will for unity, is charged with the job of laying solid foundations for the creation of a single Trade Union Centre. One of the most important events in the history of the CNUS was the Congress for trade union unity which took place during April and May Day of this year at which the declaration of principle and the constitutional bases for the single Centre were approved. As a result of the absence of democratic rights for the workers due to the regime of terror suffered by the people, it has not been entirely possible to awaken their sentiments of sympathy towards their class brothers living in other countries because certain people still consider the division of the workers according to the countries in which they were born more important than the division of society into classes. This is one of the reasons why the Confederation of Workers of Guatemala

is the only Centre which joined the CTAL and the WFTU, the two bodies of the working class, one continental and the other on a world scale, which consistently defend the interests of the trade union movement throughout the world. This is why one of the principal elements of our struggle has been to endeavour to contribute to the creation among the workers of Guatemala of an understanding of the class spirit which exists among the workers of all countries of the world and even though we have not been able to obtain the most complete pledges from the international point of view in support of the CTAL and the WFTU, this is due to the very low wages which are paid and which do not allow us to satisfy the most pressing needs and consequently we are not able to pay our subscriptions to the CTAL and the WFTU in a more regular manner.

We are enthusiastic defenders of international friendship between all peoples for we have learned to understand the meaning of bonds of solidarity in difficult moments, particularly during the periods of conflict between the workers and capitalist enterprises. Both the CTAL and the WFTU have demonstrated the importance and value of these factors in contributing to the success of the workers. We have faith in this Congress, we hope that the WFTU will be greatly strengthened by it. We know that it is impossible to destroy the WFTU, we place our entire confidence in the great comrades leading the WFTU and we believe in the success of the democratic ideas of the working class.

Comrades, please accept the greetings of the workers of Guatemala.

Finally, we would like to express our feelings of gratitude to the workers and people of Italy who have offered the hospitality of their country as the meeting-place of the second Congress of the WFTU.

SUCIONO (*Indonesia*). Comrades and friends, allow me in the name of the Indonesian working masses to transfer to this Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Milan our fighting and fraternal greetings and solidarity.

The Second Congress of the WFTU takes place at a time when immense growth has characterized the democratic trade union movement in all parts of the world, when millions of the working masses in the colonial and dependent countries are in a life and death struggle for the improvement of their economic and social conditions, for the liquidation of the colonial regimes, for their real freedom and true national independence against the colonialists and imperialist aggression.

Four years have passed since the London Conference and the Paris Congress of Trade Unions. The establishment of the WFTU and its assistance and support to the trade union movement in Indonesia, the SOBSI (All Indonesia Central Organisation of Trade Unions) in the struggle for national liberation, has developed the growth and strengthened the international solidarity with the Indonesian working people. Further, it has contributed to the development of the trade union movement in our country.

The World Federation of Trade Unions enjoys great support from the working class and the working people in Indonesia, since the WFTU is the true champion of the interests of the broad working masses.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has shown how important and responsible is its role in the struggle for world peace, to unite the democratic trade unions of all lands in the fight against the war-mongers, the Anglo-American imperialists and their agents who are trying to plunge the world into a new war. Fascism, against which we fought in the last terrible war does not only exist continuously in Franco Spain and Tsaldaris Greece, but reactionary regimes in many countries are practising repressive policies against the entire democratic movements in these countries. The Anglo-American, Dutch and French imperialists are trying to use aeroplanes and naval craft, tanks and bullets to strangle the national liberation movement in Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya, Burma and other countries. Internal reaction supported by foreign imperialism, notably the American imperialists, is launching large-scale attacks against the interests of the working class and working people in many parts of Asia, the Middle East and other countries.

We express through this Congress our great solidarity and sympathy with the working people of these countries in their resolute struggle against repression, imperialist aggression and colonial exploitation, for real freedom and democracy. The continuous and heroic fight of our fellow comrades in these countries contributes to and strengthens our struggle for democracy, true national independence and real peace against the Dutch imperialists and their Anglo-American masters in cooperation with the Indonesian hirelings : Sukarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, Rum, Sukiman, etc. We express our gratitude to the WFTU, and through the WFTU, to the working class of the world, in particular to the workers of Holland united in the EVC, the militant workers of India in the ranks of the AITUC, the dock-workers of Australia, Malaya, Burma and Venezuela for their true support in our struggle. We greet the heroic workers of China, who have victoriously smashed Chiang Kai Shek's regime and have shown that US imperialism is not too strong to be defeated. We thank the militant and heroic workers of the People's Democracies and the great Soviet Union, the unswerving fighter for the cause of freedom, democracy, progress and a lasting peace, for their real support in our struggle.

Today, almost four years have passed since the Indonesian workers started their heroic defence against the Dutch military aggression supported by the British and American imperialists. For the first time in history, the Indonesian workers in the ranks of the various trade unions are united under the banner of the SOBSI, the Central Organisation of Indonesian trade unions, irrespective of whether they are craft or industrial unions. In its Congress on 17th May 1947, SOBSI united 29 trade unions with a total membership of 1,222,210. Realising that without the liberation of their country and the whole nation, the emancipation of the working class would be impossible, the Indonesian workers are determined in their fight against the aggression of Dutch imperialism.

Since the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia on 17th August 1945 after the defeat of Japanese fascism, the Dutch colonialists, who submitted to the fascist Japanese in 1942 without a fight, have made great attempts to out-manoeuvre and suppress the Indonesian national liberation movement, to restore their stranglehold on Indonesia. With

the determination to end every form of exploitation, labour acted quickly after the proclamation of the Republic. Blood was shed; they formed themselves into "lasjkar", irregular forces. After fierce battles against the Japanese, the railways, telephones, telegraph, post office, radio stations, etc. were turned into the apparatus of the Republic. This was due to the great efforts of the workers in cooperation with the youth and other sections of the people. Unions sprang up everywhere, in plantations, railways, factories and offices. Until January 1947 there were two Central Organisations of trade unions which were then fused together with the formation of the SOBSI.

The SOBSI adopted the following economic programme :—

1. All economic resources to be utilised for the industrialisation of the country so that the State will be able to meet its own needs and the needs of the people in the future; for this purpose the Government should attain an important position in the economy of the country by nationalising vital enterprises such as transport, mines, electricity and banking.

2. Planned economy with coordination; and in the planning board should also sit the representatives of the labourers and the peasantry.

3. Production and distribution should be centralized.

4. Increase production in all industries through modernization of the means of production, and transport, paying special attention to agriculture.

5. Import and export policy of the Government should aim at the welfare of the people and the reconstruction of the country.

In the social field, the SOBSI resolves to carry out the following programme :—

1. Guarantee to labour of the right of assembly, of speech, demonstration and the right to strike.

2. Restriction of child-labour.

3. Prohibition of night work for women.

4. A 40 hour week.

5. Special attention should be paid to the personal safety of labourers during working hours.

6. Minimum wages based on the necessary requirements of life.

The heavy task on the shoulders of the Indonesian workers is not completed by the emergence of the Indonesia Republic; they have arrived at an important stage with the future full of struggle. With the experiences of the struggle and with the fullest support of the international working class, the Indonesians would be able to secure their demand to live without fear and want, as human beings should. The Indonesian worker is on the march and no power can stop the militant workers from achieving their just demands.

The last three years have made it quite plain that the Dutch have

sought to disrupt the national movement and to win over the leaders by bribing them with concessions which are totally against the interest of the people. The negotiations, though interrupted by various military aggressions, between the leaders of the Indonesian Republic and the Dutch resulted after a series of deadlocks in the signing of the Linggardjati agreement in March 1947 and the shackling Renville agreement in January 1948. These agreements have only served as a cover for further aggression by the Dutch troops, fully equipped with American war material, bombers and naval craft, American uniforms and food rations. The renewed large-scale military attack of the Dutch colonialists on December 1948 has served to expose completely the leaders of the Indonesian Republican Government, Mochammad Hatta, Sukarno and Sjahrir, who have been following a policy of compromise and vacillation. This has inevitably led to a policy of repression and terror against the militant workers, united in the ranks of the SOBSI. About 25,000 workers have been persecuted by the Hatta Government since September last year. Among the leaders jailed were Harjono, President of the SOBSI, Setiadjit, Vice President and the delegate to the WFTU General Council in Prague 1947, Maruto Darusman, President of the Plantation Workers Union. The Indonesian trade union movement had been forced to work under severe illegality.

Despite this national betrayal, the Indonesian workers, particularly in the various forms of partisan units or underground activities, are marching on, fighting for their just demands. They heroically fight for the liberation of the entire nation.

Among the various articles of the Linggardjati agreement, signed by the right-wing socialist leader Sutan Sjahrir in March 1947, is the following compromise, which later led to the deadlock of the continuance of detailed negotiations. It reads as follows :—

“ The Government of the Republic recognises the claims of all non-Indonesians to the restoration of their rights and restitution of their goods, as far as they are exercised or to be found in the territory over which it exercises de facto authority. A joint commission will be set up to effect this restoration and restitution. ”

The Indonesian workers demanded the withdrawal of Dutch troops as a pre-requisite to the implementation of this agreement, while the Dutch were claiming that the Dutch troops were necessary to it, thus violating the recognition of the Indonesian Republic as regards the first article of the agreement. At the end of May 1947, the Dutch further demanded the Indonesian Republic to accept joint-gendarmerie to maintain “ law and order ” over the whole of Indonesia, including the recognised Indonesian Republican territories. Soon afterwards, the Government of the USA, backing the Dutch imperialists, issued an aide-memoire to the Indonesian Republic, demanding the acceptance of the Dutch claims.

Believing that political victories could be achieved by negotiations only, without military achievements, Sutan Sjahrir was even quite willing to give more concessions to the Dutch. However, the people were greatly opposed and took a strong attitude against the Dutch and against Sutan Sjahrir's policy. In a meeting of June 1st 1947, of all political parties and organisations, the Indonesian people refused

to accept these Dutch demands and disagreed with the policy of Sutan Sjahrir. The People's Democratic Front, headed by Amir Sjarifudin, consisting of the Socialist Party, the Workers' Party and the Communist Party, supported by the SOBSI, the Peasant movement and the youth, rejected Sutan Sjahrir's attitude. Sjahrir had to resign and was then replaced by Amir Sjarifudin, who then formed a national democratic coalition cabinet. The Muslim Party and the Nationalist Party were represented too. The united people's will refused and ignored the Dutch demands which were totally backed up by the Anglo-American imperialists.

During the night of 21st July 1947, the Dutch military aggression against the Indonesian people started on a large scale, which was followed immediately by a world-wide protest campaign.

Facing this aggression, among the most active fighters were the military units of the workers. Among others, they formed a brigade to conduct the scorched-earth policy. The railway workers in particular have blown up bridges, after having withdrawn wagons and locomotives from the large towns. In the occupied areas, only about 2 % of the Indonesian workers, mostly unskilled, worked for the Dutch, forced by the economic situation, while others have joined the partisan units.

The living conditions in the Dutch-occupied Jakarta (Batavia) are as follows. Militant workers' leaders were put in jail without trial. Outside the jail, the workers are receiving very low wages. In Jakarta, with the cost of living 10 times as high as in 1939, the average worker's wage is only twice as great. A tram-worker only receives 0.45 guilders a day (not enough to buy a kilo of rice). Women and children are employed in the factories. The department of "Social Affairs" of the Dutch administration has founded a "Dutch made" organisation of Indonesian trade unions, whose representatives have been sent abroad to speak and act "on behalf of Indonesian workers", while they are serving the Dutch imperialists to suppress the Indonesian workers. In the occupied areas, the pre-war colonial situation is being re-established, without any economic and social guarantees for the workers and no democratic rights for the people.

The scorched-earth policy has proved to be the most effective method particularly when we are facing a large Dutch army of more than 150,000 men well equipped with US made war material and the fleet with which the Dutch were putting up the blockade against the Indonesian Republic. The lack of arms and other equipment did not prevent the heroic Indonesian people from holding up the armed fight. We set fire to everything that might benefit the imperialist aggressors.

A UNO Commission of investigation, as proposed by the Soviet delegate to be sent to Indonesia, was vetoed by the French Government. Though officially a cease-fire order was issued, the Dutch army continued its aggression. Thus, to quote the Dutch violations from 15th to 21st September, after the cease-fire order of August, we give the following summary :—

Reconnaissance fights—34 times; air raids—6 times; land shelling (mortar, etc.)—31 times; attacks launched on land—42 times; troops and other military movements—38 times; territorial expansions—8 times; infringement of Republican waters—once.

When in November 1947 the question of Indonesia was again raised before the Security Council, and after a series of discussions and talks, a so-called Good Offices Committee was appointed, consisting of one Belgian, one Australian and one American, who are supposed to render good offices in seeking a solution of the conflict. This Committee, which is totally dominated by the US imperialist policy, forced the Indonesian Republic to sign the shackling Renville agreement, which sabotaged the resistance of the Indonesian people against the Dutch imperialists.

Meanwhile, under the pretext of "pacification" of occupied territories, towns and villages were blown up and burned, as for example in Plered, in Central Java, Krawang, in West Java and Tandjung Pura in Sumatra. In South Celebes, 40,000 people were subjected to massacre. From Bondowoso to Sourabaya in East Java, 46 war prisoners were transported by train in almost hermetically sealed goods vans. After 13 hours journey without having had any food or a drop of water, they were all dead when the train reached its destination.

According to the Renville agreement, the war activities had to be stopped, and more than half of Java and one-tenth of Sumatra, the main cities and the roads had to be surrendered to the Dutch. Partisan movements were told to cease and some 35,000 Republican troops operating behind the Dutch military lines had to be withdrawn. The truce was declared on January 17th, and on January 20th, after an attack on a village in Western Java, the Dutch troops killed 285 and wounded 18 people among the civilian population, who were horded together beside a river bank.

Having imposed the notorious "Good Offices Committee", Wall Street rendered good offices to the Dutch colonialists with all its power to further the attack on the Indonesian Republic. It was then possible for the Dutch to make as many as 13 puppet states round the Republic, thus partitioning the Republic and compelling it to make concessions to the imperialists. This pressure resulted in the signing of the Renville agreement and the formation of the Hatta Government, which from the very beginning adhered to a policy of compromise and surrender. This was then followed by a mass upsurge of the people demanding the return of the National Front Cabinet under the leadership of Amir Sjarifudin.

Contrary to the will of the people, he excluded and removed all progressive leaders from the Government. He retained only the leadership of the Nationalist Party, the Muslim Party and some people belonging to Sjahir's group, who disrupted the unity of the Socialist Party by introducing a right-wing Indonesian Socialist Party. The extent of Hatta's betrayal of the liberation movement has been clear from the very outset, when he abandoned the earlier projects of nationalising the country's natural resources, in particular the rich oil resources. On the question of the foreign relations of the Republic, the Hatta Government abjectly submitted to the imperialists by refusing to extend foreign relations. By accepting and agreeing to use the Republic's natural resources as security for an American loan, the Government played more and more into the hands of American imperialism.

Still on January 1948, Hatta concluded an agreement with an American firm Matthew Fox, for the granting of monopoly rights in foreign trade for a period of 15 years, thus repeating the inglorious performance of the Marshallised countries of Western Europe. Hatta further also recognised and restored the pre-war rights of the foreign capitalists on 1,033,132 hectares of estate lands in Java and Madura, and 1,412,552 hectares in the rest of Indonesia.

Against this national betrayal, the Indonesian people, united in the People's Democratic Front led by Amir Sjarifudin, demanded changes in the Hatta Government. At the convention of all Indonesian parties and organisations on 20th May 1948, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Indonesian National Movement, the people demanded a positive and clear-cut policy against the Dutch imperialists and the conversion of the Hatta Government into a truly parliamentary and representative Government. In the National Programme, the people demanded the expansion of foreign relations, the improvement of an all-people's defence, the nationalisation of key industries and the continuation of land reform.

Big demonstrations of peasants took place in Jakarta in March 1948, when they demanded the abolition of the rights of foreign capitalists over Indonesian territory, the restoration of which had been introduced by Hatta in the areas of Jogjakarta and Surakarta. Under the leadership of the SOBSI, 17,000 textile workers went on strike in the Delanggu area in Central Java, fighting against the corruption in the factories and demanding the improvement of living conditions. The entire Indonesian workers manifested their solidarity with them through messages and telegrams, and even money, clothes and food were sent to the strikers. Against this strike, the Hatta Government used all kinds of provocative actions; police and army were sent to Delanggu to break the strike. Joint workers and peasants committees were founded to support the strikers. 11 leading members of the joint workers and peasants committees were detained. Against this provocative action, the SOBSI presidium in its meeting on 12.7.48 decided to call for a total general strike. Realising that he had failed to suppress the workers, Hatta accepted the demands of the strikers and the Delanggu strike ended in complete victory for the workers, before any general strike was called.

Knowing that the peoples strength was growing rapidly, the imperialists hastily demanded from the Hatta Government the cleaning up of the democratic and progressive forces in the country. On 2nd July 1948, the US deputy member of the "Good Offices Committee", Mr. Merle Cochran, at a meeting held at Sarangan (Java), gave Hatta the order to start the drive against the progressive forces in the country.

Led by the People's Democratic Front, the Indonesian working people were strengthening their unity day by day. This growing strength of the People's Democratic Front was characterised at the end of August 1948 by the resolution of the Indonesian Communist Party, which after having recognised its past organisational and political mistakes, called upon the people to form a national front, to be built from below, determined to carry on the struggle against the Dutch imperialists as the only means of leading the liberation move-

ment to a victorious end. In response to the call of the Indonesian Communist Party and on the basis of their close cooperation in the past, the Workers' Party and the Socialist Party merged with the Communists. The great Congress of the fusion of the three workers' parties which should have been held from 1st-3rd October 1948 could not however take place since the Hatta repression against the communists and other democratic and progressive organisations had already started on 18th September 1948 when he provoked a so-called "communist insurrection" at Madiun.

The resolution of the Indonesian Communist Party was fully supported by the Indonesian workers. In its third Council meeting on 22nd July 1948, SOBSI adopted the following resolution :—

After thorough discussion on the weakness of the present national revolution, the Council of the SOBSI is of the opinion, that because it overestimated the powers of the imperialists and underestimated the anti-imperialist forces, the SOBSI had made mistakes of principle and had followed a compromising policy with the imperialists, which caused a situation where :—

a) the national revolution had not been led by the working class which is consistently revolutionary and anti-imperialist, in alliance with the peasants and supported by the entire progressive people.

b) the colonial state-apparatus had not been changed and the vestiges of feudalism have not been abolished.

c) there is no concrete efforts to improve the living conditions of the workers and the peasants.

d) there is no National Front, following a consistent anti-imperialist policy.

e) the SOBSI had given its approval to shackling agreements with the imperialists.

To take concrete steps to correct these principal mistakes, the Council decided :—

1. After recognising that it had followed a compromise policy with the imperialists to henceforth follow a consistent anti-imperialist policy.

2. To demand the Government of the Indonesian Republic to take the following steps :—

a) to revoke the Political Manifesto of the Indonesian Republic of 1 Nov. 1945,

b) to denounce and reject the Lingardjati and the Renville agreements,

c) to nationalise without compensation all properties of the enemies of the Indonesian national revolution,

d) to negotiate on the basis of full sovereignty of the Indonesian Republic,

e) to carry out immediate consular exchange with the USSR and to ask for the recognition of the People's Democracies in Eastern Europe,

f) to renew the state-apparatus with consistently anti-imperialist elements.

3. To agree with and to carry out the National Programme.

4. To take the initiative for the establishment of a democratic National Front.

5. To urge the President to dissolve the present cabinet and to replace it by a representative National Front cabinet with the following conditions :

a) based on the National Programme,

b) the ministers must be members of the National Front.

6. The SOBSI will take active part in the formation of the National Front cabinet.

7. To increase the preparation of the peoples defence by giving arms to the people.

8. To support the peasants who are fighting for "land for the tillers."

9. To fight actively for the carrying out of these decisions and to be prepared for all consequences.

Also this resolution pointed out how the people in general and in particular the workers responded to the agreement with the USSR for the opening of consular relations with Indonesia, signed in Prague. These negotiations were however sabotaged by the reactionary Hatta Government. The people also responded to it with the establishment of the Indonesian Friends of the Soviet Union, rallying people of all classes.

This important resolution of the Council of the SOBSI showed how the Indonesian workers fight back against the betrayal of the leaders of the Indonesian Republican Government. Carrying out these decisions, trade union leaders toured the country to explain the real situation of the liberation movement up to then. These tours rallied masses of the people around the Peoples Democratic Front and the workers around the SOBSI.

Following the growing unity and consciousness of the Indonesian workers Hatta further finalised the order of his American masters and provoked on 18th September a rebellion in Madiun, with the aim of crushing the progressive movement and currying favour with the imperialists. He then started the press campaign attempting to make it appear that the Indonesian Communist Party and the entire Peoples Democratic Front has started a communist revolt. In this campaign Indonesian patriots, communists, trade unionists, women, youth and student leaders were put in jail, while numerous others were executed. All left wing papers were banned, the right of demonstration, meeting, etc. were banned. Hatta and Sukarno secured themselves "emergency power," with which they may punish everyone who might be in favour of the people of Madiun. The people of Madiun, later on followed by those in all parts of the country, were compelled to

defend themselves against the mass-arrest and repression. In this drive Hatta had even released the jailed Trotskyist Tan Malaka to use him against the people. Under Hatta's order Trotskyist gangs then provoked clashes against the people, the democratic forces in the country, the workers and the youth who are preparing for the great unification Congress of the Indonesian Communist Party. Against Hatta's betrayal, the people heroically defended their rights throughout the country.

The Dutch then launched a new offensive against the Indonesian Republic. Though the leaders of the Republic were caught unawares, the people immediately began the defence of the country and their freedom by withdrawing from the main occupied cities and continuing their armed resistance. The Indonesian leaders who had been jailed by the Hatta clique were freed by the people on the day of the attack of the Dutch paratroops against Jogjakarta.

These events have served completely the leaders of the Indonesian Republican government. Mochammad Hatta, Sukarno and Sutan Sjahrir, who have been following a policy of repression and terror against the growing democratic forces in the country.

These events have also served to expose the Anglo-American imperialists as the ringleaders fomenting this criminal war against the Indonesian people. From the very beginning they have been rendering the Dutch colonialists every possible help, military, economic and political. Without the Marshall "Aid" Funds, other loans and military equipment, the Dutch would not be able to continue their military aggression, to keep the standing army of over 150,000 men in Indonesia, at a cost of 1,200,000 dollars a day. In September 1948 the Dutch Government even tried to put the cost of the colonial war on to the account of Indonesia to make the Indonesian people pay for the bullets and bombs which kill them in their thousands.

The US full support of the Dutch aggressors goes hand in hand with the policy of political, economic and military expansion in Indonesia, as is shown by the operating of new oil areas in Sumatra, Borneo and New Guinea—the holding up of the export of tin from Bangka and Billiton and the opening of nickel mines in the Celebes. Apart from this, military bases are being built in Borneo and the Celebes, and American aircraft are making cartographic surveys of Indonesia for strategical purposes, for bases of operation, linked with their bases in Manila and the Japanese islands, against the growing people's movement for national liberation in South East Asia.

The Indonesian working people, having learned a great deal from their experience, have taken up their positions and are determined to carry on their struggle for liberation against the Dutch invaders. They have come out stronger than ever in defence of their freedom and independence. Despite the brutal terror committed by the Dutch fascist troops, combining the methods of SS and Japanese Ken Pey Tai, the Indonesian resistance movement is growing. Dutch soldiers are using electrocution to murder patriots and they are beheading captured members of the partisan units like animals. Special terror troops are being formed, operating under the direct command of the Dutch military authorities.

The Indonesian workers together with the peasants and the youth form today the partisan units. These armed people's forces are cutting

communications between towns occupied by the Dutch. Fighting is taking place everywhere in the country, also in areas where the Dutch have been entrenched a long time, which shows the progress already made by the resistance movement.

With great enthusiasm the Indonesian people note the solidarity expressed by the international working class at the outbreak of the renewed Dutch military aggression, the solidarity actions taken by the workers of Holland, the demonstration against the Dutch aggression in India, Denmark and other countries and the ban on the Dutch ships in Australia.

Meanwhile, everything is being done by the Dutch authorities to inveigle the Indonesian Republican Government into the snare of surrender and compromise again. In the meetings of UNO, the Anglo-American majority votes rejected every democratic solution as proposed by the delegates of the USSR and the Ukraine, and instead, vague resolutions were adopted as in the case of 28th January 1949 and 23rd March 1949, which are all in favour of the Dutch aggressors. Negotiations between the Dutch representative and Mochammad Rum, the delegate of the Sukarno-Hatta Government, imprisoned in Bangka, were started under the supervision of the United Nations Commission for Indonesia, UNCI, a new name for the American-dominated "Good Offices Committee". This resulted in the complete sell-out of the country to the Dutch and the Americans by the Sukarno-Hatta-Rum clique. On 7th May 1949, a so-called agreement between Van Royen, the Dutch representative and Mochammad Rum was achieved. According to this, Sukarno and Hatta may return to the capital of the Republic, Jogjakarta, the guerrilla warfare, which is the decisive element in the national liberation movement, should be stopped, while the Republic should participate in the Dutch sponsored "Round Table Conference" together with the other Dutch puppet States. Sukarno and Hatta's personal guarantee for the carrying out of this sell-out programme clearly exposed their role of national betrayal.

But the terror and massacre, the US dollars and weapons will never be able to suppress the Indonesian people and its vanguard, the working class. Great indignation and protest arose from the masses of the people, the workers and the youth against this sell-out. An appeal to continue the armed resistance has been issued by the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and various organisations, among others, the militant youth organisation PESINDO. The various trade unions, regrouped after the attack of Hatta last year, united in the militant democratic organisation of trade unions carrying forward the banners of the SOBSI, are continuing the resistance.

Under the leadership of the working class, the Indonesian people are continuing their fight against the Dutch imperialists backed up by London and Wall Street circles. Despite terror reigning in our country by the Dutch colonialists and in cooperation with the Indonesian hirelings : Sukarno, Hatta, Sjahrir, Rum and the Trotskyist bandits of Tan Malaka, Rustam Effendi, etc., the Indonesian working people will continue the struggle to achieve real freedom, democracy and lasting peace. We shall never allow the Anglo-American imperialists to make Indonesia their base for their preparations to plunge the world into a new war.

Comrades and friends,

In our struggle, we are joining the ranks of the democratic anti-imperialist forces in the world, the forces of democracy and peace, led by the great Soviet Union, the torchbearer of democracy and the invincible guardian of world peace.

At this great Congress we express our unshakable solidarity with the World Federation of Trade Unions and through the WFTU, with the working class of all lands. Under the banner of the WFTU let us strengthen our unity and our fight for a lasting peace, democracy, freedom and a better life.

We ask you to launch a vigorous protest to the Dutch Government and to demand the immediate withdrawal of Dutch troops from Indonesia. Demand from the Dutch and Indonesian lackeys the legalisation of all democratic and progressive organisations and the release of all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist Indonesians!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

RAISE HIGH THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN UNITY AND SOLIDARITY !

LONG LIVE THE INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY OF ALL PEOPLE FIGHTING AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSORS !

LONG LIVE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE GREAT HEROIC SOVIET PEOPLE !

LONG LIVE COMRADE STALIN, LEADER AND TEACHER OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS !

Prague, 30th June 1949.

F. A. FAIZ (*Pakistan*).

Until August 1947, the trade unions of Pakistan belonged to the two Trade Union Centres of India—the powerful AITUC (*All India Trades Union Congress*) and the stooge organisation, the IFL (*Indian Federation of Labour*).

After the division of the country into India and Pakistan and the further division of Pakistan into two halves (East and West Pakistan), with no direct rail or road communications between the two, the question of successor bodies to the Indian Trade Union Centres arose.

In November 1947, the AITUC decided to authorise the trade unions affiliated to it in Pakistan to set up a separate Centre, and a subcommittee was appointed to carry out this work. But owing to the communal disturbances and riots, and the distance between the two parts of Pakistan, the work of reorganisation took several months, and it was not until 8th January 1948 that it was possible for the Provincial Committee of West Punjab to organise a meeting. About 50 delegates took part in that meeting, but the representatives of the Sind and Eastern Pakistan were unable to attend.

Thus the Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF) was created with posts kept open on its Secretariat and Executive Committee for the representatives of Eastern Pakistan.

Similarly, the trade unions in West Pakistan which had been

previously affiliated to the IFL set up the Pakistan Federation of Labour (PFL) a Government-sponsored union.

In Eastern Pakistan, the leaders of the former AITUC unions preferred to set up a separate organisation with certain elements of the old Indian Federation of Labour. This organisation is called the All Pakistan Trade Union Federation (APTUF).

Thus for the whole of Pakistan there are three organisations possessing between them a membership of 70,000 :

1) In Western Pakistan : the PTUF, active and effective, containing more than half of the total number of organised workers.

The courageous struggle which it has waged since its inception for the improvement of the terrible conditions in which the workers of Pakistan are living gave rise to violent Government reaction which, with the aid of the Public Security Laws, had most of its leaders arrested and imprisoned without trial for an unspecified period. A good many of those who are still free have had to go underground.

2) Also in Western Pakistan : the PFL, directly patronised and backed by the Government which would be prepared to recognise it but for the fact that it cannot have national status since it does not exist in Eastern Pakistan. Although it claims a membership of about 20,000, most of the unions affiliated to it exist for the most part only on paper.

3) In Eastern Pakistan : the APTUF which possesses a certain amount of Government good will (its former President is now the Labour Minister in the East Pakistan Government). Neither can this organisation hope for recognition on the national plane unless it fuses with the West Pakistan organisations.

In fact, the Government has been obliged to recognise the three organisations as representative of the workers of Pakistan. Nevertheless, it is seeking in every way to eliminate the PTUF in favour of the PFL, but in the meanwhile, all three organisations are represented both in international bodies and in the Labour Conference and a Labour Standing Committee (similar to the ILO bodies) which the Government has set up to examine labour problems, labour legislation, etc.

Various solutions have been envisaged to achieve trade union unity on the national plane. They can be summarised as follows :

1) All three organisations dissolve themselves and all unions affiliate to a new national organisation, the Central Executive to be determined in open election on delegate strength.

2) The three organisations set up a joint Central Executive with equal representation.

3) The three organisations set up a Confederation (while retaining their separate identity) for the purpose of joint decisions on national and international matters.

As for the conditions of the workers, the Government is the

largest single employer of labour in Pakistan but the wages it pays are no better than those in private industry, since the lowest-paid State employees earn only half of the minimum amount required to keep an average family of five people. The cost of living index has more than quadrupled since 1939, and this increase is infinitely greater in those regions where the black market predominates owing to the absence of rationing, namely in the vast majority of the towns and villages. The prices of certain products recently fell but the effect of this reduction was annihilated by the increasing extension of unemployment, due to the dumping of American, British and Indian manufactured goods, with which local production cannot compete.

In the big towns alone, the number of registered workless rose by 60 % between August 1948 and March 1949.

Housing conditions are lamentable. The sanitary conditions in the towns have consistently deteriorated as a result of the communal disturbances. Thousands of homeless Moslem refugees coming from India live in the streets or crowd into ruined factories, but not a single provision has been made in the national budget to remedy this situation, while military expenditure represents 67 % of this budget.

The conditions of the peasants are even worse than those of the town workers. In the main they are not yet organised and represent the poorest and most oppressed section of the population. In collaboration with existing peasant organisations, the PTUF is endeavouring to build a powerful organisation for them.

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Bitossi.

R. BITOSSİ (*Italy*). The Nominations Committee met yesterday and elected comrade Monmousseau and myself as Rapporteurs. The Committee has received from all delegations present the names of their candidates for the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In agreement with the Credentials Committee, the Nominations Committee studied the list of nominations to the General Council. In particular it examined the candidatures of Iran, Egypt and China.

Iran is not represented at this Congress, but the trade union organisation has given in the name of its candidate, Reza Roustā, who is under sentence of death. The trade union does not know the whereabouts of its leader, who is working underground.

For Egypt, the comrades from the Lebanon have handed in the name of our comrade Mohamed Youssef Ahmed Medarrek, who was unable to leave his country owing to police supervision.

Nor is China represented at this Congress, since the Italian government has not granted entry visas to its delegation, because of the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The Histadruth delegates handed in the name of their candidate, while asking the approval of their National Centre.

The Nominations Committee suggests that all the candidates nominated be accepted, and the following is the list of candidates.

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
PROPOSED BY THE NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

COUNTRIES	DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	NAMES OF	
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES
South Africa (Non-European TU'S)....	1	1	D. BUCKLE	
Albania	1	1	P. PERISTERI	K. MISHA
Germany (FDGB) ...	3	3	H. WARNKE	H. SCHLIMME
			B. GOERING	F. MALTEI
			A. DETER	W. MASCHKE
			E. THORNTON	E. V. ELLIOTT
Australia	1	1		
Burma	1	1		
Bolivia	1	1	F. BRUN	G. ORELLANA
Brazil	1	1	R. MORENA	P. DE CARVALHO BRAGA
Bulgaria	1	1	R. DAMIANOV	B. BLAGOEV
Ceylon	1	1	S.A. WICKREMASINGHE	L. B. JAYASENA
Chile	1	1	S. OCAMPO	G. SANCHEZ
China	2	2		
Cyprus	1	1	A. ZIARTIDES	A. PHANTES
Columbia	1	1		
Northern Korea	1	1		
Southern Korea	1	1		
Costa Rica	1	1	R. GUZMAN	G. SIERRA CASTILLO
Cuba	1	1	F. CALCINES	S. GUINCOSA
Egypt (TUC)	1	1	Y. EL MEDARREK	
Spain (UGT, Paris) ...	1	1	A. ROSAL	J. R. VEGA
Finland	1	1	E. HUUNONEN	A. SUMU
France (CGT)	3	3	G. MONMOUSSEAU	E. HENAFF
			H. RAYNAUD	E. EHNI
			J. MARION	J. FORGUES
Greece	1	1		
Guatemala	1	1	P. FERNANDEZ	F. HERNANDEZ
Hungary	2	2	A. APRO	J. MEKIS
			J. HARUSTYAK	J. RACZ
India (AITUC).....	1	1	S. A. DANCE	Manek GANDHI
Iran	1	1	REZA ROUSTA	
Italy (CGIL)	3	3	G. DI VITTORIO	Cl. BONAZZI
			R. BITOSSI	A. RIZZO
			F. SANTI	M. DI STEFANO
State of Israel Hista- druth	1	1	R. BURSTEIN	B. LINN
State of Israel Arab ...	1	1	M. JARJURA	SALIM EL QUASIM
Japan	3	3		
Lebanon	1	1	M. EL ARISS	H. ZERQUA

COUNTRIES	DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	NAMES OF	
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES
Luxembourg (Free TU Fed.)	1	1	J. GRANDGENET	
Mexico (Gen. Union of Workers and Peasants)	1	1	A. GARCIA MORENO	P. DURAN
Mongolia	1	1	D. ADILBISH	SANGOTCHIN TSERENPANGA
Netherlands (EVC)	1	1	B. BLOKZIJL	B. BRANDSEN
Panama	1	1		
Philippines (CLO)	1	1		
Poland	2	2	A. ZAWADSKI S. CWIK	A BURSKY I. PIVOVASKAYA
Northern Rhodesia	1	1	A. C. STEVENS	
Roumania	2	2	G. APOSTOL L. KISINEVSKI	G. STOICA S. MORARU
Czechoslovakia	2	2	E. ERBAN J. KOLSKY	V. CIPRO J. SMIDMAJER
Trieste	1	1	A. SLAVEC	E. RADICH
Tunisia (USTT)	1	1	H. SADAQUI	G. POROPANE
Tunisia (UGTT)	1	1	F. HACHED	N. BOUDALI
USSR	5	3	V. KUZNETSOV L. SOLOVIEV K. KUZNETSOVA V. BEREZINE L. ILLISONE	R. TROFIMENKO A. SHEVCHENKO R. ROMANOV
Uruguay	1	1		
Viet-Nam	1	1	LUU DUC PHO	
Yugoslavia	2	2	D. SALAJ I. BOZICEVIC	M. PAVICEVIC M. VIVODA
Syria	1	1	I. BAKRI	J. OSMAN

Comrades, during the 1st World Congress in Paris, an Annexe to the Constitution was adopted which lays down that in the period between the 1st and the 2nd Congress the Executive Committee and the General Council shall be authorised to exercise the administrative functions. The Nominations Committee proposes that this validity be extended to cover the whole period between the 2nd or 3rd Congress and the General Council. To allow the General Council and the Executive Committee to co-opt representatives of countries which have not given in the names of their candidates and to replace the elected candidates by the approved representatives of the respective trade union organisations. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). Is there any opposition to the approval of the report which has just been read? If not, we will

put the matter to the vote. Will those in favour please hold up their cards? None against? No abstentions?

The comrades who have just been named are elected unanimously. (Prolonged applause.)

I call on Comrade Saillant.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Looking over the list for the General Council, I see that a mistake has slipped in which must not be made. I think comrades Thornton and Elliott will agree with the Praesidium of Congress that as the National Trade Union Centre of Australia has not officially put up candidates for the General Council, it is necessary to reserve two places for the Central Council of Australia until it officially notifies us of its candidates. It would be an error on the part of Congress to elect to the General Council two comrades—comrades in whom we have confidence, they are not concerned personally—before the National Centre has officially put forward their candidature.

This decision of the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions might be used at the forthcoming Australian Trade Union Congress, to try to bring over a section of opinion favourable to the World Federation of Trade Unions. I ask Thornton's opinion on this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Thornton.

E. THORNTON (*Australiia*). The Australian delegation put forward the names of Thornton and Elliott subject to the reservation that these could be changed by the Australian National Centre. I have no disagreement with comrade Saillant in withdrawing these names from the list. It is nevertheless unfortunate that there are no nominations by Australia for the General Council.

I want to assure Congress that if the document shows no nomination for the General Council from Australia, this does not mean that this country does not support the World Federation. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). I call on Comrade Kuznetsov.

V. KUZNETSOV (*USSR*). We all agree that the Australian Unions are extremely important ones, that they do a great deal of work in defence of the interests of the Australian workers and to maintain unity among the peoples. Their work in this respect is worthy of study.

We have heard the declaration of the General Secretary who rightly says that the members of the General Council can only be members mandated by their trade union organisation. On the other hand, in the present situation, it is not always possible for certain comrades to leave their countries with the necessary documents, and we know that comrades Thornton and Elliott are in this position. For this reason I would like to propose to Congress that the Nominations Committee look again into the question of the Australian delegates, and that this Committee again studies the question of Australian representation on the General Council. (*Loud applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*B. Blokzijl*). Is Congress agreed that the Nominations Committee should re-examine the candidature of Comrade Thornton for the General Council?

Congress agreed with this proposal.

This afternoon at 4 p.m. there will be a meeting of the plenary Committee on the question of trade union unity, peace, and democratic rights to discuss Comrade Kuznetsov's report.

This afternoon at 5 p.m. there is meeting of the new General Council.

Also this afternoon, there is a plenary session of Congress to elect the Auditors and the Executive Committee of the WFTU.

At 9.30 at the Casa della Cultura, near the Scala, there will be a showing, for delegates to the World Trade Union Congress, of the famous Polish film on the Auschwitz concentration camp, "The Last Lap."

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 8th JULY 1949

6.15 p. m.

The session opened under the chairmanship of G. Di Vittorio.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I am happy to announce to Congress that the General Council during its session this evening unanimously elected Louis Saillant as General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

(Congress rises and applauds enthusiastically.)

I now call on him to speak.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Comrades, I have only little to say. At the 1945 Congress the General Council first unanimously elected me General Secretary of the WFTU. In the period between the 1st and 2nd World Trade Union Congresses I considered it my essential duty to remain faithful, throughout the 45 months of my mandate, to the decisions which had been taken, and to work to enable our Federation to follow the path traced out for it by the first World Trade Union Congress.

I can assure you that in the future the General Secretary will concern himself with working in close liaison with the Executive Bureau. An international trade union organisation as important as ours must not be led by one man. Only collective work can solve the problems before it and overcome the difficulties it meets.

It is in this spirit that my comrades of the Secretariat and myself will fulfil the mission you have just entrusted to us.

Now is not the time to make promises, but it is certain that our organisation will have a great role to play in international social life.

We have said, in the course of this Congress, that the World Federation of Trade Unions is the organisation of all the workers. At its close, we re-affirm this.

After the attacks made against us, during last January and February, the meeting of the Executive Committee closed with the following declaration: "The World Federation of Trade Unions lives and will continue to live!" It is in order that the World Federation of Trade Unions may continue to live that we will continue our work. *(Hearty applause.)*

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, Comrade Thornton, Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, will present his Committee's report on the Constitution of the WFTU.

But first this comrade will say a few words to clear up the slight confusion which arose this morning over Australia's representation on the General Council. I hand over the microphone to him.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). Comrades, this morning a slight misunderstanding arose over the designation of the Australian delegation to the General Council. This is not surprising considering the variety of languages. The astonishing thing is that there are so few. If delegates recall my report on Australia, they will remember that I was elected as delegate to this Congress by the Australian Congress of Trade Unions, which is the supreme authority of the trade union movement of my country. Since this election a lesser authority, the Executive of the Australian trade unions, decided to send no delegates to this Congress. My own point of view and that of a great section of the Australian trade union movement is that this decision of the Executive is unconstitutional and illegal. This question will probably be finally decided at the next Australian Trade Union Congress, which will be held next September. This question concerns only the trade union movement of my country and the WFTU must not be embarrassed by it.

It would be dangerous propaganda for our enemies if they could say that the WFTU interferes in the internal affairs of a trade union organisation. To avoid putting the WFTU in this position my colleague and I withdraw our candidatures to the General Council. However, we ask Congress to leave these places vacant until the next Australian Trade Union Congress which will take place next September. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Comrade Saillant.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. My observations this morning on the trade union situation in Australia must not be interpreted as motivated by a lack of confidence, however slight, in comrade Thornton and his colleague of the Australian seamen's union. We all here know the part Thornton took in the London Conference in February 1945 and at the Constituent Conference of the WFTU in Paris in October 1945.

We have confidence in the work of this comrade in Australia. We know he is doing everything to maintain the position of the WFTU in that country and we know that we can rely entirely on his cooperation.

The declaration he has just made shows us how much he is aware of his responsibilities and also with what courage, stubbornness and forcefulness he intends to defend the World Federation of Trade Unions at the forthcoming Congress of the Australian trade unions. Australia's place on the General Council will therefore remain vacant until the Australian Trade Union Council takes a decision.

When Comrade Thornton returns to his country, he must remember that the good wishes of this Congress go with him. We have confidence in him and we know he will do all in his power to keep the banner of the International flying high in his country. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, this morning's little confusion is now settled. Comrade Thornton, in the name of the Standing Orders Committee, will now present that Committee's report. I call on Comrade Thornton.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). Comrades, this morning Congress approved the proposal to add a second Annexe to the Constitution of the WFTU.

This new Annexe concerns the composition of the Executive Committee after the 2nd World Trade Union Congress. Here it is :—

1. The Executive Committee elected by the 2nd World Trade Union Congress, which will hold office until the third Congress, shall be composed of 36 members, including the General Secretary and three Secretaries.

2. The full members and the substitute members shall be made up as follows :—

Soviet Union : 3 full members, 3 substitutes.

United States and Canada : 3 full members, 3 substitutes.

Great Britain : 2 full members, 2 substitutes.

France : 2 full members, 2 substitutes.

Italy : 1 full member, 1 substitute.

Latin America and the West Indies : 3 full members, 3 substitutes.

China : 1 full member, 1 substitute.

Australia : 1 full member, 1 substitute.

India and Ceylon : 1 full member, 1 substitute.

Africa : 2 full members, 2 substitutes.

Scandinavia : 1 full member, 1 substitute.

Holland : 1 full member.

Luxemburg : 1 substitute.

Japan : 1 full member.

Korea : 1 substitute.

Germany : 1 full member.

Austria : 1 substitute.

Czechoslovakia : 1 full member.

Hungary : 1 substitute.

Poland : 1 full member.

Albania : 1 substitute.

Rumania : 1 full member.

Bulgaria : 1 substitute.

Yugoslavia : 1 full member.

Greece : 1 substitute.

Palestine (Histadruth) : 1 full member.

Lebanon : 1 full member.

Iran : 1 substitute.

The Executive Committee shall be authorised at its first meeting in 1950 to complete the list by the election of two other members and substitutes among the candidates named by the Trade Departments then functioning.

All the members of the Executive Committee represent Congress, and not geographical divisions or particular trades.

The Executive Committee at its first meeting after its election by the 2nd World Trade Union Congress will elect from its members a President and a Vice-President who, with the General Council, will form the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which will be the directing body of the World Federation of Trade Unions in between sessions of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Bureau, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, will designate three Secretaries who, with the General Secretary, will constitute the permanent Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

3. Paragraphs 3 to 9 of Article 6 of the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions apply in their entirety, as far as the powers and duties of the Executive Committee elected by the 2nd World Trade Union Congress are concerned.

The Standing Orders Committee wished to propose this composition to Congress, and if it is adopted, it will form the basis on which the Credentials Committee will act.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, you have heard the proposals made by comrade Thornton on the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Are there any observations or objections to the proposals which our comrade has just made in the name of the Standing Orders Committee? No objections? Does nobody wish to speak? We will then put the matter to the vote. Will those comrades who approve please raise their hands. None against? No abstentions? *The proposals of the Standing Orders Committee are adopted unanimously. (Applause.)*

Comrades, many delegations have not yet handed in the names of their candidates for the places of full or substitute members of the Executive Committee of the Federation. They are asked to hand up the names of their candidates to the platform immediately.

We will now receive a delegation from the Falck Metalworks. They are bringing Congress gifts offered by the Falck workers to the World Federation of Trade Unions. I call on the comrade representing the delegation.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FALCK DELEGATION. In the name of the Falck workers I bring you the most cordial greetings and good wishes from all my comrades. I hope that the World Federation of Trade Unions will achieve great victories for the workers of the whole world. *(Applause. Congress rises and cheers the delegation.)*

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). A delegation of workers from Bologna, where there are the largest number of organised workers, both in the town and in the province, also wishes to greet Congress. I call on the General Secretary of the Trades Council of Bologna.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE BOLOGNA TRADES COUNCIL. The gift we are presenting to you was made by a cement worker of Bologna. It was carried out in 1906 and given to the Bologna Trades Council. Saved from fascist destruction, it was again presented to the Trades Council after the liberation.

The Bologna Trades Council, in agreement with the maker, now gives it to the World Federation of Trade Unions, and sends fraternal greetings, in the name of the workers of that town, to the representatives of more than 70 million workers throughout the world.

This year the Bologna Trades Council has 240,000 members, which is 8,000 more than last year. At the end of 1949, we think we will have 250,000 members. This shows that the attempts of reaction have not succeeded and that working-class solidarity exists everywhere in the world.

The session was adjourned for 30 minutes and resumed at 8.10 p.m.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrade Saillant, in the name of the Nominations Committee, will read you the list of the candidates put forward for election to the Executive Committee.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. It is proposed that Executive Committee be composed of 36 members, including the General Secretary, the three Secretaries of the WFTU and three representatives of the Trade Departments.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SUBSTITUTES

L. SAILLANT (General Secretary).

S. ROSTOVSKY (Secretary).

B. GEBERT (Secretary).

(And one Secretary to be nominated later.)

V.V. KUZNETSOV (U.S.S.R.).

L.N. SOLOVIEV (U.S.S.R.).

K.S. KUZNETSOV (U.S.S.R.).

3 seats to be filled later (U.S.A. and Canada).

2 seats to be filled later (Great Britain).

B. FRACHON (France).

A. LE LEAP (France).

G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).

V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Mexico).

LAZARO PENA (Cuba).

AMAZONAS (Brazil).

LIU CHAO CHIH (China).

1 seat to be filled later (Australia).

S.A. DANCE (India).

A. SADAoui (Tunisia).

A. DIALLO (W. Africa).

1 seat to be filled later (Scandinavia).

V.I. BEREZINE (U.S.S.R.).

L.A. ALLAHVERDIEV (U.S.S.R.).

K.V. OLUNINA (U.S.S.R.).

3 seats to be filled later (U.S.A. and Canada).

2 seats to be filled later (Great Britain).

G. MONMOUSSEAU (France).

J. FORGUES (France).

F. SANTI (Italy).

B. ARAYA (Chile).

V.M. GUTIERREZ (Guatemala).

E. RODRIGUEZ (Uruguay).

LIU NING I (China).

1 seat to be filled later (Australia).

S.A. WICKREMASINGHE (Ceylon).

Fahrat HACHED (Tunisia).

Desmond BUCKLE (Transvaal).

1 seat to be filled later (Scandinavia).

B. BLOKZIJL (Netherlands).
 1 seat to be filled later (Japan).
 H. WARNKE (Germany).
 F. ZUPKA (Czechoslovakia).
 A. ZAWADSKI (Poland).
 G. APOSTOL (Rumania).
 D. SALAJ (Yugoslavia).
 M. JARBLUM (Israel).
 M. EL ARISS (Lebanon).
 E. THORNTON (Australia).
 (Nominated by the T.D.'s already
 set up).

Plus two delegates to be nominated when all the T.D.'s are set up.

J. GRANDGENET (Luxembourg).
 ZOI-GENDEX (Korea).
 1 seat to be filled later (Austria).
 A. APRO (Hungary).
 P. PERISTERI (Albania).
 R. DAMIANOV (Bulgaria).
 1 seat to be filled later (Greece).
 F. BENDORI (Israel).
 REZA ROUSTA (Iran).

Congress must also, in conformity with the Constitution, elect the Auditors. Three countries have put forward their candidature: the USSR, the Netherlands, and Hungary.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). You have heard the proposals of the Nominations Committee, on the composition of the Executive Committee of our Federation. Have you any observations to make?

F. HACHED (*Tunisia UGT*). I would like to speak on the proposal for the representation of Africa on the Executive Committee of the WFTU. We were invited by the Nominations Committee to speak on the possibility of giving representation to all the National Centres, taking into account the recent decision of Congress to increase the representation of Africa on the Executive Committee of the WFTU to 2 full members and 2 substitutes.

I would like to stress that the UGTT, which I represent, had for three years to suffer the injustices arising from the narrow outlook of certain representatives of the WFTU who, happily, are no longer with the WFTU. In our view, the last decision of the Executive Committee of January 1949 has remedied these injustices, and we would like to express once more our satisfaction with this step.

However, the WFTU knows that a peculiar situation exists in Tunisia, and for the last three years the problem of unifying the Tunisian trade union movement has been before the USTT and the UGTT.

The fact that on the Executive Committee of the WFTU there is a full member representing the organisation which enjoys certain advantages with the WFTU might and certainly will be interpreted as being due to the desire to maintain a state of mind against which we have always fought.

I know that we have obtained satisfaction thanks to the understanding of the Executive Bureau, which has got rid of the members

who had a colonialist rather than a trade union outlook. Nevertheless, in the interests of that unity for which we are working, we asked the Credentials Commission to accept one of our three proposals, namely that the two Tunisian organisations should be equally represented on the Executive Committee, that is, that the two Tunisian trade union organisations should have the two places of substitute members, with the two full members' places going to our comrades of the rest of Africa. The second solution was that there should be no representation of the Tunisian organisations. If this proposal were accepted, we give our formal assurance that the UGTT would continue to work just as actively, for it is not the representation which counts for us. We all know that a militant trade unionist works not just because he belongs to an executive body or a leading body, but because he is a trade unionist at heart. All the organisations in the WFTU must hold that view and the UGTT holds it too.

If Congress did not accept this proposal, the matter could be held over and left to the two Tunisian organisations to settle after our return home, so that the solution finally adopted should not cause difficulties which would have to be ironed out. A hasty decision taken here by comrades who are not fully informed of the situation in Tunisia might compromise all our efforts.

It is with this attitude, comrades, that I make this appeal to Congress, convinced that I am interpreting the feelings of the working class whom our organisation represents and that I am working for the unity so dear to the WFTU.

After all, the WFTU is today passing through a delicate period. It owes it to itself to examine very carefully anything which might be a factor of division among the workers. We do not hold to this position for reasons of individual or egoistic propaganda. That is far from our minds, since we would be very happy to have no representation at all. However, there must remain after this Congress no feeling of dissatisfaction which might adversely affect the WFTU and its principles of justice and equity among all the organisations represented here.

I therefore ask you to agree to one of the three following proposals : either to give the two places of substitute members to Tunisia, or to give Tunisia no representation at all, or to hold over the matter and leave the decision to the two organisations concerned.

Without in any way trying to threaten anybody, which could not weaken the WFTU or limit its world-wide expansion if Congress thinks fit to reject these proposals, it would be imprudent to leave any survival of the attitude against which we have fought, and which our enemies will not fail to exploit. In that case, I could make no commitments for the future and would have to see what position our Centre might take towards these facts.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. I think I interpret the feelings of all members of Congress when I say it is not for us here to open a debate on the subject of trade union unity in Tunisia, a matter which has been seriously considered in detail by the Executive Committee, the Secretary, and even the General Council, over the last three years. The Credentials Committee found themselves faced by the fact that Congress

decided to allow all the territories of Africa two full and two substitute delegates. I would remind you that before this Africa had only one delegate and one substitute.

The members of the Executive Committee and of Congress can only regret that, during these last few years, neither the delegate nor the substitute have attended with the necessary regularity since the Paris Congress.

The proposals for candidates reached the Praesidium and the Credentials Committee, but these proposals only referred to the choice of the full delegates. The French CGT delegation, after consultations with comrade Sadaoui and after having obtained the approval of the Union of the Tunisian Trade Unions (the Union of the Algerian Trade Unions and the Union of Confederated Trade Unions of Morocco also agreed with the suggestion) proposed comrade Sadaoui as full delegate representing North Africa.

It is important to note that the candidate for the office of delegate for North Africa was not the candidate for one single territory in North Africa, but was the candidate for the trade union organisations of North Africa, that is, of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia.

In Tunisia there are two organisations affiliated to the WFTU. One of these, the UGTT, put forward comrade Fahrât Hached as full delegate.

That in brief is the situation in which we find ourselves on the one hand an organisation representing only one country put forward a candidate, and on the other, three organisations put forward only one candidate. The Nominations Committee has offered comrade Fahrât Hached the place of substitute for North Africa (leaving out of consideration the rest of Africa, which presents no difficulty on this matter and or which agreement has been reached among the Committee).

Comrade Fahrât Hached did not wish to accept the position offered him by comrade Monmousseau and myself in order to achieve unanimity with the Committee, and he wished this question to be brought before Congress. It was his right, but it is also our duty, in these circumstances, to give Congress the whole facts on order to explain how comrade Sadaoui's candidature was put forward. Obviously there was no desire on our part to make any kind of discrimination. There is no question of asking Congress to choose between two trade union organisations in Tunisia, but we must stress that comrade Sadaoui is an old militant with 25 years of trade union activity in North Africa behind him. He stands before Congress with the uncontested and incontestable support of the great majority of the trade union organisations of North Africa. Is there anything more one can ask of a candidate, in order to uphold and preserve the prestige and authority of the WFTU, than that he should have the support of the vast majority of the organised workers in the countries whom he will be representing on the Executive Committee?

Comrade Fahrât Hached says that we must not allow our old attitude to be perpetuated. I agree with him, but I must say that this attitude has never existed among us, and should not arise during this discussion. You say to us: "We prefer to have no representative at all." That leads us to think that you are discounting the appeal we have made to you to work together inside a united WFTU.

The place of substitute could have been offered to a country other than Tunisia; it could have been offered, for example, to Algeria or to Morocco. If the position of substitute was offered to Tunisia it is because we are taking the actual situation into account. If we have proposed to comrade Fahrat Hached that he should come and work on the Executive Committee of the WFTU, it is because we are convinced that this would reinforce the unity of the trade union organisations of Tunisia.

Unity at the base must also be unity at the summit, and we thought that it would be of great help in bringing about trade union unity if we asked our Tunisian comrades to sit on the Executive Committee of the WFTU, one as delegate, the other as substitute, but both of them, side by side, working together, understanding the meaning of trade union unity, in a word, demonstrating to the Executive Committee and to the workers of the world that trade union unity is being prepared for by work on definite topics and for definite objectives. These are the views that guided us when we proposed comrade Sadaoui.

Comrade Fahrat Hached proposes that we nominate two substitute delegates for Tunisia. Why? Congress now has all the material on this matter concerning comrade Sadaoui.

If anyone wants to put the question in terms of trade union unity he should not present the facts as comrade Fahrat Hached has presented them. Your arguments cannot convince us and you ought not to have concluded as you did, when it is a question of the election of the Executive Committee. We stretch out our hand to all, and we say to each, very loyally and frankly: "Come and work with us on the Executive Committee." We offered you our hand without any reservations. It was you who made reservations when you were on the platform. We note it, and we will consider, if it is necessary, either to leave open the office of substitute or to nominate another organisation. (*Applause.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Are there any more observations on the proposals made by the Nominations Committee? If no-one wished to speak we will put it to the vote.

It is understood that voting on these proposals will solve the matter raised by comrade Fahrat Hached.

(The proposals of the Nominations Committee were put to the vote and were adopted with one vote against, that of Comrade Fahrat Hached.)

The same Committee has made some proposals concerning the WFTU Auditors. Three countries have put forward candidates for this, as comrade Saillant has said: the USSR, the Netherlands and Hungary. Are there any objections to these candidates? If there are no objections we shall proceed to the vote. *(The Nominations Committee's suggestion was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.)* (*Applause.*)

Comrade Mustapha El Ariss of the Lebanon makes the following proposal concerning the composition of the Commission for the Resolutions on the report of trade union activity in Australia, Africa and Latin America: one delegate for the following countries: Africa, Brazil, Viet-Nam, France, USSR, the Lebanon, Italy.

If there are no objections we shall consider this proposal as unanimously adopted.

The Commission on the resolution on the report concerning the fight for peace, democratic liberties and trade union unity will meet tomorrow at 10.30 precisely.

The Commission on the WFTU's report of activity will meet tomorrow at 4 o'clock in the General Secretary's office.

The Commission for the resolution on the report on trade union activity will meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The delegates and substitutes just elected are notified that the first meeting of the Executive Committee will take place tomorrow at 11 o'clock in the Congress Hall.

Comrade Stoica has asked to speak in order to make a proposal.

G. STOICA (*Rumania*). The delegates from the People's Republic of Rumania propose the following countries for the Commission on Migration : Italy, Ceylon, Tunisia, Ecuador, the People's Republic of Rumania and France.

This proposal was adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). The Commission on the resolution concerning the Trade Departments will meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

The session was adjourned.

SESSION OF 9th JULY 1949

5 p. m.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Comrades, we are about to open the last session of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress.

First, I must inform Congress that this morning the Executive Committee of the Federation, which was elected at the beginning of yesterday evening's session, held its first meeting. The Executive Committee had the task of electing the President of the Executive Bureau and its Vice-President.

I can give Congress the results of the decisions made by the Executive Committee this morning, and the new Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions will thus be able to sit on the platform for this last session.

The Executive Committee of the Federation unanimously elected our comrade Di Vittorio President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises to its feet.*)

You will join me in inviting comrade Di Vittorio, President of the Federation, to take the presidential chair for the last session. (*Applause.*)

The Executive Committee next passed to the election of the Vice-Presidents. Our comrade Kuznetsov was unanimously re-elected Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Comrade Le Léap of France was re-elected Vice-President of the Federation. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Our comrade Lombardo Toledano of Mexico was re-elected Vice-President of the Federation. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Despite his absence the Executive Committee elected comrade Liu Chao Chih of China Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Our comrade Blokzijl, of Holland, was elected Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Our comrade Zupka, of Czechoslovakia, was elected Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Our comrade Lazaro Peña, of Cuba, was elected Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Our comrade Abdoulaye Diallo, of West Africa, was elected Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

Finally, to mark its entire solidarity with one of the members of the Executive Committee who is now in prison in India, our comrade Dange was elected Vice-President of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

The Vice-Presidential places reserved for Great Britain and the United States of America remain vacant.

Congress is therefore informed that the comrades whose names we have just given will constitute until the 3rd World Congress the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions. (*Loud applause and cheers. Congress rises.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Comrade Croizat.

A. CROIZAT (*France*). Comrades, the Committee, set up and ratified by the 2nd World Congress to draft the resolution on the basis of the report of comrades Kuznetsov and Santi, comprised the following members :

VIET-NAM	LUU DUC PHO.
TRANSVAAL	Desmond BUCKLE.
FRANCE	Ambroise CROIZAT and René DUHAMEL
POLAND	Wadslav KRASNOWIECKI.
ITALY	F. SANTI.
GERMANY	Ernst KRUGER and Frieda KRUGER.
LUXEMBOURG	Josef GRANDGENET.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Josef KOLSKY.
CUBA	Faustino CALCINES.
USSR	Vassili KUZNETSOV and MONIN.

Chairman : V. V. KUZNETSOV.

Vice Chairman : J. KOLSKY.

Rapporteur : A. CROIZAT.

Draftsman : T. F. MACWHINNIE.

I shall now read the text of the resolution which our Commission is submitting for your approval :

RESOLUTION

On the general policy and struggle of the WFTU for Peace, the Democratic Rights of the peoples, and for International Trade Union Unity.

PREAMBLE

The Second World Trade Union Congress notes with satisfaction that in the very complicated post-war international situation and in spite of the obstruction of the major leaders of the British TUC and American CIO, the WFTU firmly occupies a place of first importance

in the camp of peace and democracy, and that it has victoriously defended the unity of the world trade union movement.

Present-day conditions of the struggle of the working class on behalf of its vital interests are markedly different from those which existed at the time that our Federation was created. At that time, the peoples hoped that an era of lasting peace and prosperity was opening up in front of them, that measures would be taken to ensure the extension of their democratic rights and to satisfy their economic and social needs. Today, these hopes are things of the past. The capitalists states have not honoured the commitments which they made during the war. More, reactionary monopolist circles have begun to prepare a new world war.

The "Marshall Plan", "Western Union" and the "Atlantic Pact" are so many links in one aggressive policy of the British and American imperialists who aspire to world domination. The reactionaries are engaged upon a violent offensive against the standard of living of the working class, while unemployment and misery are increasing. Systematic attacks are being made by them against the democratic movements. Trade union freedom is being attacked from every angle. In many countries, both metropolitan, colonial and semi-colonial, the trade unions have been driven underground; the workers have been deprived of their right to strike and of other democratic rights even of the most elementary nature. Thousands of working class leaders have been killed or imprisoned.

However, the efforts of the warmongers and of those who seek to stamp out democratic liberties are meeting with the ever growing resistance of the peoples, for whom a stable peace, fraternal international cooperation and the failure of the plans of the reactionary forces are a vital necessity. This will found striking expression in the World Peace Congresses of Paris and Prague.

In these circumstances, the World Federation of Trade Unions must be in the front ranks of the struggle against the fomentors of a new holocaust; it must act in favour of the democratic rights of the peoples and in favour of developing the well-being and the unity of the working class.

The Congress resolves :—

1. To approve the decisions of the Paris and Prague Peace Congresses. The Federation, its executive bodies, the Trade Union Centres and their affiliates, must take the most active part in the work of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress and, in particular, in all activity of an organisational or propaganda nature.

2. The trade unions of all countries must wage a broad campaign to denounce the warmongers and to rally all the workers' organised in trade unions affiliated to the WFTU, as well as those affiliated to other trade unions and those who are not organised, to a broad people's movement for peace and democratic liberty. In accordance with the particular situation of each country, they must determine the appropriate campaign forms. Where circumstances permit, the trade unions must set up Peace Committees in factories and offices.

3. The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to submit, without delay, to the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress, a proposal having as its aim the organisation, as rapidly as possible, of an International Day of Struggle and People's Demonstrations for Peace and Democratic Liberties.

4. The Congress recommends to all affiliated Trade Union Centres to pursue a systematic work of enlightenment so as to denounce the splitting and anti-labour activities of the principal AF of L, TUC and CIO leaders.

5. In view of the special importance of the struggle for peace, democratic freedom and trade union unity, the Congress believes it indispensable to issue a Manifesto to the workers of the entire world, calling upon them to extend their activities ever more broadly in favour of these aims.

6. The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to act energetically for the affiliation of new Trade Union Centres favourable to international trade union unity, and, in particular, of the Trade Union Centres in the colonial and dependent countries. The Congress states that the doors of the Federation remain wide open to all trade union organisations, even those with the smallest membership, which are conscious of the urgency of the common struggle of the workers and trade unions of all tendencies, for essential economic interests, peace and democratic liberties.

7. The efforts of the executive bodies of the WFTU must also tend to the reconstitution of trade union unity on the national scale, particularly in the countries where the enemies of unity are seeking to achieve or increase the division of the trade union movement, as for instance in Germany, Japan, India and in the Latin American countries.

8. The Congress is of the opinion that the best way of cancelling the effects of the split and of creating favourable conditions for the strengthening of trade union unity is to practise a policy of unity of action for the defence of the common demands of all the workers, in accordance with the examples given by the French CGT in the factories and public services, and by the Italian CGIL during the recent victorious strike of agricultural workers.

9. The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to make wide use of the Press, the radio and mass meetings as propaganda weapons in the struggle for peace, international trade union unity and the defence of democratic liberties.

10. The Federation's various bodies and those of the national trade union centres are called upon to do everything in their power to mobilise the greatest number of workers for the defence of trade union freedom, which is being trampled underfoot by capitalist governments. All means, such as appeals to UNO, petitions to the various governments and the organisation of mass protests must be used in the struggle for this just cause.

11. *The Congress addresses fraternal greetings to the heroic militants of the trade unions and of the working class of China, Malaya, Indonesia, Viet-Nam and Greece, who are in the front ranks of the struggle against imperialism, and to the militants and democratic trade unions of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Chile, India, Burma, Siam, Iran, etc. who are carrying on a clandestine and tenacious struggle in the interests of the working class.*

In addition, the Congress sends its cordial and affectionate greetings to Comrade Dange, courageous fighter for the trade union cause, as well as to all the militants and workers at present imprisoned in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

12. *The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to pay particular attention so that the maximum assistance may be given to the young trade union movements of the colonial countries by calling regional conferences, sending commissions and fraternal delegations to enquire into the situation of the trade unions and by editing special publications in the particular languages of these countries.*

The Second World Trade Union Congress, conscious of the role which the World Federation of Trade Unions must play, and confident of the immense power and possibilities of the working class, appeals to all trade union organisations, whether affiliated or not, to do everything in their power rapidly to achieve the widest unity of all those whose ideal is well-being, social progress and democratic liberty; this unity is the guarantee of certain victory over the warmongers.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, you have read and heard the draft resolution which comrade Croizat has just read out. Are there any observations?

Does nobody wish to speak? Are there any objections? We will then proceed to the vote. I ask delegates to hold their cards in their hands. Those in favour please raise their hands.

None against? Any abstentions?

One abstention, the representative of the Israel Histadruth.

The resolution was adopted unanimously with one abstention. (Applause.)

I call on Comrade Croizat who is going to read the Manifesto addressed to the workers of the world on the same subject as the preceding resolution.

A. CROIZAT (*France*). Comrades, in the same conditions as the resolution, the Manifesto was unanimously adopted by all members of the Commission.

This Manifesto reproduces the very spirit of the resolution. The key point of the latter is an appeal on the necessity to fight for peace, but especially to create throughout the world a broad feeling in favour of unity which will guarantee certain decisive victories over the enemy.

I will read you the text of the Manifesto.

MANIFESTO OF THE SECOND WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

for the defence of Peace, Democratic Rights, the Economic Interests of the Workers, and for the strengthening of Working Class Unity.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES,

This Manifesto is addressed to you by the representatives of more than seventy-one-and-a-half million trade union members assembled at the 2nd World Trade Union Congress in Milan.

We have come to this Congress from all parts of the world to discuss the most important questions of the international trade union movement, such as the improvement of economic and social conditions for the working people, the assurance of their democratic rights and the questions of peace and friendship among peoples.

Nearly four years have elapsed since the 1st World Trade Union Congress was held in Paris in October, 1945. Following this meeting the World Federation was born, uniting within its ranks the trade unions of nearly every country of the world, without distinction as to race, nationality, religious or political convictions. For the first time in the history of the world labour movement, the combined efforts of the workers of the whole world resulted in the creation of a real trade union Federation, powerful and universal.

Since the WFTU practises no discrimination, either racial, religious or political, and unites within its ranks workers of all countries and continents, it is and will remain the only real international trade union organisation; nothing and nobody can deprive us of our representative character, nor of our title—the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is an achievement of the greatest moment to the working class, for the strength of the working class is in its unity.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has proved by all its activities on behalf of the vital interests of the workers that it is the surest defender of the interests of the working masses.

The World Federation of Trade Unions defends the rights of trade unions, fights for the establishment of equal pay for equal work and against all forms of discrimination.

The World Federation of Trade Unions carries on an uninterrupted fight for the satisfaction of the vital demands of the working class, for progressive social legislation, for the introduction of social insurance at the state's and employers' expense, for work for all and the repeal of anti-labour laws.

The World Federation of Trade Unions strongly opposes the persecution of trade unions and trade union leaders in capitalist and colonial countries and defends the fighters in the cause of labour. It gives its support to the workers of the colonial countries in their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

The World Federation of Trade Unions makes it its aim to develop and strengthen co-operation and international solidarity among the workers of all nations; it is setting up international associations of

trade unions in various industries (WFTU Trade Departments) in order more effectively to defend the interests of the workers in their respective trades.

In the interests of peace and international security, the World Federation of Trade Unions vigorously opposes the fascist regimes in Spain and Greece and acts to obtain the speediest and most genuine demilitarisation and democratization of Germany and Japan—essential conditions for peace and the security of the peoples.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is active in the world-wide peace movement and heads the struggle of the working class for a stable and lasting peace against the warmongers.

WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS !

The World Federation of Trade Unions is today carrying on its activities in the midst of a complex international situation, when the imperialists are again threatening to start a world war.

The freedom loving peoples who shed their blood to ensure victory over fascism hoped for a better future; they hoped for progress, and that the world would at long last be rid of the danger of a new war. They believed that friendly international co-operation would become a reality, that full employment would be assured and that democratic rights and liberties were indefeasible.

But the capitalist governments perfidiously broke their solemn promises given during the war. The tears of widows and orphans have not yet dried, towns and villages wrecked by the fascists still lie in ruins, but the imperialists are already preparing for a new war in order to establish their rule over the world.

To the capitalists, war is a source of unprecedented enrichment. An armaments drive is on, in the USA, Britain and other capitalist countries. And the capitalists are trying their best to shift the heavy burden of war expenditure on to the shoulders of the working class and on to all the workers. Inflation is growing, taxes are increasing, and prices of prime necessities are rising catastrophically. At the same time, wages are speedily dropping and the army of unemployed, already numbering tens of millions of people, is swelling.

The policy of the imperialists is most glaringly expressed in the so-called Marshall Plan and in the Atlantic Pact, both of which serve the aim of enslaving nations economically and politically, and are the instruments for furthering the aggressive designs of the instigators of a new war.

The Marshall Plan means the shutting down of factories and mills; it means growing unemployment, want, privation and impoverishment of the masses; it means the loss of independence and the ruthless trampling underfoot of the state sovereignty of Western European countries.

The Marshall Plan means new burdens and privations for American workers also.

The Atlantic Pact is a compact for the preparation by aggressive forces of a new world war; it is a plot against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies—a compact to crush the democratic and national liberation movement throughout the world.

In preparation for a new war the imperialists are endeavouring to suppress the democratic movement, and in the first place the labour movement. They are passing anti-labour laws and are employing ruthless methods of police terrorism against the trade unions.

In order to put their criminal designs into effect, the imperialists are striving to destroy the world unity of the workers and to demoralise and disperse the ranks of the working class in every country.

Within the WFTU were to be found certain men who tried in vain to defend the policies and acts of their own warmongering imperialists. The representatives of the British TUC and American CIO who supported a policy in such opposition to the peoples' interests tried at the same time to paralyze the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions. They opposed by every means the establishment of unity among the trade unions of Germany, interfered with the rendering of assistance to the labour movement in the colonial countries, hindered the formation of Trade Departements and opposed the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

They were out to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions and to split the unity of the world labour movement. When their attempts failed, Deakin, Carey and Kupers, in gross violation of the principles of democracy, and without troubling to ask the opinion of the workers in their countries, declared that they withdrew from the Federation.

Now they are trying to form a dissident organisation as a counter-poise to the World Federation of Trade Unions and to break up and disorganise the ranks of the working class in the face of the monopolies' offensive against the vital interests of the working people.

But these attempts at dividing the workers' forces, led by the enemies of peace and of the working class, are doomed to defeat. Nobody will succeed in destroying the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The Congress expresses its firm confidence that all the intrigues of the enemies of international working class unity will end in ignominious failure.

Opposed to the criminal plans of the imperialists and their servitors is the unbending will of hundreds of millions of men and women of all countries who want peace, unity and co-operation. The forces of democracy in favour of peace are great and powerful. They are much superior to the forces of reaction and are capable of checking them. The forces of peace are backed by the mighty democratic and labour movements, by the growing national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries and by all honest people who stand for peace and progress.

It is our common task, the task of the workers of the whole world, to build up an impregnable barrier against the intrigues of the warmongers and to defeat the treacherous schemes of the imperialists.

WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS !

We unanimously endorse the decisions of the World Congress for Peace and strongly appeal to you :—

To develop widespread action in favour of the defence of peace to draw up a concrete programme for this action, within the grasp of the broad masses of the workers, and to unite without distinctions of race, religion or opinion to achieve the triumph of this programme. Where circumstances permit, to form committees for the defence of peace, in factories and offices and bring into their ranks all workers by hand brain.

The World Congress of Trade Unions, in deciding to propose to the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress the organisation, as quickly as possible of an international day of struggle and mass demonstrations for peace, is convinced that it is answering the feelings and the will of the peoples to fight against the warmongers.

The World Trade Union Congress invites all workers to organise this day under the slogans of struggle against fascist regimes, against colonial wars, against the infringement of trade union rights, for peace, freedom and democracy and for the consolidation of international working class unity.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, BE VIGILANT !

Remember that the enemies of unity, who serve a cause which is not yours, will not give up their attempts to break the ranks of the working class and that they will resort to every means and every provocation in their efforts to undermine the unity of the workers. This unity is based on voluntary and free co-operation between trade unions as non-party organisations of the working class. The community of the vital interests and social aims of the workers is greater than any differences—ideological, political or religious.

WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS !

Always remember that our weapons are unity, organisation, solidarity, mutual assistance. In unity and mutual assistance lies the main guarantee of the success of the workers and all the working people in the struggle for their interests. As long as we are united we need fear no enemy. Firmly united, we can stand up for our rights. Divided and dispersed, we will be powerless in the struggle against capitalism.

Always remember that the split in the international labour movement paved the way in the past for the accession of fascism to power and made it easier to unleash the Second World War.

Comrades and friends, work untiringly to consolidate your ranks and to consolidate world trade union unity.

Let the imperialists and their lackeys know that nothing can break the will of the working class to be united in the struggle for peace, for freedom and for its vital interests.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, ENERGETIC AND CONSISTANT FIGHTER FOR A FIRM PEACE, FOR FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS AND FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR LABOURING HUMANITY !

(Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, you have heard and applauded the appeal that comrade Croizat has just read. Have you any observations to make on the text? No observations? Does nobody wish to speak? Then we will put the text of the Manifesto to the vote. Those in favour please raise their hands. None against? Any abstentions?

One abstention, the representative of the Israel Histadruth.

The Manifesto of the Second World Congress for the Defence of Peace, the workers' democratic rights and economic interests, and for the strengthening of working-class unity, is adopted unanimously with one abstention. (Congress rises and sings the International.)

Comrades, a delegation from the Montecatini Chemical Works at Milan brings greetings to the Congress. A representative of this delegation will read you a message.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE EMPLOYEES AT THE MONTECATINI WORKS. Comrades, we are happy and honoured to bring to this Congress the cordial fraternal greetings of the workers of the great Montecatini factory who are following with interest and close attention the efforts of this Congress in the fight for the defence of their rights against the power of the monopolies.

The workers of this factory, organised in the glorious Italian Confederation of Labour, are fighting alongside the forces of democracy against the warmongers and the enemies of national independence. They are proud to be the brothers of the workers of the Soviet Union who have already won liberty and are advancing with the popular democracies along the road to socialism. They are whole-heartedly with the brave fighters of China, Greece, and the colonial peoples, who are fighting against the forces of world imperialism. We do not forget the peoples still oppressed by fascist dictatorship and we stand firm with in the battle to annihilate the tyranny which still holds them in slavery. The forces of progress and peace will conquer, for they are stronger than the forces of war, and this makes us sure of the final victory of the workers of the whole world.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. (*Enthusiastic applause. Congress cheers the members of the delegation.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). A delegation from the League of Italian Cooperatives wishes to greet Congress.

A DELEGATE OF THE LEAGUE. Comrades, The General League of Italian Cooperatives greets the delegates to this 2nd World Trade Union Congress.

The Italian League of Cooperatives has 4 million members, workers, peasants, employees, who are all grateful to the international working class. The members of the League of cooperatives are taking an active part in the struggle of the working class for liberty. (*Congress rises and applauds.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). A delegation of Calabrian workers wishes to greet Congress.

A CALABRIAN DELEGATE. Comrades, I bring you fraternal greetings from the workers of Calabria. This region is very poor and has no industry. It is therefore difficult for the workers of Calabria, who must fight unceasingly, to win decent living conditions.

Recently the workers of Calabria struck for fifteen days and won a victory.

Comrades, I bring you the greetings of Calabria.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS. (*Congress rises and applauds.*)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I now call on Comrade Jourdain, Secretary of the Metal-workers' Trade Department, who will read the draft resolution on the Trade Departments.

H. JOURDAIN (*Metal Workers' Trade Department*). Read the resolution.

RESOLUTION

concerning the Trade Departments of the WFTU

Having heard and discussed the reports by Comrades Di Vittorio and Gebert on Article 13 of the Constitution of the WFTU, the 2nd World Trade Union Congress stresses that the Executive bodies of the WFTU have done everything possible to reach agreement with the leaders of the International Trade Secretariats in order to achieve the participation of the ITS in the Trade Departments.

For three-and-a-half years the WFTU carried on negotiations with them. It met their demands on the conditions for their participation in Trade Departments more than half way.

On September 16th, 1948, during a joint meeting with the representatives of the ITS, the Executive Bureau once more proposed that they should collaborate with the WFTU on any conditions which they might judge desirable.

They replied to these proposals by rejecting the question as a whole.

By their negative attitude to the subject of their collaboration with the WFTU in the creation of Trade Departments uniting all the workers of the whole world, the leaders of the ITS demonstrated that they were not defending the interests of the working masses but were supporting the imperialist policy of dividing the trade union movement.

Cutting across national frontiers, the great international trusts are developing their anti-democratic activity. They control entire branches of industry in different capitalist countries. They exploit all workers without distinction, who find their conditions of poverty worsening, particularly as a result of the fall in their real wages and the increase in unemployment.

In such a situation it is vitally necessary to organise the workers yet more firmly and to unite them still more closely on the basis of their common demands for the defence of their trade union rights and economic and social interests.

The Congress endorses the decisions of the Executive Committee

of January 1949, and the practical measures for the establishment of the Trade Departments which followed. It congratulates itself that as regards Teaching, the Metal Industries, Textiles and Leather and Hides, Trade Departments have begun to function.

The Congress calls on the Executive Committee of the WFTU actively to pursue its work of building Trade Departments

It decides that the Trade Departments of the WFTU shall bear the following title :

“ Trade Unions International ” (TD of the WFTU) followed by the title given to the corresponding industry, e.g., “ Transport Workers Trade Unions International ” (TD of the WFTU).

The Congress affirms that the door of each Trade Unions International (TD of the WFTU) is open to all workers irrespective of race, nationality, or political, philosophic or religious conceptions. It also specifies that any trade union organisation or group of workers, whatever its structure or composition, may join a Trade Unions International (TD of the WFTU) whether or not the National Centre to which it belongs is affiliated to the WFTU.

The Congress recalls that the essential task of the Trade Unions Internationals (TD of the WFTU) is to assure the permanent defence of the vital interests of the workers, fraternal co-operation, and international mutual assistance and class solidarity between them without any discrimination a single consideration being borne in mind :

The organisation of the workers' victorious struggle by a constant search for their international unity in the trade sphere.

It also recalls that the Trade Unions Internationals (TD of the WFTU) aim at coordinating the struggle of trade union organisations :—

—to achieve the success of the workers' economic and social demands;

—to defend their trade union rights, consolidate weak trade unions and create trade unions where they do not already exist;

—to raise their real wages and guarantee their purchasing power;

—to obtain the reduction of working hours;

—to protect workers and their families against unemployment;

—to obtain guarantees of annual paid holidays, and sanitary and health services within the framework of complete social security plans.

—to impose the principle of “ equal pay for equal work. ”

In conclusion, the Congress expresses its conviction that the Trade Unions Internationals (TD of the WFTU) will lead the workers in victorious struggle for the defence of their demands and of peace.

This resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN (G. Di Vittorio). I now call on Comrade Rostovsky, who will present the draft resolution on the Congress's solidarity with the ten Greek seamen who have been condemned to death by the fascist government.

S. ROSTOVSKY (*Secretary of the WFTU*). Read the resolution :

RESOLUTION

The Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions energetically declares its support of the ten seamen, active members of the Greek trade union movement, condemned to death by the Greek monarcho-fascist Government.

Faithful sons of the working class, they have been active fighters in the Resistance Movement during the Hitlerite occupation of Greece. After the liberation of the country they fought for its democratisation and for raising the workers' standard of living. For having placed themselves unreservedly at the service of their people, they were condemned to death in 1948 by the monarcho-fascist Government of Athens. It was only through the intervention of the democratic mass organisations and of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation that this criminal sentence was not carried out.

However, the Greek monarcho-fascists are burning with the desire to carry out the sentence passed on the imprisoned seamen.

In the name of seventy-one-and-a-half million workers united in the ranks of the WFTU, the Congress protests against the death sentence passed on the ten Greek seamen and demands the immediate release of the innocent victims of monarcho-fascist terror.

The Congress instructs the Secretariat of the WFTU to take the necessary steps to make representations to UNO and to the Greek, British and American Governments in the spirit of the present resolution.

(Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Put the resolution to the vote; it was adopted unanimously.

(The session was adjourned at 7 p.m., and re-assembled at 7.30.)

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I call on Olga Tournade, of the French delegation, who will present to Congress the address of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress to the workers and trade-unionists of the United States, Great Britain and the other countries whose leaders left the WFTU.

OLGA TOURNADE (*France*). Read the address.

ADDRESS

From the Second World Trade Union Congress to the Workers and Trade Unionists of the United States, Great Britain and other countries where the leaders have declared their withdrawal from the WFTU.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN,

The delegates of the Second World Trade Union Congress speak to you in the name of more than seventy-one-and-a-half million workers of different countries of the whole world.

Together with you, we created in October, 1945, the first organisation known in the history of the labour movement to embrace all countries—the World Federation of Trade Unions. It unites in its ranks trade unions including workers of the whole world, irrespective of race, nationality, religion or political convictions. In the struggle against the most implacable enemies of humanity, the fascists, international unity of the workers was forged and strengthened. The workers of all countries have clearly understood that if they had closed their ranks sooner and had directed their united efforts towards the struggle against fascism, the war, which has cost an incalculable sum in victims and in suffering, could have been avoided.

The organised workers of the whole world represent an indestructible force.

The World Federation of Trade Unions defends the vital interests of the workers of the entire world. The aims of the Federation inscribed in its Constitution are as follows :—

To organise the common struggle of trade unions of all countries;

—Against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties;

—For the satisfaction of the need of the workers for security of full employment;

—For the progressive improvement of wages, hours and working and living conditions of the workers;

—For full and adequate social security to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accident and old age;

—For the adoption of all other measures furthering the social and economic well-being of the workers;

—To fight for the complete extirpation of Fascism, against war and the causes of war, for a stable and lasting peace and for friendly co-operation between all peoples and for the democratic rights and liberties of the workers.

We have fought together with you and are continuing to fight, for the achievement of these great aims.

The threat of a new economic depression, the whole weight of which is falling on the workers, is becoming more definite. The capitalist monopolies are conducting a heightened offensive against the vital interests, the rights and the liberties of the workers. Under the direction of the American imperialists, aggressive blocs are being formed and a new war prepared. In these conditions, the unity of the workers of the whole world is more indispensable than ever.

It is precisely in this period, when the workers' well-being as well as the destiny of the world depends on our unity, that we find ourselves separated. There have been no representatives from your Trade Union Centres at the World Trade Union Congress which has discussed the most important questions affecting the defence of workers of all countries, peace, liberty and democracy.

Who is responsible for the fact that the unity of our ranks, which cost us so much, is now broken ?

The responsibility falls on certain leaders of your Trade Union Centres who left the World Federation of Trade Unions, without having asked the opinion of their organisations. They are giving you false and unfair information on the activity of the Federation, by concealing their splitting activity. By means of these hypocritical tactics, harmful to the workers' interests, they are seeking your approval of their work of destruction.

The splitters slanderously inform you that the Federation is allegedly responsible for the failure to reach agreement with the International Trade Secretariats (ITS). They assert that this was the principal reason for their withdrawal from the WFTU.

The World Trade Union Congress declares to you that this is a slander directed against the Federation. The WFTU met the requirements of the ITS more than half-way, guided by the desire rapidly to create effective and really international organisations of trade unions in each branch of industry (Trade Departments) for the defence of the interests of workers in different trades. This was precisely what the ITS leaders did not want. They deliberately protracted the negotiations, only later to refuse collaboration with the WFTU under any conditions.

Having undertaken the creation of the Trade Departments, the WFTU made a new appeal to the ITS. The doors of the World Federation of Trade Unions and of its Trade Departments are still open wide to all trade union organisations. The Federation once more appeals today to the International Trade Secretariats to collaborate with it on conditions acceptable to them. There are and there can be no insoluble differences between labour organisations if they really aim at defending the vital interests of workers.

The leaders of your National Centres are deceiving you when they tell you that the World Federation of Trade Unions declared itself against certain governments contributing any economic assistance to others, and that the Federation is opposed to the reconstruction of national economies destroyed by the war.

The Congress affirms that this is a lie. Every trade union organisation affiliated to the WFTU has always considered and continues to consider it natural and desirable that economically stronger countries should give assistance to weaker ones. But, in doing so, countries contributing the assistance must not infringe the national independence of those which receive it. As the World Trade Union Congress of Paris emphasised, there must be no interference in the internal affairs of countries in need of assistance, nor any attempt to place them under the influence of international trusts and cartels.

The so-called Marshall Plan in no way corresponds to these vitally important principles.

Amongst us, the delegates to the Second World Trade Union Congress, are to be found representatives of France, Italy, Holland, Luxembourg and other countries covered by the Marshall Plan. The workers of these countries have had bitter experience of the painful consequences of this Plan. Not only has it not improved their conditions of life, but this Plan has resulted in further privations and in misery and unemployment. To British workers this Plan has brought the lowering of their standard of living and wage freezing. For the workers of America, the Marshall Plan has also meant an

increased burden. Far from stopping the growth of unemployment, it has aggravated the workers' situation. It is for these reasons that we are opposed to this imperialist plan of servitude, and are for the maintenance and development of the national economy and the liberty and independence of every country.

Your leaders attempt to conceal their dictatorial acts by making demagogic declarations on "Communist domination" of the WFTU.

By means of an ultimatum, they demanded that the Federation endorse the Marshall Plan; but when they realised that they would not succeed in imposing their point of view on the majority, they refused to discuss this question within the WFTU; they are lying to you in saying that the Federation refused to discuss the Marshall Plan.

The World Trade Union Congress reaffirms once more that unity within the WFTU is based on free and voluntary co-operation between trade unions. The Trade Union Centres belonging to the WFTU have complete latitude to have their own opinions on different questions and no Centre can impose its point-of-view on the others.

The TUC and CIO leaders wished to impose on the WFTU their anti-democratic policy of discriminating between workers. They sabotaged the application of the most important decisions of the London Conference and the Paris World Trade Union Congress.

Basing itself on the decisions of the Paris Congress the World Federation of Trade Unions consistently seeks the unity of the German trade union movement. For this purpose, it insisted to the Occupation Authorities on the creation in Berlin of a Liaison Bureau between the WFTU and the German trade unions in order to assist them to set up a single Trade Union Centre and to speed-up the denazification and democratization of Germany. The Occupation Authorities of the Western powers ignored the requests of the WFTU and Deakin and Carey accepted this situation. They encouraged the split by intervening against the unification of the German trade unions.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has made considerable efforts to avoid fratricidal war in Greece, constantly intervening in favour of the democratic development of the country. The WFTU helped the Greek trade unions to set up a democratic Confederation of Labour. But the Greek monarcho-fascist authorities, supported by the American and British imperialists, broke it up, threw its leaders into prison and savagely murdered the General Secretary of the Greek General Confederation of Labour, Paparigas.

In place of the democratic Confederation of Labour, fascist leaders formed a so-called national Trade Union organisation. The CIO and TUC leaders are collaborating with them, although previously they had officially recognised those elected by the 8th National Trade Union Congress as being the only real representatives of the Greek CGT.

The leaders of the British TUC and American CIO intervened against any assistance to trade unions of the colonial countries, struggling under conditions of most savage exploitation and terrorism for improvement of the workers' situation and for their trade union rights. The TUC and CIO leaders caused the failure of the decisions of the World Trade Union Congress of Paris regarding the dispatch of a WFTU Commission to the Asian countries and the convening of the Pan-Asian Trade Union Conference.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN :—

Ask the leaders of your trade unions whose will they were carrying out in blocking the defence of the vital interests of the working class and in giving up the fighters for the cause of labour in Greece, Iran, India, Malaya and other countries.

If the leaders of your National Centres had the interests of workers and labour unity at heart and if they really based themselves on the sentiment of "good will" which they are now hypocritically invoking, they would not have sabotaged the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions and would not have attempted to destroy it.

In order to avoid an open discussion, the leaders of your Trade Union Centres have refused to come to the World Trade Union Congress. They feared that their activities as partners of the imperialists would be revealed to the workers of all countries. Only the imperialists profit from division of the workers' forces and from incitement of workers in certain countries against those of other countries—since it is thereby far easier to provoke animosity between the peoples and to unleash war.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN :—

Under the banner of anti-communism, the leaders of your Trade Union Centres, together with those of the AF of L are forming their splitting organisation in order to combat the World Federation of Trade Unions and the democratic trade union movement of the whole world.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN :—

Oppose the creation of this organisation of splitters.

Wherever possible, organise Committees of Co-operation and Liaison with the World Federation of Trade Unions. Circulate and discuss the Manifesto and decisions of the Second World Trade Union Congress.

Demand the affiliation of your trade union organisation to the Trade Unions Internationals in each branch of industry (Trade Departments), created by the World Federation of Trade Unions to defend the vital interests of the workers in different trades, and for the organisation of international co-operation between workers.

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN :—

Endeavour to obtain the return of your Trade Union Centres into the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which mounts guards over the workers' vital interests, defends democratic trade union rights and fights for a stable and lasting peace and against the instigators of a new war.

LONG LIVE THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION OF THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD !

LONG LIVE WORLD LABOUR UNITY !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

THE CHAIRMAN (G. Di Vittorio). Have you any observations to make on the text you have just heard ? I call on Comrade Thornton.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). The report you have just heard is an extremely important document. It is all the more important in that it is addressed to important organisations which have left the WFTU and belong to English-speaking countries. Well now, in the English translation there are two or three expressions which are not quite right. For this reason, while approving the proposal as a whole, it would be necessary to give the Executive Bureau power to revise the text in detail before publication. I propose that one of the tasks of the Executive Committee tomorrow be the careful revision of the English text of this manifesto.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY. Since we began to discuss these resolutions, various delegations have passed up notes to the platform to say that it would be necessary for the Executive Bureau to revise the four versions of each of the resolutions passed, the French, English, Russian and Spanish versions. The French text forms the basis for translation, and it seems that the translations in certain cases expand or diminish the scope of the basic text. Comrade Thornton's suggestion is absolutely justified, and the Praesidium approves it fully. We would even like, to expand his proposal, and ask Congress to entrust the Executive Bureau with the task of revising very carefully the translation of all the resolutions.

Of course, the Constitution will be respected, and this requires that the texts be drawn up in French. We will therefore respect the Constitution and I ask Congress to entrust tomorrow's meeting of the Executive Bureau with the task of publishing itself, after due verification, all the resolutions we pass tonight.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Fundamentally we are all agreed. It is merely a matter of making the Spanish, Russian and English texts agree with the original text. Do you approve of the proposal just made by comrade Saillant to entrust the Executive Bureau with the revision of all the texts to ensure a better formulation?

Fahrat HACHED (*Tunisia*). I approve Comrade Saillant's proposal but there is a certain passage in the text itself which needs revision. Dealing with the invitation to the British, American and Dutch workers to re-join the WFTU, the text says: "the doors of the WFTU are still wide open to everybody." It is necessary to make it clear to the workers of these countries that the Congress is confident they will return as soon as possible to the WFTU, and that it has therefore reserved for them the places they formerly held in the executive bodies, the bureau, the committee, and the secretariat. I think it would be useful to make this clear to the workers of the USA, Great Britain and Holland.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). The observation of Comrade Fahrat Hached is justified. If the idea is not clearly expressed in the text of the resolution, I think this clarification would be useful. I think we can accept the proposal, and I ask Congress for its opinion on the matter, it being understood that we will leave the task of making the necessary correction to the Executive Bureau, more exactly in the

Manifesto addressed to the workers of the countries concerned : Great Britain and the United States.

Since there is no objection, we consider comrade Fahrât Hachéd's proposal as adopted unanimously.

Comrade Saillant has also made a proposal, namely that all the texts of the approved documents be revised by the Executive Bureau before being printed. Are there any objections ?

The proposal was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

Now, taking into account the fact that the Executive Bureau will make the necessary corrections, do you approve the text to be addressed to the British and American workers ? Will the delegates who wholly approve the text of the Address of the 2nd World Trade Union Congress to the British and American workers and others, please raise their cards ?

The text of the Address was put to the vote and adopted with one abstention. (Applause.)

I now call on Comrade Kuznetsova who will read the draft resolution on the economic and trade union programme of the WFTU.

K. KUZNETSOVA (USSR). Read the Resolution on the Report of Activity of the WFTU and the National Trade Union Centres for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers.

RESOLUTION

On the Report of Activity of the WFTU and the National Trade Union Centres in Defence of the Economic and Social Interests of the Workers.

1) *The 2nd Congress notes that the WFTU and the National Trade Union Centres have waged and are still waging a determined struggle for the achievement of the programme for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers adopted at the World Conference of London and at the Paris World Trade Union Congress.*

The World Federation of Trade Unions has put the question of equal pay for equal work before the United Nations Organisation; it has supported the workers of different countries struggling for the improvement of their living conditions; it has shown itself to be the organiser of the international solidarity movement and of aid to the striking French miners, the American dockers, the Canadian seamen, and other sections of the working class of various countries. The WFTU has put to the National Centres of the metropolitan countries the problem of aid to the unions of the colonial countries in their struggle for the improvement of the economic and social situation in the colonies, and against racial, sex or religious discrimination.

2) *Immediately after the end of the war the trade unions of a series of capitalist countries attained certain successes in the improvement of the workers' economic conditions, which took the form of the adoption*

in some countries of laws relating to the creation of Works Committees, to the prohibition of the dismissal of workers and to the institution of cost-of-living bonuses, the introduction of unemployment benefits, holidays with pay, etc. Recently, however, as a result of the attack by monopoly capital against the workers' standard of living, the material situation of the masses of the people in the capitalist countries has considerably worsened.

3) The Marshall Plan, imposed on the peoples of Western Europe by American imperialism, leads to mass unemployment and poverty, to the loss by the Marshallised countries of their economic independence and the reduction of their national industry.

The Marshall Plan aggravates the living conditions of the American working class itself.

4) The deterioration of the economic situation of the workers in capitalist countries is accompanied by the intensification of reaction's offensive against the democratic rights and liberties of the working class. In many countries anti-labour legislation of the type of the American Taft-Hartley law has been introduced; strikes are declared illegal and repression of trade union organisations is growing.

The divisionist leaders of the Trade Union Centres of Britain, the USA, Holland, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark have caused great harm to the interests of the working class by defending the Marshall Plan, which is bringing unemployment and poverty to the workers of their countries. The leaders of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the USA and of the British Trades Union Congress and of certain other Trade Union Centres are, by their policy of splitting trade union unity, weakening the forces of the working class in its fight for its vital interests. In doing so they reveal themselves as accomplices in the policy of the imperialist circles which is tending towards the aggravation of the economic situation of the workers in their countries.

5) The economic and social conditions of the workers are particularly hard in the colonial and dependent countries. There, forced labour still exists in various forms, and savage exploitation of the working class is further aggravated by discrimination based on sex, race and age. Free trade unions are persecuted by the governments, and their leaders are subjected to monstrous repression.

Discrimination in the sphere of work and wages for reasons of race and nationality exists not only in the colonies, but also in the United States of America. In this country, access to skilled work is forbidden to negroes and also to Mexicans, Porto Ricans, Chinese and Japanese. Special scales of wages are applied to negroes, providing for a lower wage than that of white workers in the same category.

6) The Congress greets the democratic trade unions of France, Italy, India, the countries of Latin America and the other capitalist and colonial countries which are waging a heroic struggle for the defence of the economic and social rights of the workers. This struggle is being carried on under conditions of savage repression on the part of capitalist governments. It is the object of the undermining activity of the splitters

of labour unity, an activity carried on by the reformists and governmental trade unions.

7) The Congress notes with satisfaction that in the USSR the material and cultural well-being of the workers is growing continuously.

These successes have been obtained thanks to the Socialist nature of the Soviet State where there is no private ownership of the means of production nor contradictions between the State and the workers. *Soviet trade unions take an active part in Socialist construction, ensuring rising living standards for the country's workers.*

The speed of post-war reconstruction and of the development of the national economy, a speed achieved by the Soviet Union without foreign assistance, bears witness once more to the superiority of the Socialist system of economy over the capitalist system.

8) Important successes in the improvement of the workers' economic situation and in the defence of their social rights have been won by the trade unions of the Popular Democracies which have started along the path of Socialist development. These successes are expressed in the achievement of the principle of equal pay for equal work, in the introduction and development of progressive labour legislation and State social insurance, in the abolition of unemployment, and in the raising of the workers' real wages and living standards.

9) The decisions of the London Conference and of the Paris World Trade Union Congress fixed the tasks of National Trade Union Centres of all countries in the sphere of their activity for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers.

The Congress calls the National Trade Union Centres and the trade unions in all countries to a decisive struggle for the application of these decisions, and against the attempts of the employers and capitalist governments to make the working class bear the whole brunt of the approaching economic crisis.

The 2nd World Congress considers that the essential weapon in the struggle to improve the economic and social conditions of the workers against the growing offensive of capital is the reinforcement of working class trade union unity and the consolidation of the WFTU.

The Congress calls on the trade unions to fight for the economic independence of their countries and for the safeguarding and development of their national industries—the sole means for the effective solution of the post-war economic break-down and for the raising of the standard of living of the masses of the people; furthermore, it appeals to them to fight for the reduction of military budgets.

The trade unions must fight for the economic independence of the colonial and dependent countries, against forced slave labour in the capitalist and colonial countries and against discrimination amongst workers on the grounds of age, sex, race or nationality.

It is necessary for trade unions to wage a struggle to repeal anti-labour laws and to obtain the adoption of progressive social legislation providing for the reduction of the working day, the introduction of unemployment benefits and the establishment of social insurance paid for by the government and the employers as well as for free medical care and holidays with pay. They must also carry on a fight for

stability of employment, against wage freezing and wage reductions, and for an increase in the real value of wages.

10) The Congress instructs the Executive Bureau of the WFTU to diffuse widely the programme for the economic and social interests of the workers adopted by the World Trade Union Conference of London and by the World Trade Union Congress of Paris, taking into account the economic and social changes and the experience of struggle which the working class has meanwhile gained.

11) The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the WFTU to create an international solidarity fund for the workers and for assistance to trade union organisations, made up of voluntary payments from trade union organisations, trade union members and from persons and organisations supporting the working class in the struggle for its vital interests.

The resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). I now call on comrade Thornton, Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee.

E. THORNTON (*Australia*). It is late, and there are still three Commission reports which have not been read to Congress: the report on the trade union movement in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia, the report of the Commission on Migration, and the general report of the Standing Orders Committee, which has certain recommendations to make.

I propose that these three reports be passed to the Executive Bureau to be voted on and published.

It is also the duty of a Congress to fix the date and place of the next Congress. Experience shows that is somewhat difficult to fix the place for the next Congress very far ahead. Our Chinese comrades, in particular, will agree with us over this. I therefore propose that the solution of this question be left to the General Council of the WFTU. Those are the proposals I have to make.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Do any delegates wish to comment on Comrade Thornton's proposals?

Comrade Thornton's proposals were put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN (*G. Di Vittorio*). Comrades, we have arrived at the end of our labours. I thank you for the warm and fraternal way in which you greeted the announcement of my election to the Presidency of the Executive Committee of the WFTU. I thank you most particularly in the name of the Italian proletariat and of our great Italian General Confederation of Labour, to which I undoubtedly owe the honour done to me.

As far as I am personally concerned, I have no inflated notion of my powers. I am just an ordinary militant, but I can assert to all the workers who are affiliated to the WFTU that my devotion and

spirit of sacrifice to our common cause will never falter. I will do everything in my power to serve the WFTU, in close collaboration with all the comrades of the leading bodies of our great Federation. But if the powers of the President are no more than human, the leadership of our WFTU as a whole will always be up to the level of its noble mission.

We have worked hard and well, and our Congress has fulfilled all *our hopes*. *The results will not fail to have positive repercussions for all the workers of the world, both those of the capitalist countries and those of the colonial and dependent countries. Our Congress has shown the invincible strength of our WFTU, since the enemies of our Federation, the splitters, have used powerful weapons to prevent this Congress from being held and to discredit it, but without success. You cannot break a working-class movement as powerful as ours, and our WFTU will never be destroyed by anyone, under any conditions. (Applause.)*

Our Congress has very seriously analysed the present world situation : it has examined the conditions under which the workers of the different countries are fighting.

Our prospects for the future are clear, and in the resolutions we have just passed we have laid down the general lines our trade union activity must take.

Through the diffusion of the documents of our Congress (reports and speeches from the platform, resolutions, etc.) the workers of the whole world will know the guiding lines necessary for our daily struggle, the struggle for the defence of the immediate economic demands of the workers in each country and each locality, the struggle for the defence of the workers' daily bread, the struggle for the raising of the workers' living standards, and another, closely linked to the struggle for the defence of trade union rights. I mean the struggle for the defence of democratic liberties, for the defence of peace, and for the supreme good of mankind. Today more than ever peace is threatened by the enemies of all the peoples, by the war-mongers and the war-profiteers, by the great Anglo-American imperialists.

Our WFTU has taken the steps needed to strengthen and widen its influence by setting up the International Trade Departments : today it is in better trim, it possesses new weapons thanks to which it and its national organisations will have more ways to organise, lead and develop the struggle of the workers for better social and cultural conditions. We must fight against reaction and imperialism, for they have powerful resources to create the material conditions for unleashing a new World War.

Throughout this Congress, our Federation has solemnly reaffirmed its fidelity to the principles of trade union unity on the national and on the international level. It is its pride and honour to fight against all discrimination between the workers, which always weakens the front of the world proletariat.

Our WFTU, as we have often said, will always open its doors to all workers without discrimination of race, nationality, religion, or political or philosophical opinion.

Our WFTU is the only organisation capable of achieving complete unity of all the workers of the world. *(Applause.)*

Comrades, today, after its Congress, our WFTU is stronger than ever before. The international proletariat is more powerful and its forces are ever on the increase. In the Soviet Union and in the Popular Democracies economic development is making great strides and there is a constant improvement in the living conditions of the workers, who have before them too the opportunity of raising their cultural standards. (*Applause.*)

All the conditions have therefore been achieved for our progress, and we must march fearlessly, for our cause is just and humane and we are passionately determined to defend progress and social justice, and to work for the liberation of humanity. (*Applause.*)

We are fully conscious of our strength, but we are also aware of our limitations and we must not lose our sense of proportion. We shall know how to utilise to the full the power of the international proletariat to bring to a halt the greatest of criminals, the war mongers, those reactionaries who have only one target: to plunge the human race again into the abyss and to bring about a fascist reign of terror.

This powerful force of the international proletariat represented by the WFTU says to the brigands, to the fascists and to the war mongers of the world: No!

Fascism must never again be allowed to spring up in the world. We say No to the surrender of the world, and Yes to its well-being, to social justice, to democracy, to liberty, to the progress of all humanity. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, with the prospects presented by the present situation, we know that our struggle will not be won without great sacrifices, but the proletariat of all countries knows by experience that reaction, fascism and war demand many more sacrifices than our struggle could call for.

The imperialists, the war mongers, must reckon with all the power represented by our World Federation of Trade Unions. They must know that they are not the masters, for the workers of all the capitalist colonial or semi-colonial countries, together with their freed brothers of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, make up a force which cannot be defeated. (*Applause.*)

These lords of war and of death must know that the proletarian army will fight if necessary courageously and heroically for the triumph of liberty and of justice.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD. (*Congress rises and applauds enthusiastically.*)

LONG LIVE THE POWER AND THE STRENGTH OF THE WFTU.

Comrades, the second Congress of the WFTU is closed. We wish all the comrades bon voyage, and we hope that they will have happy memories of Milan and of Italy. We hope we will all meet again at the third Congress of the WFTU with many more important victories to our credit.

The delegates applauded enthusiastically and sang the International.

The Congress was declared closed.

APPENDIX

Reports, Protests, Resolutions

REPORTS

ITEM 8 OF THE AGENDA

ACTION OF THE WFTU AND THE AFFILIATED NATIONAL CENTRES FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

Report of B. FRACHON (*France*)

On October 3rd 1945, the general principles on the basis of which the World Federation of Trade Unions is established were approved by the World Trade Union Conference and formed the preamble to the Constitution.

As regards the economic and social rights of the workers, it was indicated that the prime objectives of the World Federation of Trade Unions was to organise the common struggle of trade unions of all countries :—

“ Against all encroachment on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties;

“ For the satisfaction of the need of the workers for security of full employment;

“ For the progressive improvement of wages, hours and working and living conditions of the workers;

“ For full and adequate social security to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accident and old age;

“ For the adoption of all other measures furthering the social and economic well-being of the workers.”

Nearly four years have passed since the adoption of these principles by the tens of millions of workers of the world. Reaction, which was forced to retreat immediately after the end of the 2nd world war, has raised its head again and regrouped its forces. Capitalist profits

and superprofits are unceasingly increasing while Governments are opposing the attempts of the workers to achieve the objectives inscribed in the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions or to preserve the advantages they have won.

While there was unanimity on the principle of guaranteeing "full employment" to the worker, the rapid development of unemployment is threatening the security of the workers.

In all the countries in which reaction has strengthened its power, partial and total unemployment is increasing at a rapid rate. In the United States, the number of registered unemployed reached 3,200,000 persons on March 1st 1949. The number of workers employed for less than 14 hours per week reached 2,200,000. In short, it can be estimated that on March 1st 1949, there were a minimum of 6,500,000 unemployed in the United States, being more than 10 % of the total labour force.

In Britain, there were 412,900 registered unemployed in January 1949, being an increase of more than 34 % in 6 months.

In France, the trade union organisations estimate that there are more than 200,000 out of work at the present time.

In Italy, the official figures indicate 2,200,000 unemployed; in fact, the real number of workless is at least 3,000,000.

In Belgium there are nearly 300,000 unemployed, in the Netherlands, 80,000, etc.

In 1945, the trade unions succeeded in obtaining improvements in wages and salaries, and in the working conditions of the workers.

However, the rise in prices—the rise in industrial prices in particular—alongside the introduction of wage-freezing caused a rapid deterioration in the situation of the workers. It is they who, to a large extent, have borne the costs of inflation.

Since 1945, the purchasing power of nominal wages has declined by 16 % in the United States, by 12 % in Great Britain, by 25 % in France. Moreover, the wage and price indices are far from expressing the true decline in the purchasing power of wages.

Indeed, disquieting signs of general fall in wages are manifesting themselves. A few weeks ago General Motors reduced the hourly wage by 2 cents. Moreover, the existence of a large number of workless creates a grave threat to the general level of wages. The length of the working day has been increased and work has been speeded up without the workers profiting from their productive efforts.

During the same period of time, at first as a result of the voluntary effort of the workers in the devastated countries, then by the intensification of capitalist methods of exploitation, production increased by 25 % in Great Britain, by 120 % in France, by 280 % in Belgium, by 225 % in Holland, etc.

The workers have fought courageously to safeguard their living conditions. In the United States, the official figures of strikes indicate a rise of 150 % in the average for the 4 post-war years in relation to the 1935-1939 average.

In Great Britain, hundreds of thousands of workers have taken part in strikes for the improvement of their living conditions since the end of the war. During the two first months of 1949, there were more workers on strike than during one entire pre-war year.

In France, the great strikes of November 1947 covered nearly 3 million workers. In October 1948, all the French miners took part in a strike in support of their demands, lasting 8 weeks. Thousands of other strikes of a smaller extent occurred in that country.

However, the enemies of the working class have endeavoured to isolate the workers and cause divisions in their ranks.

Reaction has attempted to assail the trade union organisations by organising splits first in the National Centre—particularly within the French and Italian General Confederations of Labour—then in the World Federation of Trade Unions itself.

In addition, reaction has attempted to restrict trade union activity by attacking economic and social rights and democratic liberties.

In the United States, the Taft-Hartley Law, which is still in force, claims arbitrarily to limit the right to strike and the reasons for striking. The right to collective agreements is withdrawn from certain workers, while it allows the employers to carry out arbitrary prosecutions of the trade union organisations. In France, the Government's attempt to obtain the adoption of criminal anti-worker laws failed in face of the will of the democratic forces assembled by the General Confederation of Labour in a National Committee for the Defence of Trade Union and Democratic Liberties. However, in this country, in spite of the right to strike and trade union liberty inscribed in the Constitution, the Government employs the police and army against the majority of strikes.

We are far from the application of the declarations made by the capitalist governments during the war against fascism, as well as the promises contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

The following are some of these declarations and promises :—

St. James Palace Declaration

On June 12th 1941, representatives of Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa and those of the exiled Governments of Greece, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia as well as the representative of General de Gaulle in the name of Free France met at St. James Palace where they signed a declaration, containing the following passage :—

“ The only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, *all may* enjoy economic and social security; ”

The Atlantic Charter (14th August 1941)

ARTICLE 6

“ ...after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all lands *may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.* ”

ARTICLE 5

"...they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security. "

The United Nations Charter (26th June 1945)

" We the peoples of the United Nations,

" DETERMINED :—

" to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women...

" to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

" AND FOR THESE ENDS

" ...to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

CHAPTER IX—*Article 55*

" With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote :—

" a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

" b. solutions of international economic, social health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

" c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. "

One thing is clear : the forces of capitalism always try to shift their difficulties on to the backs of the working class.

Even in periods of crisis or war, they seek to maintain and increase their profits by aggravating the situation of the working masses; by imposing more severe working conditions on them; and by reducing their liberties.

The only brake on the appetite of the monopolists remains that of the unity of the working class for the defence and extension of its social and economic rights.

This is the aim which the WFTU gave itself at the time of its constitution.

The opponents of the WFTU, those who have endeavoured to complicate its task and to paralyse its initiative before provoking the split in its ranks, are attempting today to demonstrate that it has not fulfilled its mission of the defence of the social and economic interests of the workers.

Without any doubt, the WFTU can and must improve its activity. But in spite of all the obstacles placed in the way of the implementation of the decisions of the 1945 Congress, the WFTU has played a far from negligible role in the energetic struggle which the workers and the trade unions have carried on in the capitalist countries against the demands of the capitalists.

It has been and remains an element of confidence, and a stimulus for the proletarian forces.

It has begun to ensure effective international support for national organisations engaged in hard battles.

Its interventions at the Economic and Social Council have put the working masses on the alert and have served to reveal the demagogues and talkers who conceal their hostility to social progress behind hollow and lying phrases.

By drawing lessons from our experience, we must correct its mistakes, strengthen its action, and make its interventions more effective in the direction laid down by its Constitution and the decisions of its first Congress.

THE SITUATION IN THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

1. United States

Since 1945 the workers of the capitalist countries have undergone a constant decrease in their standard of living.

All official statistics on the purchasing power of wages show the growing poverty of the workers.

We shall see in detail just what meaning must be attributed to the official statistics of any given capitalist countries. But we know that the fate of the workers cannot be settled by statistics. The latter are always subject to caution because they are based on averages (like, for instance, the calculation of the income "per head" of wage earners) and often include gross errors of interpretation concerning the cost of living and wages.

What must be studied to appreciate the standard of living of the workers of a country are the *real quantity and quality* of consumption goods which they can effectively acquire for themselves and their families with their wages.

For this reason, all investigations carried out by governmental authorities into consumption budgets have no real value. For the most part, budget investigations are carried out among the workers who have the highest wages, and these are treated as an "average." The consumption of the unemployed is passed over in silence.

It is therefore necessary to refer to the real living conditions of the workers to appreciate the true standard of living in capitalist countries.

This is all the more important in the United States, because the situation of the workers in this country is often put forward as the best in the world, and the economic and social achievements of the American multi-millionaires on behalf of the workers are held up as models to the workers of other countries.

In fact, the preparation of a 3rd world war by the American imperialists leads to a marked deterioration of the living conditions of the workers.

As an example we may point out that in 1939, the proportion of taxes for incomes less than 5,000 dollars a year was 10 % ; in 1948 it was 54 %.

The trend of military expenditure

PERIODS	DIRECT MILITARY EXPENDITURE
1947-48.....	10,098
1948-49.....	12,841
1949-50.....	15,909

Taking the rapid growth of military expenditure into account, it is not surprising that official statistics themselves show a fall in the purchasing power of wages in the region of 16 % between the 1st of January 1945 and the 1st of January 1948. It is, however, well-known that the official figure, obtained on the basis of the retail price index and the index of nominal hourly wages, is far from showing the real trend of the purchasing power of the United States workers.

The trend of nominal wages in the United States and of the cost of living (according to official statistics)

YEARS	COST OF LIVING INDEX	INDEX OF NOMINAL WAGES	DECREASE IN THE NOMINAL PURCHASING POWERS OF WAGES
1945	100	100	—
1946	107	90	16 %
1947	124	103	17 %
1948	133	115	16 %

Source : *Survey of Current Business Department of Labour.*

In reality the rise in the cost of living is much greater than the above indices show.

Moreover, if one takes into account the index of the prices of foodstuffs and clothes, one immediately gets a better estimate of the real growth of the expenditure side of a worker's budget.

YEARS	GENERAL COST OF LIVING INDEX	INDEX OF FOOD PRICES	INDEX OF THE PRICES OF CLOTHING
1939	100	100	100
1945	128	147	146
1946	139	167	161
1947	159	203	186
1948	171	221	198

As far as real rises in wages are concerned, it is impossible to determine them exactly.

What does appear clear is the great inequality of wages between different professional qualifications and different branches of the economy.

Official statistics must therefore be viewed critically and no final lesson must be drawn from them.

Average weekly wages in certain activities (in dollars)

YEARS	GENERAL AVERAGE	MINES	BUILDING	LIGHT INDUSTRY	RETAIL TRADE	HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS
1939...	23.86	26.88	30.39	21.78	21.17	15.25
1945...	44.39	52.25	53.73	38.29	28.31	24.53
1946...	43.74	58.03	56.24	41.02	32.55	26.95
1947...	49.25	66.86	63.30	45.87	36.67	29.65
1948...	53.12	72.09	69.57	49.33	40.26	31.77

The trend of employment in the United States (in thousands)

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	ARMY	TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVILIAN WORKERS	IN AGRICULTURE	IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES	MISCELLANEOUS	UNEMPLOYED
1939..	55,600	370	55,230	9,610	10,078	26,062	9,480
1945..	65,140	11,280	53,860	8,580	15,302	28,938	1,040
1946..	60,820	3,300	57,520	8,320	14,515	32,415	2,270
1947..	61,610	1,440	60,170	8,260	15,901	33,869	2,140
1948..	62,748	1,307	61,442	7,973	16,282	35,123	2,064

Source : Department of Labour and Department of Commerce.

If the over-all situation of the workers had improved in 1945 by comparison with before the war, it was solely as a result of the number of unemployed. War orders and the considerable growth of the number of people in the army permitted the "employment" of a large number of workers.

Since 1945 unemployment has once more become widespread, reducing millions of American workers to poverty. One must not, moreover, pay any heed to the official figure for unemployed, as this only includes those workers who are registered as having lost their jobs. Young people who have not yet found work, those who, having lost one job, expect to find another in the near future, seasonal and itinerant workers and workers partly unemployed do not appear in the official statistics.

In this way only a small number of unemployed receive 2/5 of the average wage (the rate of unemployment allowance). One must therefore correct the total unemployment figures to gain a general picture of the state of employment in the United States.

The real trend of unemployment in the United States

NOMENCLATURE	1946	1947	1948	1st MARCH 1949
Unemployed workers..	760,000	760,000	770,000	1,100,000
Workers employed :				
a) from 1 to 14 hours	1,207,000	1,407,000	1,810,000	2,200,000
b) " 15 " 34 "	4,203,000	4,627,000		
c) more than 34 "	39,462,000	41,538,000		
Total registered unemployed	2,270,000	2,142,000	2,064,000	3,200,000
Real unemployed (estimated)	4,237,000	4,309,000	4,644,000	6,500,000

One can count as wholly unemployed those workers who are employed less than 14 hours, taking into account the important number of workers partially employed for more than 15 hours a week who are then counted as "fully employed" in the estimate.

Since 1945 the economic situation of the workers has thus considerably deteriorated.

While prices continue to rise, the workers have, up till the present, fought in vain to obtain a decent minimum wage. The Trade Unions, as early as 1945, had demanded a minimum living wage of 65 cents an hour.

On the 5th April 1946, the American Senate did indeed vote a bill fixing the minimum living wage at 65 cents, but the bill was shelved in the House of Representatives. At the same time, on the 1st January, Truman's administration reduced the tax on the super-

profits of companies from 85 1/2 % to 38 %, which had the effect of considerably increasing net capitalist profits while throwing the weight of taxation on the workers. Thus in 1939, persons with incomes lower than 5,000 dollars a year paid 10 % of all income tax; in 1946 they paid 56 %.

The minimum living wage of 40 cents, in force in 1945, only applied to certain branches such as the seamen, food workers, retail shop employees, department stores and others.

On the 8th March 1949, when the CIO, following the rise in the cost of living since 1945, was demanding a minimum living wage of 1 dollar an hour, the Labour Commission of the House of Representatives was still at the point of adopting (by 13 votes to 12) a bill raising the "vital minimum" hourly wage from 40 to 75 cents.

What does an hourly wage of 75 cents represent, even supposing it was respected by the employers ?

Taking the average hours of work at the present time into account, this rate of 75 cents represents a yearly wage of 1,500 dollars *after taxation is deducted*.

In April 1946, the Minister of Labour of the United States declared that the minimum needs of a family of three persons represented about 1,950 dollars. Taking into account the rise in the cost of living during this period (say about 30 %), a wage of more than 2,500 dollars is therefore necessary as a minimum to maintain a family of 3 persons.

According to the journal "Monthly Labor Review" which supplies the Government's official statistics, the estimated expenditure for a working class family budget in 34 of the largest towns of the country was published by the bureau of Labour Statistics at the *end of 1947*. The budget represents the cost of upkeep of a family of four persons. The total estimates of this budget in June 1947 were 3,458 dollars in Washington, the most expensive town of those which were studied, and 3,004 dollars for the least expensive of the 34 towns. In November 1947, the average annual wage of factory workers amounted to 2,652 dollars.

It would be completely mistaken to think that the minimum wage of 75 cents an hour is a basic level above which all wages are graded. A large number of workers do not reach this rate of remuneration. In a speech made on the occasion of Labour Day, the 6th September 1946, Philip Murray, President of the CIO declared :—

" In dollars and cents your average weekly wages have gone from 47.12 dollars in April 1945 to 43.10 dollars in June 1946, that is to say a loss of 4.02 dollars. Add to this reduction in earnings the rise in the cost of living and we shall see that factory workers have put up with a decrease of 18 % in their real pay in less than a year. "

On the 17th December 1947, the "New York Herald Tribune" published a statement by Emil Rieve, President of the Garment Workers Federation :—

" At the present time, the average wage of the worker in manufacturing industries amounts to 1.25 dollars an hour. But given present

day prices, in order that the worker should be able to satisfy the needs of his family, he must earn from 1.55 to 1.75 dollars an hour and work 40 hours a week for 50 weeks. It is perfectly clear that millions of fathers of families earn much less. Their hourly wage is well below the average. "

A recent report of the "Federal Reserve Bank " points out that 47 % of American families have an income lower than 2,000 dollars per year.

In 1945, it was calculated that 30 % of American households had made no savings, 20 % had saved 3 % of the total amount. According to a Governmental study made in 1946, half of the total number of families in the Nation possesses less than 4 % of the 415 milliards of dollars which represent total savings.

All investigations into the real situation of the workers show that we are in the presence of a speeding-up of the process of absolute and relative impoverishment of the working class in the United States.

In 1948 alone, rises in wages were from 25 to 50 % lower than rises in the cost of living. The Federation of Office Workers, affiliated to the CIO pointed out in a document dating from the beginning of 1948, that the average woman office worker, had to work for 1 hour 19 minutes more than in 1939 to buy a pair of stockings. An insurance agent must work 1 hour 18 minutes more than in 1939 to buy a pair of shoes.

The workers now see opening before them a period during which the employers are going to throw onto their shoulders the weight of the economic crisis which is advancing with rapid strides in the United States.

Already in February 1949, the management of "General Motors " decreed wage reductions for 341,000 workers, comprising 273,000 manual workers and 68,000 employees. Wages were reduced by 2 cents per hour. This reduction was carried out with the agreement of the right wing leaders of the Automobile Workers Federation affiliated to the CIO.

There is no doubt that the employers will try to extend these wage-cuts in proportion as the economic crisis hits high monopoly price levels.

Moreover the "staircase " (sliding scale) clause introduced by Walter Reuther, President of the Automobile Workers Federation in his negotiations with the employers in 1948, leads automatically to a fall in wages if the official cost of living index falls.

The sudden fall in the prices of agricultural products, in so far as it has repercussions on the final stage of retail trade will thus lead to the impoverishment both of the American workers and of the American farmers for the sake of greater profits for the monopolists.

Under these conditions, while production had more than doubled in comparison with 1939 and was 80 % higher than that of 1937, capitalist profits rose uninterruptedly after the end of hostilities.

The trends of production and employment

YEAR	TOTAL INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION	MANUFACTURING PRODUCTION	NUMBER OF WORKERS IN MANUFACTURING	HOURS OF WORK
1939...	100	100	100	100
1940...	114	115	107	101
1941...	148	154	128	107
1942...	182	195	159	114
1943...	219	236	172	119
1944...	215	234	169	120
1945...	185	197	151	115
1946...	156	162	144	107
1947...	171	178	157	107
1948...	176	181	161	106

As a result of the rise in production and the increase in the productivity and intensity of labour, the monopolies have been able to make high and ever-growing profits.

The relative productivity of labour (base 100 : 1939, USA)

YEAR	UNITED STATES	GREAT BRITAIN	FRANCE
1939	100	70	50
1945	200	105	25

Source : *Conjoncture étrangère*, October 1945.

Thus profits after taxation, which rose to 8 milliard dollars in 1929 and to 5 milliard dollars in 1939, rose in 1944 to 10 milliard dollars, in 1946 to 12 and a half milliard dollars, in 1947 to 17 and a half milliard dollars and in 1948 to 21 and a half milliard dollars.

From August 1945 to August 1947 the rise in monopoly prices amounted to a total of 33 milliard dollars whereas the bulk of wages only rose by 5 billion dollars.

As the Trade Unions have pointed out since 1945, such instability can only bring about economic catastrophe.

YEAR	TOTAL INCOME	WAGE-EARNERS	CAPITALISTS
1945	100	100	100
1946	104	95	117
1947	114	105	130
1948	124	113	143

Source : *Department of Commerce*.

The situation of the workers is all the more difficult in that no serious social security legislation has been set up.

The act of 1936 is still in force. Legislation only covers unemployment and old-age insurance. It is not of a compulsory nature.

The Trade Unions carry on a struggle for the extension of legislation on social security (sickness, accidents at work, etc.) To some extent the presidential campaign of Truman was conducted under the sign of the extension of social security.

In order to fill in these gaps, the Trade Unions have been obliged to set up a system of limited insurance against risks, which has, however, only a restricted scope.

In these conditions of a falling standard of living—without any compensations—the American workers have carried out great strikes since the end of the war for the improvement of their living conditions. The extent of these strikes far exceeds the extent of those before the 2nd world war. These strikes are the result of the development of the working class movement.

The trend of strikes in the United States (official statistics)

	NUMBER OF STRIKES	NUMBER OF WORKERS	MAN-DAYS LOST	% IN COMPARISON WITH THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS
(1935 Avge) 1939	2,862	1,130,000	16,900,000	0.27
1945	4,750	3,470,000	38,000,000	0.47
1946	4,985	4,600,000	116,000,000	1.43
1947	3,693	2,170,000	34,600,000	0.41
1948	3,280	1,932,700	33,950,000	0.38

Source : *Monthly Labour Rev*

It is because of these great working class movements that the American milliardaires had the anti-Trade Union Taft-Hartley Act passed in 1947. This ultra-reactionary act attacks Trade Union rights. In the first place, it imposes arbitrary restrictions on the right to strike, since it sets up a state of affairs where 80 days notice must be given of any intended strike and entirely forbids civil servants to use this right; it also seriously restricts the grounds for striking.

In addition, this act restricts the field of application of the collective agreements in the field of trade union activity (the Trade Union's rights towards the enterprise) and withdraws the right to contracts from certain categories of workers (supervisors, foremen, agricultural workers, etc.).

Finally, the act permits direct intervention by the administration in the running of the Trade Unions. In particular it allows employers to prosecute the Trade Unions whenever the latter may infringe the law.

It obliges the Trade Unions to submit an annual declaration of its finances, not to carry out collections (« for political ends ») nor to set up Trade Union assistance funds without the agreement of the employer.

Throughout the United States the fight goes on for the abolition of this anti-working-class act. President Truman had hinted, during the electoral campaign, that he would demand its suspension.

This electoral promise has remained until the present a dead letter and the workers of the United States are once more experiencing the vanity of the promises made by capitalist governments unless they are forced to keep them by the action of the organised working class.

Since the beginning of the year 1949, strikes, far from diminishing, have, on the contrary, increased. Hundreds of strike movements have been started. Two great strikes were carried out for wage-increases :—

- a ten days strike of the 11,000 transport workers of Philadelphia in February.
- a 15 days strike of 471,000 miners for better security in the mines.

The attacks which the Government is preparing to launch against the workers' standard of living lead inevitably to a sharpening of the working class struggle.

In the budget presented by President Truman to Congress one notes for every dollar of taxes paid :—

- 50 cents devoted to “ National Defence ”,
- 13 cents to the combattants of the two last wars,
- 13 cents for the interest on the national debt resulting from the last two world wars,
- 18 cents for government administration,
- only 6 cents are destined for social expenditure.

Who is going to bear the burden of the enormous supertaxation necessary to balance this budget of which 50 % is devoted to military expenditures and 26 % to paying for the two world wars ?

Leading circles in American Finance make no secret of it. Thus the “ Wall Street Journal ”, commenting on this budget declared :—

“ It is clear that new taxes are in prospect and that it is the small and medium incomes which will bear the largest part of them.”

The decrease in the purchasing power of the mass of the consumers which will be aggravated by all this policy of war-preparation, will precipitate the economic crisis now maturing in the United States.

According to the leaders of the CIO, P. Murray and J. Carey, the

Marshall Plan would save the workers from this economic crisis.

Murray thus declared that the American workers should support this Plan, in "the hope that it will help us to safeguard our own form of democracy, our way of life and our security".

Millions of workers do not share this point of view. Numerous Trade Unionists have spoken out in the United States and in other countries against this conception of the Marshall Plan. Workers Centres, such as the French and Italian CGTs, do not see in this programme of aid the possibility of raising the standard of living of the European workers whilst raising or maintaining the standard of life of the American worker.

Apart from the narrow circles of Trade Union leaders who have broken with the defence of the interests of the working class and who support the reactionary policies of their respective countries, not a single worker of the countries which are undergoing the Marshall Plan can consider that he has experienced its beneficial effects.

Its character as a plan for the domination of the American capitalists stands out more clearly every day, by the unemployment which it develops in eliminating certain national industries which compete with American industry. On the other hand, the political clauses, submitting the policies of the governments to American policies show themselves in : a monstrous increase in war expenditure; a reinforcement of reactionary anti-working class policies.

The American workers on whom has been imposed the burden of fresh taxes for the Marshall Plan on the pretext of helping the peoples of Western Europe are simply swindled. Their sacrifice is of no benefit whatsoever to the masses of the people.

It helps on the contrary to enslave them. It is the big capitalists of their country and some of those in the aided countries who benefit from the operation.

2. Great Britain

The purchasing power of the nominal wage has fallen since 1944 as the official statistics themselves prove :—

YEAR	INDEX OF NOMINAL WAGES	GENERAL COST OF LIVING INDEX	INDEX OF FOOD PRICES	INDEX OF CLOTHING PRICES	INDEX OF PRICES OF HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES
1938....	100	100	100	100	100
1945....	149	153	—	—	—
1947....	166	168	153	175-194	200-231
1948....	177	184	168	196-217	216-249

Sources : *Labour Research Dept., Bulletin of the United Nations*

The average general cost of living index does not sufficiently take into account the considerable increase in the price of articles of clothing and articles necessary to everyday life.

If the index of foodstuff prices (168) is lower than the average index (184) this is the result of the subsidies granted by the Government for certain foodstuffs.

The policy of subsidies, practiced by the British Government, certainly keeps the cost of living lower than it should normally be.

These subsidies, however, are largely borne by the workers in the form of indirect taxes. In 1946 and 1949 indirect taxation rose by 6 pounds per head per year, that is to say by 11 shillings and six pence per week for a family of 5 persons.

The yearly amount of taxes for a family of 5 persons in £ sterling

YEAR	DIRECT TAXES	INDIRECT TAXES
1946-47	40	24
1947-48.....	37	28
1949	39	30

All these indices do not take into account black market prices which are all the higher for the strict rationing system. Moreover the quality of goods continually deteriorates.

The development of rationing in Great Britain since 1944 shows the constant fall in the standard of living of the British workers.

In 1945, the calory-content of the daily ration fell by 6 % in comparison with 1944. In 1946 and 1947, rationing was extended to a large range of goods. The "Economist" itself recognised in November 1947 : " clearly no-one, not even the Food Minister, believes that the figures for calory-content represent the real fall in consumption. With the new decrease in the rations the quantity of food consumed will be 4/5 of the 1938 level. "

Finally, in 1948, the consumption of foodstuffs fell by about 6 % in comparison with 1947.

Different studies have been carried out on the notion of the vital minimum. The Oxford Bureau of Statistics, in November 1948, calculated that the minimum expenditure on foodstuffs for 5 persons (father, mother and three children of school age) in order to maintain the individual in good health, was more than 45 shillings a week. It is generally estimated that the figure of 50 shillings is nearer the mark. As, in addition, the Minister of Labour estimates that expenditure on food represents 35 to 40 % of the total expen*

diture, it can be seen that the latter amounts to 125 shillings per week. By adding different contributions one arrives at a weekly expenditure of 130 shillings or thereabouts. This is obviously only a rough estimate of minimum needs and of the cost of living. Many necessities are omitted. The following is table of the theoretical vital minimum for a family of 5 persons :-

	Pounds			REMARKS
Food	2	10	0	No butter or fruit.
Rent		13	0	
Heating, light		9	0	
Clothing	1	0	0	
Toilet articles		3	0	
Papers and Wireless...		2	0	
Transport		3	0	
Household goods		5	0	
Tobacco		6	8	2 packets of 20 cigarettes.
Beer		2	6	About 3 1/2 pints a week *
	5	14	2	
Insurance		4	10	
Trade Union dues ...		1	0	
	6	0	0	

(*) 2 litres (Transl.).

It should be noted that in London, 10 shillings must be added to this sum for rents and transport charges.

Nevertheless, in spite of the minimum nature of this budget, it is interesting to compare this figure of 6 pounds with wages actually paid.

Average weekly wages for :—

surface workers in the mines is.....	£5
railwaymen is	£4.12.0
labourers in the engineering industry is	£4.12.6

Even if we add to these wages the amount of the family allowances, which come to 10 shillings a week for 3 children we obtain wages lower than 6 pounds.

The report of the Finance Minister in January 1949 shows that, for 19 main industrial groups, average weekly earnings rise to 117 or 118 shillings. These average wages concern all workers, skilled

or unskilled, and include overtime, night and week-end work and bonuses as well as the normal wage rates.

In addition to this, unemployment, which sharply lowers the standard of living of the working-class, has begun to increase to a considerable extent.

MONTH	NUMBER OF REGISTERED UNEMPLOYED	INDEX
July 1948	307,800	100
September 1948	320,800	104.2
December 1948	359,000	116.6
January 1949	412,000	134.1

The distribution of labour power shows that the exploitation of the workers has been seriously intensified. In 1948, for a level of industrial production 24 % above that of 1938, there were only 5 % more workers in the industrial sector.

The Trend of Production. Base 1946=100

YEAR	ALL INDUSTRIES	MINES AND QUARRIES	MANUFACTURE	BUILDING	WATE. GAS, ELECTRICITY
1938.....	104	126	100	143	71
1947.....	108	102	109	111	103
1948..... (2nd quarter)	122	111	124	127	102

Source : Central Statistic Office.

Employment Statistics (In thousands)

	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	ARMY	TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVILIAN WORKERS	AGRICULTURE
June 1939....	20,700	480	18,000	950
June 1945....	22,690	5,090	16,416	1,041
June 1946....	20,565	2,032	17,413	1,078
Dec. 1947....	21,190	1,170	18,400	1,120
Jul. 1948....	21,926	938		1,268

Employment statistics (in thousands) (continued)

	DISTRIBUTION	INDUSTRY	PUBLIC SERVICES	UNEMPLOYED AND DEMOBILISED
June 1939.....	5,112	11,423	1,463	1,270
June 1945.....	3,556	9,830	2,030	143
June 1946	4,054	11,262	2,099	1,076
Dec. 1947.....	4,325	12,025	2,030	500
Jul. 1948.....				282

The steel industry is a particularly typical example of the over-exploitation to which the workers are subjected.

In comparison with 1938, the production of steel had increased by 61 % during the second quarter of 1948, the number of workers in this industry by 25 %, output by 28 % per man per year.

YEAR	PRODUCTION INDEX	WORKERS EMPLOYED (thousands)	OUTPUT PER MAN PER YEAR
1938	100	147,2	100
1945	126	174,8	106
1946	133	172,9	114
1947	138	178,3	114
1948	161	184,5	128
(2nd quarter)			

Sot *Monthly Statistical Bulletin.*

Thus during the war period, the rate of increase in output was 0.85 % per year; since 1945 it is on the average 6.6 % per year.

Is this increase due to the modernisation of equipment? Not at all.

During the same period, investments in the steel industry have been negligible.

Furthermore, this average increase in output of 28 % per worker in 1948 over the 1938 figure does not give a true picture of the facts.

As a result of the bad state of the machinery, the proportion of maintenance personnel rose in the same period from 25 % to 30.1 % and that of office staffs increased by 6.2 % whereas the percentage of productive workers fell from 67.9 % to 61.7 %

In fact it appears that the output of the productive workers has increased not by 28 % (the average increase for all workers in the iron and steel industry) but by 34 %.

What has been the trend of wages? The "Monthly Statistical Bulletin" gives comparative figures for wages and the selling prices of steel from 1938 to 1948 whereby it shows that wages have increased by 107.7 %.

YEAR	INDEX OF WEEKLY WAGES	INDEX OF STEEL PRICES
1938	100	100
1945	169.4	135.7
1946	176.9	150.8
1947	190.3	159.2
1948 (June)	207.7	169.1

Does this mean that the iron and steel workers in Great Britain have gained more from the increase in the intensity of labour than the capitalists?

This is what the steel industrialists would like to make people think by stressing the increase in the prices of raw materials necessary for production, which, since 1948 have increased by 80 %, whereas their prices have only risen by 69.1 %.

Unfortunately for the workers this is by no means the case.

A simple calculation *on the basis of the employers' facts* shows us that capitalist profits have grown by 172 % during the same period (index of production \times index of prices)

100

One must further add to these profits £23 million a year in subsidies generously granted by the Labour Government to the steel magnates.

YEAR	WAGES	PRICE OF RAW MATERIALS	INDEX OF PRODUCTION	INDEX OF STEEL PRICES	INDEX OF CAPITALIST PROFITS
1938	100	100	100	100	100
1948	207.7	180	161	169.1	272

Source : *Labour Research*.

The monopolists take good care not to carry the study of the relation between "wages, prices and profits" to its logical conclusion. They always speak the same language :—

"The figures for wage increases in the steel industry and the prices of steel products show that the increase in productivity has made it possible to raise weekly wages without a corresponding rise in prices. In other words, the profits have been shared by the workers in this industry and the consumers of these products." (Extract from the Bulletin of the Iron and Steel Federation.)

Furthermore, the high wage-index of the workers in the steel industry (207.7) obtained by a real increase in output of 34 % compared with 1938, should be compared with the general cost of living index (184), with that of clothing (210) and that of current consumption goods (230).

This increase in the exploitation of the workers is shown by the development of the Distribution of the National Income.

Profits increase more rapidly than wages and salaries.

(in millions of pounds)

	1945	1946	1947
Profits	2851	2942	3242
Taxes	1162	1100	947
	1689	1842	2295
Wages	2780	3095	3530
Taxes	317	272	269
	2463	2823	3261
Salaries	1530	1630	1720
Taxes	333	302	285
	1197	1328	1435

This table shows the following increases.

	INCREASES FROM 1945 TO 1947	INCREASES FROM 1946 TO 1947
Profits	36 %	24.5 %
Wages	32 %	15.2 %
Salaries	20 %	8 %

The "Economist" points out that for 1387 companies, profits before taxation had risen to 348 millions pounds during the first half of 1948 as against 278 million pounds during the first half of the year 1947, that is to say an increase of 25 %.

During the second half of 1948, 849 companies realised 263 million pounds profits before taxation, as against 206 million pounds during the first half of 1947, that is to say an increase of 27.6 %.

After income tax and profits tax, the net profits rose from 92 to 121 million pounds, that is to say an increase of 31 %.

The "Economic Survey" notes that for the financial year 1947-1948 the mass of wages and salaries had risen by 8 % (whereas the number of workers employed had risen by 3.4 % and production had increased by 10 %) whilst all other incomes (without dist-

ingnishing interest on savings from company profits) had risen by 13 1/2 %.

Such a situation creates profound discontent among the masses of British workers. Their action is hindered by the fact that the leaders of the TUC, closely connected with the Labour Government, support the latter's policy and approve the wage-freeze. Many strikes declared without the authority of the TUC leaders are opposed by the latter as illegal.

Nevertheless, discontent is growing against this policy which subjects the working class to the trial of severe restrictions in the interests of the growth of capitalist profits.

Strikes in Great Britain (official statistics)

YEAR	NUMBER OF WORKERS ON STRIKE
1946.....	131,245
1947.....	318,620
1948.....	184,075
1949 (first 2 months).....	63,140

But it is more interesting to note the grounds on which the workers go on strike than the absolute figures, which are subject to caution.

To take only recent examples, note :—

—a strike of 5,000 workers in the Havilland factories from the 19th January to the 15th February, provoked by the dismissal of a worker who had protested against the reduction of his wages,

—a strike of the Port of London dockers from the 5th to the 11th February 1949, provoked by the dismissal of a docker,

—as a result of the dismissal of one of the office staff, 1,000 out of 1,300 workers went on strike on the 16th February 1949.

—a strike of 6 weeks by the Middlesborough dockers, started on the 23rd February 1949 and not recognized by the union, to fight against new hours of work,

—a miners strike at Coventry on the 22nd February 1949 to protest against a fine of 1 pound imposed on 28 of their comrades,

—the stoppage of work by 200 workers of a London printing shop on the 29th March to protest against the dismissal of one of their comrades for his participation in the counter-demonstration against Mosley's fascist march.

The fighting spirit of the working class comes up against the British Government's efforts to paralyse all opposition. In spite of this, during the month of January 1949, nearly 450,000 wage-earners obtained increases totalling 38,000 pounds a week.

At the 79th Trades Union Congress held at Southport from the 1st to the 5th September 1947, Bevin exhorted the workers to increase production by working harder, in order to avoid privations in the future.

At the 80th Congress, held at Margate, from the 6th to the

10th September 1948. the leaders of the Trade Unions once more praised harder work without putting forward the real problems which preoccupy the workers : the wage-freeze, the continual rise of prices, the high capitalist profits.

This is what led the delegate of the Electrical Trades Union to express what the workers are thinking by remarking :—

“ It is not a matter of knowing how to produce, but in whose interest to produce. If production increases for war purposes, if it is accompanied by increased exploitation of the workers, the latter will not respond to appeals for increased production. ”

The burdens imposed on the working population for the preparation of a new world war. weigh heavily on their standard of living.

In comparison with 1938, while wages have increased on the average by 77 %, military expenses have increased by 220 % rising from 250 million pounds in 1938 to 800 million pounds in the 1948-1949 budget.

Anti-working class policy is expressed by the action taken against militant trade unionists belonging to the Communist Party or suspected of Communist sympathies. This is an attack on trade union rights and on the freedom of opinion of the workers.

Churchill, in a speech in the House of Commons on the 2nd February 1949, expressed to anxiety of reaction by trying to unite the leaders of the political parties and those of the Trade Unions for a policy of discrimination against the Communists :—

“ There is no quarrel between the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, the Conservative Party and even the Trade Unions as far as the need to defend the honesty and moral welfare of British public life is concerned. ”

The anti-communist campaign of certain leaders of the TUC, the splitting manoeuvres which they carry out against the World Federation of Trade Unions serve above all the interests of the bitterest enemies of the working class : the Anglo-American monopolists.

Such a policy of division can only lead to the aggravation of the living conditions of the British workers and disarm them in the face of the sustained offensive of the capitalists against their living conditions.

3. France

The 26th Congress of the General Confederation of Labour of France recorded in April 1946 that the working class was putting up a remarkable effort for the reconstruction of the country.

In one year, in spite of all sorts of difficulties, industrial production had increased by 100 %.

The working class had obtained the passing of bills setting up Works Committees, ensuring or preparing the nationalisation of the mines, of electricity, of gas, of certain banks and of insurance.

The General Confederation of Labour had succeeded in improving the situation of the workers by the increase of wages and salaries.

The 27th Congress of the General Confederation of Labour reviewed the hard battles of these two and a half years.

The French Trade Union Centre, at the head of the working masses, has fought for the defence of the rights of the workers.

It has continually struggled for the defence of liberties and for true democracy without which it is impossible to bring about economic revival and to consolidate the peace.

Reaction, helped by the American multi-millionaires has made every effort to liquidate the working class organisations.

The reactionary leaders and the right-wing socialists of the governments, brandished before the workers the spectre of the famous "vicious spiral" of wages and prices to camouflage the considerable growth of capitalist profits resulting from the policy of pushing up prices. It is well known that according to this pretence of a theory "when wages take the stair, prices take the lift", whence arises the necessity of freezing wages, which, as experience shows, by no means prevents prices from rising.

The real trend of wages and prices eloquently brings out the class character resulting from this policy. According to whether one refers to official figures or the figures of the CGT, one arrives at a fall in the purchasing power of wages in the region of 50 in comparison with 1938.

DATES	GENERAL INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES 34 ITEMS	INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES OF FOOD 29 ITEMS	ALL-OVER INDEX OF THE VITAL MINIMUM CGT	INDEX OF RETAIL PRICES CGT 21 ITEMS	WEIGHTED GENERAL INDEX OF WAGES
1938.....	100	100	100	100	100
January 1945..	308	297			241
July 1945.....	398	377			304
January 1946..	481	480			375
July 1946.....	576	576			468
January 1947..	856	847	1,165	1,375	468
July 1947.....	965	974	1,380	1,650	621
January 1948..	1,414	1,437	1,800	2,200	820
July 1948.....	1,528	1,528	2,150	2,500	820
August 1948...	1,670	1,716	2,240	2,550	875
Sept. 1948....	1,785	1,842			1,000
Oct. 1948.....	1,844	1,904	2,500	2,850	1,000
Nov. 1948....	1,870	1,875			1,000
Dec. 1948.....	1,928	1,924	2,600	2,891	1,000
January 1949..	1,935	1,932			1,000
March 1949...	1,781	1,759			1,000

Until 1946, the organisations of the CGT had managed to put a partial brake on price increases. Indeed one notes that in July 1946, according to official figures, the fall in the purchasing power of wages, as compared with 1938, was only 19 %, whereas industrial production was only 79 % of that of 1938, whilst in 1948 the latter had reached 108 % for a fall in purchasing power of wages in the region of 50 %.

YEAR	INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION	INDEX OF STEEL PRODUCTION
1938	100	100
1945	49	26
1946	79	70
1947	95	92
1948	108	116

This growth of production, moreover, arises chiefly from an increase in output and in the intensity of labour. Indeed, for an increase of 36 % in production between 1946 and 1948 the number of workers employed in manufacturing industries only increased by 12 %.

YEAR	MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY	PUBLIC SERVICES	COMMERCIAL AND LIBERAL PROFESSIONS	TOTAL
1946	3,965,000	680,000	1,637,000	6,282,000
1947	4,383,000	674,000	1,668,000	6,825,000
1948	4,461,000	669,000	1,450,000	6,961,000

In comparison with the years 1938-39, the index of production per man-hour has increased by more than 25 %. Taking war destruction and the weakness of capitalist investment into account, it is obvious that this increase arises from greater exploitation of the working class.

Manufacturing industries

YEAR	AVERAGE HRS OF WORK	INDEX OF HRS OF WORK	INDEX OF PERSONNEL	INDEX OF ACTIVITY
July 1946..	43 h. 9	107.6	94.9	102.1 (b.100 1939)
" 1947..	45 h. 3	111.2	103.6	115.1 (b.100 1939)
" 1948..	45 h. 2	116.0	109.4	126.9 (b.100 1938)

The capitalists have thus combined the effects of economic inflation with the intensification of labour in order enormously to increase their profits.

Whereas wages have only increased 10 times in comparison with 1938, profits have increased 33 times. They have risen from 113 billion francs in 1938 to more than 3,800 billions on the basis of the last quarter of 1948.

(In billions of francs)

	1938	1946	1947	1948 *
Capitalist profits.	113	1,095	1,645	3,823

On the basis of the last quarter of 1948.

This systematic relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class has been moreover accompanied by the pauperisation of all the poorer classes in town and country, as is shown by the trend of the distribution of the National Income.

	1938	1946	1947	1948 *
Wage-earners	45 %	42 %	42 %	36 %
Capitalists	29 %	38.5 %	40 %	47 %
Miscellaneous	26 %	19.5 %	18 %	17 %

* On the basis of the 4th quarter of 1948.

Thus less than 5 % of exploiters drain off nearly half the wealth produced by the whole Nation.

This impoverishment of the working masses is the direct consequence of the application of the Marshall Plan to France, permitting the bourgeoisie to regroup its forces and to increase its profits. The orientation given to the industrial production of France by American policy is a proof of the political and economic enslavement of this country. Basic industries and industries carrying out the primary stages of manufacturing increase their production destined for export, whilst manufacturing industries considerably decrease their activities, allowing American finished products to penetrate the market. Unemployment thus reaches large dimensions in the consumption-goods industries. Tens of thousands of workers are thrown out of work, particularly in the footwear, textile and clothing industries.

Official statistics are far from giving a true picture of the situation. However, they cannot hide the direction of the employment trends.

	NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED ON ASSISTANCE	UNFILLED APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT
December 1947.....	6,841	74,000
December 1948.....	27,496	96,646
March 1949.....	33,384	100,000

In reality, if one takes into account the unemployed workers not registered for assistance and the number of workers employed for less than 40 hours a week, one arrives at a figure of about 200,000.

The Government nevertheless seeks to bring foreign workers to France. For the first eleven months of 1949 more than 50,000 workers are expected to arrive in France, including 11,000 "displaced persons." This is a direct application of the bilateral Franco-American agreement.

The purpose of this is to speedily create a reserve of foreign labour in France, in order to intensify a policy of provocation towards the French working class, to attempt to smash its organisations during strikes and to impose wage cuts, thanks to this immigrant labour without rights. The capitalists intend in this way to continue their policy of intensification of labour.

To the burdens imposed on the working class by the increase of capitalist profits must be added the burden of preparation for the next war and that of the colonial war in Viet-Nam.

The war budget shows a constant rise: more than 500 billions for 1949.

Percentage of military expenditure in the French budget

1925-27	1936	1938	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
16 %	27.3 %	35.7 %	40.7 %	26.4 %	30 %	43.5 %	45 %

The working class opposes this policy which aims at reducing it to the most extreme poverty. Thousands of strikes have been carried out for wage increases. According to official statistics, which are crudely distorted, the number of working days lost went from 386,000 in 1946 to nearly 20 million in 1947 and nearly 12 million in 1948. In June 1947, a total strike of railwaymen completely paralysed the railway system for 6 days. In November 1947, some 3,000,000 workers took part in a strike which lasted 4 weeks. The workers were fighting for an increase of 25 % in wages and the sliding scale for wages. They won an increase of 20 % but were unable to enforce the sliding scale.

In 1948, the biggest strike was that of the miners, which clearly showed the fusion of the monopolies with the State apparatus.

The different phases of this struggle are well-known : the admirable courage and tenacity of the miners for 56 days against the odious campaign of lies and the violence unleashed against them.

Thousands of millions were swallowed up. 6 million tons of coal were lost for this country which has to import more than 15 million tons a year.

In order to overcome the resistance of the miners, the government was obliged to ration the distribution of electrical power to many industries, to reduce the working time in certain industries and to stop others which are heavy consumers of power.

It is clear that the employers could not have afforded to pay this price. It is only the reactionary State which can run to such luxuries. The nationalisation of the mints has in this way facilitated the class policy of the enemy of the working class.

During these years of struggle, the CGT has upheld the basic demands of the working class and taken the lead in its fight for their achievement.

In its struggle against the working class, the French Government, which is entirely submissive to the American capitalists and at the beck and call of the French capitalists, uses more brutal methods of police violence than had ever been seen in the past.

It has set up a numerous and strongly armed special police, composed for the most part of backward elements trained in the hatred of the working class.

During the strikes of November and December 1947, 5 workers were killed by the police forces, hundreds were wounded and hundreds were imprisoned.

During the miner's strike, 3 workers were killed by the police, hundreds were wounded, more than 2.000 were arrested and 1.300 were condemned by the courts to sentences of up to three years imprisonment and 1 million francs fine.

In these strikes and in general in all the more important strikes, the police uses tear gas and tanks.

The Government and the capitalists also make use of the splitters of the working class movement.

The breakaway organisations created in January 1948 Jouhaux and his friends, receive the unreserved support of the Government and the employers, like the breakaway leaders in other countries.

The French Government has given them more than 40 million francs. They receive subsidies from the divisionist leaders, especially those in the United States and Great Britain.

In spite of this powerful support, the splitters have suffered a resounding failure.

Their organisation has not managed to gather more than 300.000 members. It must also not be forgotten that the members of these organisations achieve unity with the CGT in almost all working-class struggles. It is only the leaders, closely bound up with the Government, who support its policy entirely and play the part of strike-breakers.

4. Italy

The economic situation in Italy is disastrous. The anti-working class policy of the Government can only lead to the aggravation of this situation.

It is extremely difficult to have any confidence in the official statistics which are entirely falsified. Did not the Marshall Plan representative in Italy recently indicate that the situation of the workers in Italy is continually improving? It suffices to know that there are in reality 2.5 to 3 million unemployed in the country to understand the wretchedness of the Italian workers.

Although it is very difficult to follow the real development of unemployment, one can state that the demobilised workers have never succeeded in finding full employment.

In 1946, the number of workless was estimated at 2 millions. The following are the official estimates of the number of unemployed and the estimates which one can make according to information gathered from various sources.

	NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED	INDEX
December 1945	1,324,763	100
December 1946	2,098,257	158
December 1947	1,752,818	132
May 1948	2,421,973	182

Source : *Congiuntura Economica*.

In 1946 wages scarcely reached 40 to 50 % of the prewar purchasing power. The official evolution of wages and prices shows, imperfectly however, this sharp decrease in the situation of the workers.

	WAGES	OFFICIAL PRICES	EFFECTIVE PRICES	PRODUCTION
1938	100	100	100	100
May 1947	3,000	5,200	10,160	64
July 1947	3,400	5,800	9,240	73
Jan. 1948	4,500	5,370	7,770	61
July 1948	4,550	5,130	6,290	64

Source : *The Central Institute of Statistics.*
The Italian General Confederation of Industry.

One thing which is certain is that the Italian workers are undernourished and unable to procure the necessary consumption goods, clothes, shoes, etc.

The main campaign of the CGIL has been to give work to the army of unemployed workers by fighting for the initiation of large schemes capable of renewing agricultural and industrial production.

In order to raise the standard of living of the workers, the CGIL has demanded, since 1946, the revision of the sliding scales of wages, won by the workers in 1944 by the equalisation of the high and lowest wages. In addition a struggle was started by the workers for a sufficient ration of bread and macaroni and the abolition of the black market.

Finally the CGIL demanded the annulment of the dismissals carried out since the total liberation of the territory, to prevent reactionary employers from dismissing workers who belonged to the resistance movement and the application of the 40 hour week with overtime payment for hours above 40. The situation of the workers growing more serious, the CGIL called together the 4 governmental parties in December 1946, in order to put forward a ten point memorandum to do away with working class discontent. This memorandum was accepted by the governmental parties. It pointed out :—

1) The absolute necessity to halt the rise of prices and the black market activities and to create for this purpose clothing and food coupons of an effective nature;

2) The suspension of the export of foodstuffs;

3) The establishment of a rationing system and differential prices according to social classes;

4) An increased number of peoples restaurants;

5) The distribution of goods at prices accessible to the workers;

6) The creation of peoples commissions to control the delivery to general stores of the goods delivered to the State by the producers;

7) The absorption of unemployment by a vast programme of public works and the cutting down of the administrative organisation;

8) Intensification of house building for the people by encouraging private initiative;

9) The setting up of vocational schools to improve the qualifications of young people and war veterans;

10) To endow the State with extra resources by instituting a tax on inheritance and other fiscal measures, so that the well-to-do classes should contribute to the revival of the country.

In March 1947, the Administrative Committee of the CGIL observed that the freezing of wages was effective whilst that of prices was fictitious.

The CGIL demanded a sliding scale for wages, a rise in the lowest wages and a progressive revision of all wages.

Between August 1947 and July 1948, 400.000 workers were dismissed. During this same period, the number of workers working

less than 40 hours a week rose from 9 to 26 % for industry as a whole. In some sectors, such as food and textiles, it is as much as 40 %. In this way the slight reduction in the cost of living, arising mainly from the reduction in the price of agricultural products, means above all the impoverishment of large masses of the peasants, without the workers obtaining the slightest benefit in the way of improved living conditions, because of the reduction of hours of work and unemployment.

In addition to this, when the workers struggle against this policy of poverty by resorting to the right to strike, the Government, which supports the employers, sends the police and the army against them.

As in France, reaction tries to break up the Trade Union organisations by the repression of strikes. Taking the great protest strike of the 14th July 1948 as their excuse, the Government tried to deal a decisive blow at the Trade Union movement. For several weeks numerous arrests took place. The CGIL organised the defence of Trade Union freedom and protested against the violation of the Constitution. The CGIL thus remained true to the resolutions adopted by the World Trade Union Congress.

"The Executive Committee of the WFTU greets the Trade Union organisations of ... countries which are struggling heroically for their democratic liberties and for the right of the working class to a decent life."

Reaction, which was obliged to retreat before the censure of public opinion, seeks in every way to suppress democratic freedoms. That is why the Government is studying a bill destined to modify the right to strike on the pretext that the output of the workers is insufficient as a result of the practice of "non-collaboration".

"Non-collaboration" consists for the workers in simply carrying out their day's work normally and opposing methods of super-exploitation by the intensification of labour represented by the Taylor system, without remuneration corresponding to the real productive effort.

To the thousands of strikes which have taken place in the last months, caused by the poverty of the workers, the employers reply more and more frequently by lock-outs.

Certain employers, moreover, no longer fully pay their staff, on the excuse that the reduction of output, due to "non-collaboration", no longer affords them sufficient revenue.

In fact the bankruptcies and trade difficulties are mainly the result of the policy of social reaction followed by the Government which does not allow the free development of Italian economy and the democratisation of the country.

5. The Benelux Countries

In the three countries, whose economies are to be progressively amalgamated by a customs and economic union, the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg), the situation of the workers has not ceased to grow worse since 1945, both because of the decrease of real wages and of the considerable growth of unem-

ployment, although the industrial production of these countries has, on the whole, reached and exceeded that of before the war.

Industrial production

YEAR	BELGIUM	THE NETHERLANDS
1938	100	100
1945	39	45
1946	89	74
1947	106	94
1948	109	102

Trend of the official price indices

YEAR	BELGIUM	THE NETHERLANDS	LUXEMBOURG
1938	100	100	100
1945	390	162	213
1946	333	191	270
1947	339	199	281
1948	389	205	300

Trend of the official indices of wages

YEAR	BELGIUM	THE NETHERLANDS
1938	100	100
1945	250	141
1946	300	163
1947		168
1948		175

Official trend of unemployment

YEAR	BELGIUM No. of unemployed	THE NETHERLANDS No. of unemployed
1938	174,000	303,400
1946	67,200	50,300
1947	67,700	37,100
December 1948	252,000	80,000

The situation of the unemployed is difficult because of the system of supplies, which, by a double system of subsidies and prices, reserves goods of inferior quality for the workers. As, moreover, it is the workers who bear the burden of these subsidies (anti-democratic taxation) which are supposed to improve their lot by maintaining prices at lower levels than would normally be in force, they suffer the consequences of the Government's class policy.

The reduction or abolition of the subsidies makes the condition of the workers worse in these countries, since they have henceforth to put up with the free rise of prices and the super-taxation made necessary by the increase in the war budget.

With growing unemployment, the situation of the workers will become still worse, since the capitalists will try to throw the effects of the economic crisis onto their shoulders.

The Netherland workers suffer especially from the effects of the colonialist policy of the Dutch capitalists in Indonesia. In this country the Government declares that unemployment is unknown in Holland, but one must take into account the fact that tens of thousands of soldiers are in concealed unemployment since, in any case, there would be no work for them if they were demobilised.

6. The Scandinavian Countries

In Norway the situation of the workers has considerably worsened in comparison with what it was before the war. If the cost of living has remained more or less stable since 1945, wages—in spite of production being 25 % above that of 1937—are at a lower level than prices. Nominal wages, those which are inscribed in collective agreements, do not indicate the true situation of the worker's standard of living.

YEAR	COST OF LIVING INDEX	INDEX OF PRODUCTION	INDEX OF NOMINAL WAGES
1937	100	100	100
1945	160	69	
1946	164	100	
1947	165	115	175
1948	164	125	176

In fact *real wages* are, in 1948, only 52 % above those of 1938 which means a reduction of purchasing power of about 10 %. The increase of production has been of no benefit to the workers, but only to the capitalists. Taking these facts into account, the wages of the workers should be raised by at least 25 % to correspond to the situation in 1938-1939, rectified by taking into account the extra effort of work.

In Sweden at the end of 1945, the Trade Union Centre began

its action for an increase of some 10 % in wages to adjust wages to the real cost of living. This action for the revaluation of wages was carried out within the frame work of the renewal of the collective agreements. In April 1946, the increase in wages obtained thanks to the renewal of the collective agreements was in the region of 5 % for men and 6 % for women. However, it is important to point out that it was the lowest wages which were increased the most, so that the wages of skilled workers were hardly increased at all. It is they who have paid for this general increase. It is also necessary to point out the inequalities in the wage increases. Thus, since 1939, the hourly wage of building workers has only risen by 25 %, whereas the hourly wages of industrial workers has been raised by 40 %.

At the end of the year 1946, when collective agreements were renewed concerning more than 500,000 workers, a new agreement was concluded between the worker's and employers' representatives concerning the principle of the sliding scale of wages. It was agreed that if the figures of the cost of living index reached 249 (1935 : 100) before the end of the year, wages should be automatically increased by 5 % from the first of February 1947. If the figure was reached after the end of the year, the increase in wages could not take place before the 1st May 1947.

According to the new collective agreements signed at the beginning of the year 1947, the wage increases were in the region of 18.5 % to 50 % depending on the trades. But one must take into account that it is a question of an increase in the basic wage, and this does, not mean that effective wages have increased to the same extent, since the majority were increased by 5 % on the 1st May 1947, by the application of the sliding scale. In fact, as a whole, the increase in real wages was in the region of 10 % for all trades. Women's wages were increased slightly more than men's.

Thus during the period 1945-1947, the average increase in nominal wages was about 20 %. In fact real wages are only 13 % higher than before the war.

At the beginning of the year 1948, at the time of the renewal of the collective agreements, a small wage increase was granted, in the region of 6 %,— it was made clear that this was an increase in the hourly rate and not in the effective wage.

The Trade Union Centre, has, in fact, abandoned the principle of wage increases, admitting that it was necessary rather to increase the purchasing power of wages by a reduction of prices.

In June 1948, the index figure for the cost of living was 164. This means that, since May 1947, the cost of living had increased by 15 %, without real wages undergoing an increase during this period.

The combativity of the working class was shown in 1945-1946 when labour disputes led to a loss of 46 million working days.

The workers have seen their purchasing power diminished by the growing gap between prices and real wages, and by the considerable increase in taxation.

This decrease in real wages, taken together with the increase of production during this post-war period, has allowed the capitalists to considerably increase their profits.

The "Financial Times" of the 12th January 1949, basing itself on a study of the Director of the Institute for Economic Research points out that the Trade Unions have accepted stabilisation of wages during the coming year by the propagation of collective agreements. Such a stabilisation of wages is a most remarkable success in a boom period in which profits are high and production has reached record levels, says the document.

In Denmark in 1945 the Danish Centre won important advantages as far as the improvement of the purchasing power of the workers was concerned. Nominal wages were increased by 52 % for skilled workers, by 60 % for unskilled workers, and by 67 % for women workers. The cost of living during the corresponding period had risen by 59 % so that real wages had in fact fallen during the period under consideration. The workers fought for a coherent rationing policy and for price control. But in the middle of 1947 rationing was reduced and the conditions of life became worse. In 1947, the level of production was below the 1939 level (109 in May 1947, in place of 116 in May 1939, on the basis of 100 in 1935).

In spite of the state of production, the number of workers was 18 % above that of 1939. Output has considerably fallen as a result of the bad living conditions of the working class and the depreciation of industrial equipment.

The sliding scale for wages was brought in in 1946 on the basis of an increase corresponding to that of the cost of living each time the latter increased by 6 points. This adjustment takes place on the 1st March and the 1st September of each year.

According to official statistics, wages have increased by 82 % since 1939; prices have increased by 70 %, but it is still a question of nominal wages and not of real wages.

YEAR	INDEX OF NOMINAL WAGES	INDEX OF PRICES	INDEX OF REAL WAGES
1939	100	100	100
1946	170	157	108
1947	180	165	109

7. Spain

The economic situation of this country assumes each month a more catastrophic trend, with consequent repercussions on the material situation of the working class. The electricity restrictions (industry working only 4 days a week in the best cases), the shortage of coal and raw materials are giving rise to increasing unemployment, firstly in light industry (furniture, shoes, textiles, preserves) then in iron and steel and building. In Biscay, tin plate production has declined

by 40 % while in Madrid, more than 25 % of the 80,000 workers employed in the building industry were unemployed last summer and the situation has continued to deteriorate since then. The fate of the agricultural workers is still more tragic, since chronic unemployment in a semi-feudal, extensive system of cultivation has been still more aggravated with the 10 % reduction of the cultivated area over the last few years.

The Barcelona correspondent of the "Chicago Daily News" points out that "production is declining and because of this the standard of living has fallen lower than at any other time since the end of the war."

To this situation of increasing unemployment is added the constant rise of the cost of living, without commensurate wage increases. According to Franco's own statistics of March 1948, the cost of living index in relation to July 1936 — the time of the fascist rising — was the following :

	GENERAL INDEX	FOOD	WAGES
1936	100	100	100
1948	456.5	612.8	175

It must be added that, particularly as regards food, the index *is calculated on the prices of rationed goods*, but official food supplies are practically non-existent outside the big towns, and are always inadequate and irregular.

Prices on the black market, which has to be resorted to in order to avoid death from starvation, have risen in relation to 1936, by 1,171 %.

The Franco regime is trying to deceive public opinion by bringing to the fore all the "benefits" which it grants to workers' families in the form of allowances and subsidies. But it makes no mention of the levies on wages (various types of insurance and compulsory trade union subscriptions) which can amount to 16 % of the wage. The allowances for large families ranges from 1.60 pesetas per day, for two children, to 17 pesetas per day for 12 children while the daily bread ration is 150 grammes (about 4 ozs) which has to be sought on the black market at the price of 14 pesetas a kilogramme (2.2 lbs).

This monstrous situation explains the growing action of the working class, even within the ranks of the official Phalangist trade unions which have not succeeded in preventing the struggle of the workers in support of their demands. Some quite recent statistics published in Spain show that during 1948, the Franco Labour Tribunals were forced to grant 64 million pesetas in subsidies and compensation to the workers. If the arbitrariness of the Franco regime is taken into consideration, the figure of 64 millions, which reflects only a minimal part of the claims and actions carried on by the Spanish proletariat against the combined exploitation of the national bour-

geoisie and Anglo-American imperialism, proves the fighting spirit of the working class.

The continuous struggle which the Spanish working class has waged and still is carrying on against its oppressors has found valuable support in the international action of the proletariat and in the WFTU, its representative body.

The persistence of the fascist regime in Spain after the liberation of Europe and the capitulation of Germany, as well as the continuation of its crimes against the Spanish people, filled the working masses of the world with indignation. The execution in Madrid, in February 1946, of the hero of the Resistance in France, Cristino Garcia and his comrades intensified the action.

The WFTU Executive Bureau raised an indignant protest in the name of 70 million workers belonging to 52 countries. On February 25th, the French CGT called together representatives of railwaymen, seamen, dockers and transport workers to take practical measures in order to assist the Spanish republicans and stop all traffic with Spain. As a result of these solidarity actions, the French Government closed the French-Spanish frontier on March 1st, and asked the British and American Governments to take all suitable measures to put the Franco regime in quarantine.

In its appeal the WFTU asked the National Centres to approach their respective governments to take all useful measures to put an end to the existence of the shameful Franco regime. Encouraging news arrived from all countries. The National Centres put pressure on their governments and the proletariat mobilised against Franco.

From 17th to 27th June 1946, the Executive Bureau and Committee of the WFTU met in Moscow and the Spanish question figured prominently on the Agenda. A plan of action was evolved at this WFTU meeting, which was to be greeted with warmth by the working masses of the whole world. The WFTU recommended the National Centres to press their Governments once more to take a decision with regard to the Spanish situation and requested them to send messages and resolutions to UNO demanding the condemnation of the Franco regime. At the same time, the National Centres were to utilise the period extending from July 18th (10th anniversary of the Spanish War) to August 15th for the organisation of protest demonstrations, as well as for the unification and coordination of the efforts of the different Centres in the fight against Franco. The WFTU finally decided to approach the Security Council of UNO requesting it to break off all relations with Franco Spain.

This new appeal from the WFTU received the same enthusiastic reception as the preceding one. Action was undertaken everywhere.

On September 20th, the Washington session of the Executive Bureau opened, lasting 4 days. A report was drawn up there of the results obtained, and the unshakeable resolve to pursue the struggle for the liberation of the Spanish people was reaffirmed.

In November, the WFTU sent a new appeal to UNO to face its responsibilities with regard to Spanish fascism.

Thus the struggle which the Spanish workers are carrying on inside Spain itself, finds a warm response in the international working class. On May 1947, when the general strike broke out at Bilbao and

in the Spanish Basque country, gifts flowed in from all parts in order to sustain the struggle and alleviate the poverty of the strikers.

The executive bodies of the WFTU met in Prague from June 2nd to 14th. The report presented by Louis Saillant showed the extent to which, over the preceding 18 months, and particularly since the Moscow meeting, the international mobilisation of the working class had borne fruit, and how they had stressed the agreements adopted by UNO in December 1946 relating to the suspension of diplomatic relations with Franco.

In Prague, the WFTU took three important decisions : the creation of a solidarity fund for the benefit of the Spanish workers and centralisation at the WFTU of the existing resources; representations to the Security Council of UNO to apply economic sanctions to the Franco regime; new pressure by the National Centres on their Governments to break all links with Franco. The Prague resolution concludes by declaring that "the WFTU resolves to intensify and expand all its activities connected with the restoration of liberty in Spain."

This mobilisation of international opinion accomplished by the organised working class was effective.

If scores of militants are yet to fall, some in obscurity others like Cristino Garcia Zorua, Gomez, Gayoso, Via, etc., making their names known, it has been possible to save others from immediate death as Santiago Alvarez and Zapirain for example, and quite recently José Satue, leader of the UGT and Enrique Marcos Nadal, leader of the CNT who had their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment, thanks to the irresistible pressure of public opinion warned by the action of the popular masses, of the organised working class and its representative organ, the World Federation of Trade Unions.

8. Greece

In Greece, as in Spain, the exploitation of the masses of the people by a thin privileged layer upheld by a system of police repression, reaches unimaginable proportions.

A comparison of the Indices at the end of 1948 with 1937, brings out the complete collapse of the economy of the country, the unbridled increase in prices and the untenable situation of the working masses. Wages are still at the nominal level fixed by the collective agreements of 1947, whilst prices have risen by 52 % since that date.

	1937	NOVEMBER 1948
Foodstuffs	100	30,723
General index.....	100	26,096

The situation of civil servants is extremely wretched, for the workers in the civil service were not included in the collective agreements.

A great general strike of Greek civil servants was carried out for an increase in salaries of 50 % in April 1949. In spite of all government threats of dismissal and repression, the civil servants stayed out for 10 days and won substantial gains.

Poverty is aggravated by unemployment which exists side by side with the corruption reigning in the ruling circles. Official statistics indicate that the number of unemployed rose from 93,000 in December 1947 to 120,000 in September 1948. To this figure of tens of thousands of unemployed one must add the unregistered unemployed. It is estimated that there are at present in Greece 200,000 unemployed for a country of 7 million inhabitants which has 300,000 men under arms, 50,000 workers in prison and tens of thousands of combatants in the ranks of the democratic army.

The credits which should have served for the reconstruction of a country so sorely tried by the war and the struggle against the occupiers are used to reinforce the military and police apparatus or wasted in luxury purchases which only benefit the speculators or the privileged. The table showing the amount imported of certain products speaks for itself.

	1938 (first eleven months)	1946 (first eight months)
Perfume	13.000 kg	33.500 kg
Coffee ..	4.258.000 kg	9.500.000 kg

And that at a time when the fall in industrial production is becoming sharper and the import of basic food-stuffs and industrial goods has fallen by 15 to 32 % in comparison with pre-war. The stagnation of industrial production is brought out even more clearly if one compares the general industrial indices with those of the mining industry.

	1939	1947 (January)	1948 (January)	1949 (January)
Industrial production.	100	62	68	78
Mines	100	15	15	15

In order to continue along this road, the monarcho-fascist Government had to break the resistance of the working class, and to do that it attacked from the very beginning the Greek CGT, created

in March 1946 on a democratic basis and with the assistance of the WFTU.

With the support of certain trade union leaders, enemies of the working class, the Government refused to recognise the elected Bureau of the Greek CGT, the members of which were arrested or had to take refuge underground, and set up trade unions whose leadership was in their service. The last few years have been marked by mass deportation of active trade unionists and by hundreds of executions.

The WFTU and the world working class have risen up against this terrorism, which flouts all human and trade union rights, the most monstrous example of which was the "suicide" last February in his cell of Dimitri Paparigas, General Secretary of the Greek CGT, placed in this post by the delegates to the 1946 Congress.

Everyone knows how the Greek workers, allied to all democrats, have replied to this policy of poverty and repression. The constitution of the Liberation Army, the heroic struggle of the workers for worthy and human conditions of existence in a Greece still under the heel of monarcho-fascist dictatorship, directed by the American imperialists, these are the very foundations of democratic progress in this country.

ADDENDUM I

STRIKES

In the tables below we give figures for strikes drawn from official statistics.

These statistics only give a very approximate idea of the real number and extent of the strikes. We have unfortunately been unable to obtain more exact statistics from the Trade Unions.

We shall give an idea of the way in which government statistics try to mask the importance of working class struggles by comparing the official figures for France with certain accurate data provided by the CGT.

For the year 1947, official French statistics give a total of 2,864,000 strikers.

Whereas, for three strikes alone, this figure is far exceeded :—

— in June 1947 : strike of.....	450,000 railwaymen
— in June 1947 : strike of.....	200,000 miners
— in November 1947 : intercorporate strike in which there participated.....	3,000,000 wage earners
which gives a total of.....	<u>3,650,000 strikers</u>

To these three strikes one must add hundreds of others of less importance, which nevertheless drew in large numbers of wage earners. The number of days lost is camouflaged in the same way.

For 1948, official statistics give for 1,836,000 strikers, 11,745,100 days lost.

Whereas for only two strikes, that of the miners and that of the iron and steel workers with a total of 360,000 strikers, the figures are as follows :—

FOR THE MINERS—even basing ourselves on the official figures which give 6 million tons of coal lost, this represents more than 9 million working days.

FOR THE 40,000 IRON AND STEEL WORKERS—4 weeks of strikes represent a loss of 700,000 working days, that is to say :—

$$9,000,000 + 700,000 = 9,700,000 \text{ working days lost.}$$

According to official data, the 1,476,000 strikers who remain would therefore have only lost altogether 2,043,000 working days, which is, quite simply, ridiculous and gives and idea of the cynicism with which bourgeois statistics lie on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

STRIKES : OFFICIAL STATISTICS

1. *United States*

YEAR	NUMBER OF STRIKES	NUMBER OF WORKERS HAVING TAKEN PART IN STRIKES	MAN-DAYS LOST
1935-38 (average).....	2,862	1,130,000	16,900,000
1945	4,750	3,470,000	38,000,000
1946	4,985	4,600,000	116,000,000
1947	3,693	2,170,000	34,000,000
1948	3,280	1,932,000	33,950,000

2. *Great Britain*

1946	131,245
1947	318,620
1948	184,075
1949 (first two months) ..	63,140

3. *France*

1946	180,000	386,000
1947	2,864,000	19,275,000
1948	1,836,000	11,745,100

PRINCIPAL STRIKES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

Germany.

May 1947..... 65,000 in Bavaria.
100,000 at Hanover.

Austria.

April-May 1948.... (leather and hides workers).

Belgium.

1947 13,000 dockers at Antwerp.
1948 30,000 miners at Liege.
85,000 miners at Borinage.
June 1948..... 200,000 metal workers.

Canada.

1946 15,000 steel workers,
50,000 rubber — chemical industries — tex-
tiles — electricity.
1947 13,000 miners Nova Scotia.

Denmark.

Jan. 1946..... /
March 1947..... \ 50,000 typographers for 18 weeks.

United States.

1946 750,000 steel workers (3 weeks).
1945 200,000 automobile workers (4 months).
May 1948..... 75,000 " " (15 days).
Jan.-Febr. 1946.... 200,000 electrical equipment (3-8 weeks).
Sept. 1947..... 80,000 shipbuilding-3 weeks.
April-May 1946.... 350,000 miners-8 weeks.
Nov.-Dec. 1946.... 350,000 " -2 "
June-July 1947.... 200,000 " -2 "
March-April 1948.. 400,000 " -6 "
March 1949..... 400,000 " -2 "
Oct.-Dec. 1946.... 150,000 seamen-3 weeks (Atlantic).
-2 months (Pacific).
May 1946..... 200,000 railway workers-2 days.
April-May 1946.... 300,000 postal workers-6 weeks.
January 1946..... 125,000 food trades workers-10 days.
March-May 1948... 125,000 " " -2 months.

France.

June 1947..... 200,000 miners.
June 1947..... total strike of railwaymen (6 days).
Nov.-Dec. 1947.... 3,000,000-great inter-corporative
strikes-4 weeks.
July 1948..... total strike of civil servants.
Oct.-Nov. 1948.... 320,000 miners-8 weeks.
Sept.-Oct. 1948.... 40,000-iron and steel workers-3 weeks.

Great Britain.

April 1948..... 20,000 upholsterers.
June 1948..... 16,000 dockers.

Holland.

July 1947..... 10,000 metal workers.

Italy.

September 1946.... 850,000 metal workers.

Sweden.

June 1946..... 112,000 metal workers.

ADDENDUM II

THE TREND OF UNEMPLOYMENT

(official figures--Bulletin of UNO)

COUNTRY	1945	1946	1947	1948	January 1949
United States ...	1,040,000	2,270,000	2,141,000	2,064,000	3,221,000 *
Canada		143,000	98,000	103,000	106,000
Great Britain ...	120,400	391,900	281,000	307,800	412,900
Italy **	1,324,763	2,098,257	1,752,818	2,421,973	
France	15,800	15,700	7,400	16,700	30,300
Belgium	144,600	67,200	67,700	130,400	253,600
Netherlands	—	53,100	30,700	29,000	45,000
Sweden	36,300	27,600	24,400	25,100	50,000
Norway	9,200	12,200	8,500	7,100	9,000
Finland	3,200	3,500	4,200	6,000	29,200
Denmark	46,700	27,600	28,800	27,600	61,000
Germany (Biz.) ..	—	824,000	631,200	591,800	745,000
Austria	—	74,100	52,800	54,600	95,000
Ireland	34,000	35,100	33,300	35,100	42,100
Spain	148,000	178,200	138,800	117,000	147,500
Switzerland	6,500	4,300	3,500	3,000	15,500

* February 1949.

** Statistica "Congiuntura Economica." Dec. 1945, Dec. 1946, Dec. 1947,
May 1948.

ITEM 10 OF THE AGENDA

TRADE UNION ACTIVITY IN THE ASIAN, AUSTRALASIAN, AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Report of A. LE LÉAP (*France*)
ON THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES

As trade union organisation strengthens and develops in struggle in Africa, the repressive drive of the administration in the service of the colonialist monopolies becomes more and more acute.

During the strike at the Markala dam in the French Sudan, Jacques Doumbia was arrested on 25th April 1947 and condemned to two years imprisonment.

French officials who become known as active members of trade union organisations are persecuted: Morlet and Fayette in the Sudan, Suret Canale in Senegal, Jean Rigo on the Ivory Coast have been expelled. Others are kept in France when their furlough expires.

In the territories under British colonial authority, in "independent" territories, such as Egypt and the Union of South Africa, trade unionists who defend the workers are thrown into prison, like Taha Osman, Secretary of the Preparatory Committee of the Egyptian Delegation to the WFTU Congress, or Mahmond al Askari.

This has forced African militants to take the leadership of the trade union movement more rapidly into their own hands and the native cadres have been formed and hardened in the struggle under pressure of necessity.

In the face of this irresistible advance of the popular forces, the administration, feeling itself impotent, becomes uneasy and tries to spread terror: the militants, who are often officials, are transferred hundreds of kilometres away.

N'Gom, General Secretary of the Union of Trade Unions of the Cameroons was arrested for "contempt of court", but the administration was obliged to increase wages by 33 % after the employee's strike.

Demonstrations, marches and meetings rallied thousands of workers in all the territories of Equatorial and West Africa on the 1st of May, 1949.

The essential characteristics of the social evolution of the African

territories since 1945, thus consists on the one hand, in the advance of the democratic forces and, on the other hand, in the strengthening of the methods of repression of the colonialist and feudal governments.

In fighting for the development of trade union organisations in Africa, the WFTU remains faithful to the United Nations Charter which in its preamble declares the faith of the peoples "in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human being, and in the equality of the rights of men and women."

The WFTU remains faithful to its pledges «to assist, wherever necessary, the workers in countries socially or industrially less developed, in setting-up their trade unions."

Algeria

There has been some development in the economic situation of Algeria since the end of 1947, although this improvement has not benefited the workers. On the contrary, the standard of living of the populations has fallen constantly, whereas the twenty most important companies of Algeria have raised their total capital from 325 to 1,030 million francs.

Agricultural production as a whole has once more reached the pre-war level and mining and power production is continually rising. The relative development of industrial production took place in the sectors of so-called "strategic materials", whilst building materials were reserved, not for the construction or repair of dwellings, but for the establishment of strategic and military bases.

The main feature of the new installations is that they can be used at short notice for war purposes. The engineering workshops are designed with a view to the possibility of immediate "reconversion" to war production.

Nevertheless, in spite of this recent industrialisation, Algeria remains, like all the African countries, a country with a colonial economic structure.

Its population increases by 130,000 a year (the country had 1,500,000 inhabitants a hundred years ago and it has 9 million to-day : 7,800,000 natives and 1,200,000 Europeans).

But while the production of food crops and consumer goods industries should be developed, the production of cereals has not, on the average, regained its pre-war level.

Cereals production

1937-1938	17 million quintals
1945-1946	14 " "
1946-1947	9 " "
1947-1948	15 " "

(quintal equals approx. 1cwt)

If this situation is compared with that of France, the low standard of living of the populations becomes apparent (the French harvest 1947-1948 : 80 million quintals of wheat).

Far from developing these crops, the General Government encourages crops intended for export: citrus fruits, early vegetables, etc. The flax pool extends its empire not only to Algeria but to all North Africa and takes over corn land in spite of the famine.

The workers' situation has been aggravated by the constant rise of prices. In comparison with 1938, the purchasing power of wages has fallen by 50 %, if one only takes official figures into consideration. The General Government, supported by the splitters of "Force Ouvrière" (Workers Strength), has tried to put down the struggle for the workers' demands by the slogan of « price reduction », which is always awaited but never comes. In fact, the fall in agricultural prices has taken place, as in France, in the stage of production—and it is the native producers who foot the bill—while at the retail stage, the prices of agricultural goods have as a whole been maintained. For a fall in the prices of dried vegetables and wine, serious increases have been recorded on foodstuffs; oil, sugar and coffee. Finally, as in France rents have been increased.

Official statistics show, moreover, what is really meant by " price reduction ".

--- For 52 articles	}	November 1948.	2,173
		February 1949.	2,164
--- For industrial prices.	}	November 1948.	1,757
		February 1949.	2,155

Monopoly capital widens its field of action and has developed in distribution. The results of this are that the prices are monopolised and now no longer obey supply and demand. One example is wine :—

October 1948.	{	a litre of wine bought from the producer. . . .	45 fr.
		distributor's margin	30 fr.
		Selling price	75 fr.
March 1949	{	a litre of wine bought from the producer. . . .	32 fr.
		distributor's margin	38 fr.
			70 fr.

The fall in the purchasing power of the workers' wages brings about the stagnation of "business" and the sharp fall in the numbers of commercial transactions.

Only the monopoly capital, which exploits the agricultural labourers—600,000 workers—or the workers in mines and factories, benefits from this situation.

The attack on the standard of living of the workers is backed up by the opposition of the employers and the government to any serious social legislation. The French laws on social security are not applicable in Algeria and every attempt of the Algerian workers to have them extended has come up against the coalition of the colonialists, the Algerian feudalists and the French Government.

This coalition became evident in the voting of a social security bill

by the Algerian Assembly; this bill is a mere caricature, even falling short of certain advantages won by struggle in different establishments. The opposition of the workers to such a bill brought about unity between the CGT, the CFTC, the FO and independent unions, who demanded that it should not be ratified.

Trade union liberties are threatened. Militant trade unionists are thrown into prison. The following are some examples :—

- 2 members of the Bureau of the Union of Trade Unions of Orania were brought before the magistrates court.
- 4 young trade unionists of Bel-Abbes were prosecuted for having exhibited documents showing the atrocities committed in Viet-Nam by colonialist repression.
- 2 militants of the salt-beds of Arzew were brought before the courts for having defended their strike.

These threats of social reaction against the workers result only in serrying their ranks and strengthening their activity.

In 1947 there were 223,000 trade union members in Algeria in the CGT trade unions, of whom 3/5 were native workers and 2/5 workers of European origin. More than 100,000 Algerian workers took part in the great strikes of November-December 1947.

In June 1948, in the Mitidja plain, 10,000 agricultural workers carried out their first strike lasting for three weeks. They won the right to farm delegates and a 25. % wage increase. There is no need to recall that in Algeria "the lords of the land" make considerable profits. For example, the Saint Pierre estate, which consists of 4,000 hectares of which 1/4 are vine-yards, makes an annual profit of 100 million francs.

From October 1948 to January 1949, 6,000 Algerian miners fought courageously against colonial oppression. The strikes they carried on lasted in many cases for several weeks; they were all continued until victory was achieved, at Kenadsa, Beni-Saf, Ouenza, Guedalma, Timezrit and M'Zaita where the phosphate miners held out for 97 days.

New sections of the workers come into the struggle in turn, notably Mohammedan women in the Tidjani strike (a fruit conditioning establishment). Thousands of workers struggled in 1949, tobacco workers, dockers, miners, sandal-makers, building workers, aviation workers, railwaymen, metal-workers, tramway workers.

At Tadjemont itself, at the gateway to the desert, the workers of a dam went on strike, 23 were arrested, others dismissed, but in this region where the regime of the sabre rules, legal wages and normal conditions of work must henceforth be applied.

The Algerian miners are fighting courageously against colonial oppression. Their strikes frequently last for several weeks.

In spite of the split carried out by the leaders of " Force Ouvrière " and every sort of difficulty, the membership of the CGT trade unions will, in 1949, be as strong as in 1947.

Morocco

Morocco is first in the world for production of phosphates, which form 90 % of its exports. Nevertheless, Morocco is obliged to import its superphosphates since, like Tunisia and Algeria, the necessary installations for the production of this fertilizer are insufficient. No industrial product is exported. Moreover, citrus fruits are today the basic agricultural export.

The economic structure of Morocco is, like that of all the African countries, a colonial structure. Indeed, the Algesiras Act prohibited any industrial development until 1934, especially in Morocco.

During and after the second world war, Morocco has experienced an influx of foreign capital which has by no means been invested in the economy of the country; the greater part of this enormous capital is purely speculative which explains that, in comparison with 1938, the general index of stocks and shares has a coefficient of 42, whilst the index of foodstuff shares has a coefficient of 80. Deposits passed from 831 millions in 1938 to 46 milliards, 276 millions in October 1948, or a coefficient of 50. Parallel with this, the fiduciary issue rose during the same period, from 638 millions to 24 milliards 150 millions, or a coefficient of 40, which corresponds approximately to the coefficient of increase of wholesale prices.

This situation resulting from the Second World War has brought about a certain development of the extraction industry and of the cement industry :—

	1938	1947	1948
	(in thousands of tons)		
Coal	133	269	290
Phosphates	1700	2960	3226
Cement	156	218	262

This industrial and agricultural development of Morocco leads to high profits for the capitalists and an ever more difficult situation for the workers. It is obviously the Moroccan workers who are the most exploited. Workers in the industrial sector amount to 300,000 and there are 1,200,000 agricultural workers, 60,000 building workers, 30,000 miners, 10,000 dockers and 25,000 workers in the food industry, forming the bulk of the Moroccan working class.

The great colonialists, assisted by the higher administration, pay wages of less than 60 francs a day to the agricultural workers, the working day extending from sunrise to sunset. Many industrial workers earn less than 7,000 francs a month.

The fellahs, who since 1946 had obtained the abolition of forced labour, are now subjected to a new attack on the part of the big colonialists, who would like to return to the practices of the past. Taken away for compulsory pea-harvesting, the fellahs have to leave their own fields for a wage of 10 francs per working day. One tribe was

required to supply 60 men for the harvest on the farm of a large colonialist. 54 men turned up. The six others are threatened with imprisonment.

In Morocco during the last year, bitter fights have taken place for the defence of the living conditions of the working class. Almost all the different trades joined the struggle, but above all the fighting spirit of the miners of Djerada and Kouribga is worthy of note.

It was strikers from Kouribga who were subjected to the torture of the whip by the colonial administration, and it was at Djerada that this same administration organised veritable pogroms to break the miners' strike. In defiance of all justice, Comrade Bou Halime was condemned to hard labour. In spite of this colonialist repression the movements develop and spread to the majority of trades. The following are a few examples :—

— a 29 days' strike in November 1948 of the bus workers at Meknes,

— a strike of 32 days in November 1948 (until demands were satisfied) by the workers of the Casablanca shipyards,

— a strike of bank employees at Casablanca and Rabat in December 1948,

— a strike of dockers at Casablanca in January 1949, leading to satisfaction of demands,

— a strike of Moroccan railwaymen in March and April 1949,

— the May 1949 strike of electricity workers in all towns of Morocco.

In spite of reiterated promises, trade union rights have always been refused to the Moroccans, in accordance with a dahir of 1938. The Resident General Juin declares that the text on trade union rights is ready and has been submitted to the Sultan for approval, while the latter declares : "proposals concerning trade union rights and including excessively restrictive measures have been made by the Residency. After study by our services, a counter-project guaranteeing full rights was presented to the residential services several months ago."

Nevertheless, humiliation and persecution of trade union militants are an everyday affair : the refusal of visas to the delegates to Congresses, National Confederal Committees, etc., expulsions, imprisonments, prohibition of May Day demonstrations and public meetings, the dissolution of the Miners' Trade Union Federation of Djerada and Kouribga.

But concession after concession is granted to the employers : the abolition of payment vouchers and of the minimum wage. The model statute makes conciliation and arbitration compulsory in cases of dispute. The latest concession is a plan to increase hours of work.

Tunisia

The Tunisian workers are struggling both for increased wages and against the invasion of their country by foreign capital. The economy of the country is being placed more and more under the control of American imperialism.

Imports from the United States rose from 12,000 tons in 1938, to 90,000 tons in 1944 and 400,000 tons in 1948.

Petroleum exploitation has been given into the hands of 3 companies, of which 2 are Anglo-American, and which thus dispose of 65 % of the country's resources.

In comparison with 1938, the number of olive trees planted has grown by 13 %, but for 1948, the American firm, the " Olive Oil Association " cornered the whole of the oil production.

The trusts for building, mining, transport companies, gas and electricity have made enormous profits while the purchasing power of the workers has fallen constantly. The cost of living is 22 times higher than in 1939, whilst wages are below the coefficient of 15. In comparison with 1944 the purchasing power of the workers has fallen by 50 %.

As in Algeria, the fall in agricultural prices does not benefit the workers, but the distribution monopolies, whilst wages remain frozen.

Since the 1st of December 1948 agricultural wages have been fixed at 140 francs a day for the least favoured zone, but there are still many workers who receive lower wages.

Great struggles and mass demonstrations have taken place in Tunisia.

On many occasions the colonial administration has engineered direct provocations against the workers in order to attempt to " suppress " any movement by terror. There has been a long succession of deportations and shootings.

We draw particular attention to the events which occurred at Sfax on 5th August 1947 when, acting on orders from the General Residency, the army opened fire on the strikers, killing 33 workers and wounding hundreds.

Far from "suppressing " the working class movement in Tunisia this savage repression gave a new impulse to the demands of the workers, as is proved by the many strikes which have followed since, of which the following gives a glimpse :

In August 1947, as a result of repeated strike movements, the dockers won a 10 % increase.

There were also the struggles of the workers of la Goulette, the dredger and municipal workers. In textiles the action was particularly bitter—the weavers' strike at Guez (7 weeks) : at la Sotumatex (32 days). In the Banks it was carried on for many weeks.

Agricultural workers on the large estates won a reduction of the working day to 10 hours by strike action.

In September 1948, 15,000 workers took part in limited strikes and various actions forcing the General Residency to raise wages

by 25 % (successive increase : 6 frs. 50 in July 1947, 30 % in January 1948).

The miners of Oues Maden carried out a strike of 33 days. The most recent strike in the mines of the South was carried out by 4,000 united miners of the 2 centres for 45 days against the most powerful colonial trust : the Sfax-Gafsa Co.

The recent strike of the dredger workers of the port of Tunis-La Goulette was kept up for 44 days by all the workers belonging to the two Tunisian centres : the UGTT and USTT.

One finds this same unity once more in the two hours strike of the 17th May 1949 of all the dockers of the Port of Tunis, when the municipal workers took common action against the dismissals.

The workers not only struggle for better wages and better conditions of work, but also against unemployment.

Indeed, the number of totally or partially unemployed in the most varied trades and industries is becoming higher and higher. The mines of Cap Bon, then the lead mines and with them the Fondry at Megrine, the tanneries, the CFT, the Military Establishments, the municipal services, the canning industry, etc., reduce their activity or close down one after the other; and, in the best of cases, when the dismissal is not total, the staff is cut by tens and by hundreds.

Egypt and the Anglo Egyptian Sudan

Egypt has a colonial economic structure which reduces more than 12 million peasants to poverty.

Cotton is the principle crop of the country and supplies the bulk of exports destined for English mills (85 % of the total amount of exports).

Mineral wealth : petroleum and phosphates are not processed in the country. Just as in French North Africa super-phosphates are produced in extremely insufficient quantities. Egypt is also obliged to import all finished products.

The cotton industry, which is the most developed, only supplies three-quarters of the needs. Twenty per cent of Egyptian imports consist of textiles, principally cotton and woollen goods.

To show to what extent the country depends on foreign countries, it suffices to point out that the value of imported metals goods and machinery is no higher than that of the imported cotton and woollen goods.

During the 2nd world war, Egypt was the headquarters of the inter-allied supply organisation for the Middle East, and thus succeeded in turning its foreign debt into a credit of 450 million Egyptian pounds.

But the sterling holdings have not permitted it to equip itself, the credits being blocked in Great Britain, as for India and Burma, etc.

The standard of living of the 12,000,000 peasants is very low, because the holdings are very limited in size. 1,500,000 peasants, for instance, possess less than 15 ares (100 square metres equals one are). The majority has an annual income of 10 to 20 Egyptian

pounds per year. Mortgage debts contracted with the "Land Bank of Egypt" reduce them little by little to the most extreme poverty, the war having only momentarily improved their lot because of the scarcity of goods and the needs of the Anglo-American armies.

Wage earners and their families number 1,000,000. Their conditions are wretched. The working conditions are very hard, children working from the age of 9. As an example, the wage of a weaver, for a working day of 10 hours is 0.30 Egyptian pounds. A typist is paid 15 pounds per month, an accountant 25 pounds; a man's suit costs 20 pounds, workers dungarees cost 5 pounds, a kilogramme of bread—0.06 pounds, a kilogramme of mutton 0.46 pounds.

The trade union movement is the target for the most ferocious governmental repression. The true trade unions are regularly dissolved on the most fallacious of excuses : failure to respect police regulations, violation of governmental instructions, etc. The amalgamation of the interest of the employers and the State repressive apparatus is clearly shown. Trade Union militants are dismissed and subjected to the supervision of the political police, whilst those who have betrayed the workers are supported and protected by the police, the Labour Bureau, the employers and the fascist organisation Muslim Brotherhood.

The most elementary trade union rights are systematically ignored and violated by the Administration and the employers. Police agents attend all trade union meetings and have lists of the members of the trade union leaderships.

Trade union elections take place under unheard-of pressure exerted by the enemies of the workers. When the government does not succeed in obtaining control of the trade union through its agents, it dissolves the trade union; this is what happened at the trade union elections in the Alexandria textile factories in 1947.

Strikes are regulated by a law of a fascist nature. In fact the "regulation" is such that, as a result, any important strike is prohibited.

The government has dissolved 135 trade unions out of the 616 which existed in 1948 on the pretext that they were not in accordance with the laws in force.

The administration represses any attempt of the trade unions to unite into federations. A new statute prepared by the government provides that trade union federations shall only be able to unite trade unions of the same trade.

Thousands of democrats are thrown into concentration camps such as that of El Tor, which is more than two hundred kilometres from the nearest inhabited place.

Among the detainees is Taha Osman, Secretary of the Preparatory Committee for the Egyptian Delegation to the WFTU Congress and Mahmond al Askari, General Secretary of the Weavers Trade Union Federation of Choulra. The living conditions of the detainees are terrible. The food recalls that of the nazi camps.

The situation of the workers in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, which is a British war base, is wretched. Famine decimates the working population and the Egyptian press speaks of more than 3,000 dead as a result of the famine reigning in the country. The British Secretary of State of the Sudan Government objected to delegations

visiting the regions hit by the famine. He stated that the Sudan Government had taken all necessary steps to alleviate this situation and to provide work for the famine-struck agricultural workers at Port Sudan. Nevertheless, the wages of the workers at Port Sudan fall from day to day as a result of the influx of labour, so that the famine threatens to extend to this town also.

The Workers' Struggle and its results in French Colonial Africa (French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, Togo, the Cameroons) from 1946 to 1949.

The special form of colonial exploitation in the African colonial territories subjected to French imperialism have kept the economy and social organisation at an exceptionally low level.

Colonial exploitation in these territories takes on an essentially *mercantile* character: capital invested in these territories has flowed mainly into the commercial sector. It is the Trading Companies with the three great monopolies at their head: Unilever, CFAO (The French West Africa Company) and the SCOA (The West African Trading Company) which dominate the economy of the country; *their activity is limited to the import of manufactured products and the export in a crude state of agricultural produce or raw materials of agricultural origin* (grounds nuts, coffee, cocoa, bananas, etc.) The factual, and since the war the legal monopoly of imports and exports, the exploitation of a peasantry which has remained essentially within the limits of tribal and feudal organisation and which cultivates the soil with the "daba", the hatchet and the machete throughout colonial Africa: this primitive technique enables them to realise enormous super-profits.

It is, however, to be noted that since 1946 rapid progress in agricultural production for the export market has been permitted to African planters using paid labour, notably on the Ivory Coast; but it is nonetheless the fact that in the Cameroons, the labour employed by the native planters is generally made up of members of the family, which is very large, consisting of 10, 20, 30 persons or more. The great plantations of the European capitalists, whose workers are provided by forced labour, do not play a decisive part in the export trade of the colonies, but they profoundly disturb their economy by upsetting the population equilibrium in the most thickly populated areas, by breaking up the native family, by depriving the villages of workers for the food crops, and by upsetting the balance of foodstuff agriculture in favour of export crops.

The mining industry is still embryonic. However, the second-stage industries which began to make their appearance during the war are few and far between and are confined to an initial processing of agricultural export products (oil-works) or to the maintenance and repair of the means of transport (railway workshops, ship repair yards, river docks).

As a result of this situation the proletariat as a whole is in an embryonic state: civil servants, commercial employees, domestic staff make up a considerable percentage of wage-earners.

Proportion of wage earners by trade group

TRADE	FRANCE 1936	FRENCH WEST AFRICA 1947	FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA 1947
Agriculture	18 %	20.5 %	13.7 %
Forestry	—	4.3 %	12.2 %
Mining	2.6 %	1.9 %	18 %
Industries	38 %	16.8 %	18.5 % incl.
Transport			9.5 % bldg. & pub. wks
Maintenance	7.7 %	19.1 %	4.3 %
Commerce	11 %	16.3 %	4 %
Liberal Profns....	3.9 %	0.3 %	—
Domestic Service..	6.5 %	—	6 %
Public Services...	11 %	20.8 %	23 % *

* For French Equatorial Africa Public Services comprise only administrative workers.

Among the workers properly so-called; the highest proportion consists of labourers (dockers, stores-hands).

Distribution of workers by type of work, Ivory Coast, 31 December 1946.
(Civil servants and domestic staff excluded)

Office-workers	6,525 or	
Workers	8,922 or	11.6 %
Labourers	61,172 or	79.9 %
TOTAL	76,619 or	100 %

General Distribution for French West Africa (1947)
(Domestic Staff excluded)

Office-workers	28,000 or	12 %
Workers	37,000 or	16 %
Labourers	167,000 or	72 %
TOTAL	232,000 or	100 %

The railway workers (25,000 in the whole of French West Africa, including 10,000 on the Dakar-Niger network—in Senegal and the Sudan—with as its vital centre the junction and repair workshops of Tmies) form an essential part of the better-organised proletariat, grouped in the *Independent Federation of Railway Workers of French West Africa*.

Elsewhere the proletariat is concentrated and solidly organised only in the ports : Conakry, Abidjan, Cotonou, Douala, St. Louis, Libreville, Pointe Noire, above all *Dakar*. These ports are generally territorial

centres and centres of the Territorial Union of Trade Unions affiliated to the CGT (one per territory except in Senegal, where there is a union of Trade Unions of Senegal with head office at Saint Louis, and a separate Union of Trade Unions of Dakar.)

I. THE STRIKE MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL AFRICA FROM 1946 TO 1949

Immediately after the Second World War there took place the first large-scale movements in support of economic and anti colonialist objectives : *In January 1946* there was the *general strike* at Dakar, which, starting from two parallel strikes of industrial workers and commercial employees, spread to affect for a period of ten days all African wage-earners (January 14th-24th), and the strike at the Markala dam in the Sudan.

The strikers returned to work without having won satisfaction for their demands, which concerned the increase of wages and the fixing of a single minimum wage for Europeans and Africans (that is with the abolition of racial discrimination). Savage repression was meted out to the workers and union militants (mass dismissals) in spite of the end-of-strike agreement by which the owners undertook to take back all the strikers.

But shortly afterwards the workers reaped the profits of this action : substantial increases in salary and civil servants' pay, and the concluding of collective agreements.

Similarly, in French Equatorial Africa strikes at Pointe Noire compelled the administration to raise wages, which had been very low. The law of April 1st 1946, adopted on the proposal of the Ivory Coast deputy Houphoët-Boigny, thanks to the joint action of the progressive forces of Africa and France, abolished forced labour in the overseas territories.

After 1946, apart from strictly local movements, the most important movement was the strike of African railway workers, which lasted for more than five months (from October 10th 1947 to March 19th 1948) *.

On November 1st 1947 the personnel at work numbered 525, of which 487 were European railway workers and 38 African ones (out of nearly 20,000) **.

On December 31st 1947, 838 strikers (out of nearly 20,000 workers) had gone back to work, which, with the 2,146 blacklegs recruited to break the strike, gave a labour force of less than 4,000 workers, whereas the State Railways estimated that 13,800 were necessary to the normal working of the networks.

Despite a weakening of the movement on the Abidjan-Niger (Ivory Coast) network beginning in January (a 60 % return to work altogether), the majority of railway workers succeeded in holding out for more than five months. This long resistance is explained by the active solidarity of the mass of African workers organised from the

* It was continuation of a preliminary strike of a few days in April 1947.

** All these figures are taken from the official report of the Labour Inspection Department in French West Africa for the year 1947.

start of the movement by the Territorial Unions of the CGT Trade Unions (by the solidarity of the mass of the population and that of the workers of France (500,000 francs subscribed to the strike fund by the CGT).

The claims of the African rail workers concerned the establishment of a *single structure* unifying the different categories of personnel, European and African, without distinction of race, and the inclusion in this structure of a certain number of auxiliary workers who are in fact permanently employed.

On the whole, satisfaction on these points was won and the salaries of the temporary and permanent staff appreciably increased. On the other hand, those auxiliary workers who were not on the permanent staff received no increase and a fair number were dismissed.

Since the railway workers' strike the most important movement was the 48-hour strike of the industrial workers of Dakar (February 18-19 1949) which won them substantial increases in wages (nearly 30 %).

II. TRENDS IN THE CONDITIONS OF WORK

In 1945 European workers had the benefit of collective agreements dating back to 1937. There was also a collective agreement for African commercial employees dating back to 1938.

As a result of the strike of the African workers of Dakar in January 1946, the African workers succeeded in getting collective agreements for the Dakar area signed.

By two codicils to the 1938 agreement *the commercial employees* won the exact definition of the 7 categories in which these workers are divided, and the institution of seniority bonuses.

On the industrial sector, an agreement was arrived at on December 12th 1946 between the owners' organisations and twelve African unions (the "Unisindi" agreement). In particular these regulated conditions of employment, travel and eating-out allowances, the right to paid holidays (two weeks a year), the length of notice and the amount payable in lieu of notice, recognised trade union rights, made obligatory the election of the workers' delegates, and fixed their prerogatives.

Statutes of application completed the agreement by defining the categories (6 provided for), fixing overtime rate (legal length) (for an eight-hour day), seniority bonuses, etc.

Many individual agreements were reached in different trade categories (building, transport, food) during 1947.

The workers in the other territories tried to win the same advantages, but to the extent that they were weaker and could not conduct a struggle like that of the Dakar workers, they have had varying success.

At the beginning of 1948, out of 99 agreements or codicils effective in French West Africa, 43 related to Dakar.

In Senegal the agreements arrived at give the workers approximately the same advantages as those of the workers of Dakar.

Much less complete and advantageous agreements were won in

1947 on the Guinea Coast, the Ivory Coast, and in the Sudan, in 1948 in Dahomey. In the Sudan, the first collective agreement was signed on January 21st 1947; it deals with manual workers, fixes the labourer's daily wage at 40 francs and defines 7 categories of workers.

In the Middle Congo, at Brazzaville, the workers obtained for the commercial employees the fixing of 4 categories in November 1946, completed by that of 2 categories of permanent staff in January 1947. On this same date were determined the six categories of building workers, woodworkers, metal-workers, and boilermen, while the labourer's wage was fixed at 20 francs, with effect retrospectively from September 1st 1946. The African workers of Nigeria and of certain territories of French Equatorial Africa have at the moment no collective agreement. As a result, at Bangi, in Ubangi Shari, qualified workers earn only 60 francs a day in the Ladingos river-docks, and specialist workers in the Dujardin river-dock earn only up to 800 francs a month. And in the lake Chad region, at Fort Lamy, a chief cook earned a maximum of 1,000 francs a month, the minimum salary being 400 francs, and this in April 1948, at a time when the cost for food alone for a working class family rose to 72 francs a day.

Number of agreements and codicils in force
(beginning of 1948)

		INDUSTRY	COMMERCE	TRANSPORT
Dakar	43	21	27	13
Senegal	18	7	4	2
Guinea Coast	13	6	4	1
Ivory Coast	11	—	4	2
Mauretania	6	—	—	—

A single labour code, applying equally to European and African workers of all overseas territories (French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, Madagascar, Somaliland) has been demanded by the trade union organisations since 1946.

A measure which was still very inadequate but which marked some progress had been published as a decree at the end of 1947, shortly before the ILO Conference at New Delhi. Its application was held up by Coste-Floret on the intervention of representatives of the colonial trusts.

A draft has been put before the National Economic Council of France by the CGT, meeting the claims of the African workers and in particular extending to all the territories the advantages of the elementary rights won by the workers of Dakar.

—Abolishing all restrictions on trade union rights or interference by the colonial administration in the internal affairs of the unions (in certain territories a Certificate of Primary Elementary Studies is required of the trade union leaders; meddling by the administration in the union's treasuries; bans on the formation of certain unions, as on the Guinea Coast, where leaders of the health services' union

have been brought to trial, with the administration seeking to forbid the union from uniting all the staff of Konakry hospital and to compel it to include only the qualified nurses. They were acquitted by the Conakry court, but the Public Prosecutor is appealing to Dakar.

—Unconditional recognition of the right to strike (in particular abolition of compulsory arbitration “and of the penal or other penalties inflicted on the workers in the case of an illegal strike”). An example: the 48-hour strike at Dakar from February 18th to 20th, which was observed by 95 % of the metal workers and industrial workers, and which resulted in a 30 % increase, but which also aroused the ire of the administration; charges were brought against Gueye Abbas, general secretary of the Union of Dakar Trade Unions, and our comrade Suret-Canale was expelled from the colony.

—Application of the principle “equal pay for equal work”; abolition of racial discrimination in wages and labour regulations.

Inequality of wages on the Guinea Coast

	EUROPEANS	AFRICANS
1st category	17,420	2,100
2nd “	19,858	2,300
3rd “	22,225	2,800
4th “	24,594	3,400
5th “	26,624	4,400
6th “	31,361	6,000
Unclassified	None	7,500

—Joint conciliation boards for individual disputes.

—A 40-hour week.

—Banning of fines and stoppages of wages. Workers employed at Antananarivo by the “Metropolitan and Colonial Enterprises” building contractors have one or two days’ pay stopped for not keeping up with the speed of output, or, if dismissed at the beginning of a month, are paid only at the end.

—Fair pensions in cases of industrial diseases and accidents at work (the existing legislation excludes the majority of cases and grants ridiculous pensions: in 1947, a little over 2,000 francs a year for a case of 100 % blindness caused by an accident at work). There is also discrimination over accidents at work; French legislation is applied to Europeans only; Africans are excluded except for those “injured by a machine driven by a motive force other than human or animal, or by an explosive.”

While following the present Parliamentary discussions on the bill which gives a single labour code to the Overseas territories, the workers are pursuing their struggle for new agreements or codicils to existing collective agreements which will meet at least a section of their demands forthwith.

III. TRENDS IN WAGES AND PRICES

The struggle for the increase of wages has had two objectives :—

a) — to prevent the reduction of the workers' purchasing power, the result of price increases and devaluations of the currency;

b) — to improve the workers' living standards, already excessively low before the war and further forced down between 1939 and 1945.

On the whole, this struggle has won successes, especially where the working class was concentrated and organised (Dakar and Senegal).

The owners often point to the wage increases conceded to the African workers since 1946 as proof that their situation has improved.

At Dakar, where wages are the highest in French Colonial Africa, the minimum wage increased from 41 francs a day at the beginning of 1946 to 136 francs at the beginning of 1949. At Bangi, where wages are lowest, the minimum wage rose from 8 francs a day at the beginning of 1946 to 30 francs at the beginning of 1949. These increases made the index figure for minimum wages rise from 100 at the beginning of 1946 to 375 at the beginning of 1949 (for Bangi) and to 331 over the same period for Dakar.

These increases are claimed to be greater than the increase in the cost of living, as calculated by the official indices at Brazzaville and Dakar (which in the same period increased from 100 to 229 for Brazzaville and to 262 for Dakar).

It must be pointed out that these official indices are doubly suspect : first because they generally under-estimate the true increase in the cost of living, and in the second place because they calculate the cost of living for a *European family* and do not take into account the essential components of the African workers' budgets. Moreover, the salaries to start with were abnormally low, and remain so in spite of the increases.

Much more significant is a comparison of wage-increases with the capitalist companies' rising profits. If we compare the rise in wages over the period from the beginning of 1946 to the beginning of 1949 with that of the profits of the 11 companies whose balance-sheets for 1948 are known, we obtain for the corresponding period (1945-1949) the following results :

Profits for the year 1945 :	96,595	million francs	(index 100)
" " " " 1948 :	596,801	" "	(index 617)

So we see that the rate of exploitation of the African worker almost *doubled* between 1946 and 1949; if his wages had increased at the same rate as the companies' profits, it would have reached a figure almost twice its present one.

In the other territories, the cost of living, which was appreciably lower than that at Dakar until a few years ago, is tending to the same level, and even in some places to go higher. (There are no statistics which would permit an estimate of these trends).

Moreover, it must be recalled that in 1945 wages, which had

generally stayed at the 1939 level while the cost of living had considerably increased, *represented an abnormally low purchasing power*, even for conditions of colonialist super-exploitation.

For example, from 1935 to 1939 the minimum wage in French Equatorial Africa was fixed at 1 franc with food, or 1 franc 25 centimes without. At Brazzaville, in 1947, it was fixed at 8 francs with food or 20 francs without. Thus food (the rations provided by the employer), which was estimated at one-fifth of the pre-war wage, was estimated in 1945 at almost 2/3, which represents a considerable decrease in the standard of living.

Some details of wage and price trends

GUINEA COAST	COST-OF-LIVING INDEX	LABOURER'S WAGES
November 1946.....	328	46 francs
January 1948.....	771	60 francs

Taking the cost of living into account, wages should have been increased to 108 francs.

With two further increases in the cost of living,

30 % in August 1948.....	Wages fixed at 69 francs
26 % in January 1949.....	" " " 80 "

purchasing power is continually going down.

It must be pointed out that wage scales have been continually whittled down since 1946 (the higher categories having their wages increased by a smaller percentage than the minimum wage). In 1946, the industrial wage-scale at Dakar ranged from 100 (minimum) to 545; in 1949 only from 100 to 483. This scale is still much wider than that of wages in France, and the majority of workers are labourers on the minimum wage (72 % in French West Africa; 80 % in French Equatorial Africa).

On the whole, the workers' purchasing power and their standard of living remain extremely low. Let us take as an example the situation at *Dakar*, where the workers' wages are the least low in all French Colonial Africa (136 francs a day since January 27th, 1949).

Basing itself on the prices current on December 1st 1948, (prices which for certain essential commodities such as oil, rice, etc., have doubled since that date), a report written by the *Union of Dakar Trade Unions* showed that strict minimum necessary to the worker's *individual* needs amounted to 154 francs a day.

Even then these prices were the official ones, whereas in fact the insufficiency of the rations compels working-class families, by the second half of the month, to buy rice and meal on the black market (rice : 35 to 50 francs a kilo as against the official price of 18 francs 25 cents).

When we take into account the fact that normally the worker has to provide for a family and that there are no family allowances or social security measures, it can be seen that even at *Dakar* the workers'

purchasing power is far below the strict indispensable minimum. Under-nourishment is general and Dr. Pales' anthropological mission, whose conclusions have just been published, states that it is shown physiologically by a hypoglycemia which had been taken to be a racial characteristic but which disappears in normally nourished persons.

In the more backward territories, wages are considerably lower (30 francs a day at Bangi, chief town of Ubangi-Shari, and less still in the interior of this territory), while the cost of living is not appreciably less than that at Dakar, and the cost of certain manufactured goods is even higher.

Thus, the wage increases won since 1945, when compared with the rise in the cost of living, do not deceive us. They represent only a relative improvement in an extraordinarily low standard of living; if they were conceded without too much resistance by the owners, this is because they do not seriously affect colonial super-profits, of which some idea can be given by pointing out that a company like the West African Water and Electricity Company, with a capital of 50 millions, earned a profit of 73 millions in 1948.

In French Equatorial Africa wages are decided by decree. In French West Africa the labour consultative commission proposes a minimum wage to the governor, the wages of the higher categories being fixed by arbitration boards, by direct negotiation between employers and workers.

Experience has shown that often the owners' representatives agree to substantial concessions both to avoid the losses resulting from a strike and because the high rate of super-profits gives them ample margin.

But when the Administration intervenes, its role is often confined to imposing conditions of work or wages worse than those offered by the owners.

In February 1949, for instance, at the Labour Advisory Commission in the Upper Volta region, the trade unions demanded the raising of the minimum wage to 96 francs, the employers offered 83 francs 70. The Governor imposed 60 francs.

The same thing happened on the Guinea Coast and on the Ivory Coast. At Dakar, on the other hand, *where the workers went on strike* the administration was obliged, after numerous attempts at intimidation, to agree to grant increases of between 20 and 30 %. Similarly in the Cameroons, after a strike in the establishments of the private sector of the Wouri region, wages were increased by 33 %. The following is quite typical : the strike of the dockers of Autalabe and Salambava in Madagascar brought about an increase of 50 % in wages; in Diego Suarez, on the other hand, conciliation having succeeded in preventing the dockers' strike, the workers only received a 10 % wage increase.

It is to be noted that this strike, which took place in 1949, was the first since the events of 1947 which brought bloodshed to the great island and led to the imprisonment of all active trade unionists.

In addition to this, forced labour is practised in all the territories under French colonial administration. The Constitution of this country, however, states that :

“ The exercise of the recognised liberties and rights of all inhabitants

of the French Union implies the condemnation of any practice of forced labour which infringes the labour legislation in force in the metropolis." (Article 38 para. 2 of the French Constitution.)

However, it must be recognised that the employment of men of the Second Section of the contingents called up for military service in public works and construction schemes by drawing lots is only a disguised form of forced labour. The situation of these recruits is moreover, deplorable. They are paid allowances much lower than that of their comrades of the First Section and are differently dressed. In Senegal they sleep on the bare earth without a mat or a blanket and in many labour camps the sickness and mortality rates are abnormally high.

Apart from this violation of the Constitution resulting from the improper application of an earlier law there are many cases in which Africans are forced to work.

IN THE CAMEROONS :—

At Ngaoundere, the Administrator Granier sends police to recruit teams of labourers for road, building or forestry camps for a minimum period of three months. These workers are in fact only freed by the arrival of a team to relieve them. They are registered as "liable for statute-labour."

At Esseka, the Administrator Feral sent armed police in September 1947 to recruit villagers, who were attached together by the neck, sleeping at night in a guarded hut, and then sent to the place of work. When he was questioned by a trade union delegation, M. Feral replied that he had acted on the instructions of the High Commissioner Hoffherr.

At Ambam-Sangmelina, forced recruiting is still practised, under the successive administrations of Messrs Sanmarco and Lembezat. The Secretary of the agricultural trade union of Abanok, who protested against this state of affairs, was threatened with prosecution. At Ambam, any frontier dweller wishing to go into Portuguese Guinea to make a few purchases or sell his palmettoes, can only obtain a pass after having worked for some time in the camps of the Chief of the Subdivision.

IN SENEGAL :—

Until this summer, two forced labour camps existed at Richard-Toll and in the Cap-Vert Peninsula; they were abolished two months ago after representations by the General Council.

IN THE CHAD :—

The highly intensive cultivation of cotton which occupies almost the whole population (the crop is compulsorily sold to the Franco-Belgian "Cotonfran" Company) leads to forced labour becoming the general rule, especially in the districts of Moissala and Bongor.

Even at Fort-Lamy the administrators of the district make raids and collect all the passers-by, on the pretext of vagrancy, for work on the roads of the urban centre. On the 28th June 1948, out of 200 people

arrested in this way only 40 were able to prove that they had no regular occupation.

In many districts, the wages of the labourers in the camps are paid to the village or canton chiefs. The result is that some workers do not receive more than 50 francs for one or two months' work.

IN MADAGASCAR :—

Forced labour exists in the Ambatan Drazaka region, under the name of " emergency labour " (findramana).

Finally, it can be said that the struggle of the workers of Colonial Africa, which, like their trade union organisations has only really developed since the end of the Second World War, has had very important results :—

—in the field of working conditions, the abolition of forced labour for the territories as a whole, the signing of collective agreements in the most developed territories,

—in the field of wages, a constant improvement of purchasing power since 1945, although the pre-war purchasing power has not yet been reached in most cases. The standard of living remains extremely low and under-nourishment is general.

Belgian Congo

The development of the economic and social situation in the Belgian Congo reveals the strengthened control of monopoly capital, principally American, which goes together with the aggravation of the workers' living conditions.

The economic development of the Belgian Congo is marked simply by extraction and export of increased quantities of ore on the one hand and on the other hand by the increased imports of finished products mainly from the United States.

The following table of foreign trade shows these trends :—

YEAR	EXPORTS	—in tons—	IMPORTS
1939	490,000		281,000
1940	438,000		204,000
1941	490,000		296,000
1942	567,000		384,000
1943	620,000		471,000
1944	530,000		481,000
1945	585,000		351,000
1946	678,000		465,000
1947	781,000		563,000
1948	854,000		

In 1947, 10.09 % of exports went to the United States, *representing 15.35 % in value*, 6.05 % went to Great Britain, *representing 13.14 % in value*.

For imports, 13.89 % in volume came from the United States, representing 38.13 % in value, 2.52 % came from Great Britain, representing a value of 8.62 %.

The principal exports are oleaginous plants and copper.

Uranium, which represents only slight tonnages, (1,500 tons in 1939, 9,666 tons in 1945) but is of great strategic value, has risen in price 30 times between 1944 and 1946. The total production goes to the United States.

From 1940 to 1946, 1 billion 800 million Belgian francs were invested in the Belgian Congo. In addition to this, one must take into account all the foreign capital, whose amount is difficult to estimate, but is given officially as 1 million pounds sterling.

Since 1945, the number of Europeans living in the Belgian Congo has grown constantly :—

34,700 in 1946,

43,400 in 1947,

50,000 in 1948.

More than 760,000 African workers were employed in 1947.

There are, therefore, in the Belgian Congo : the "Whites" (mostly Belgian) of whom a small fraction compose the ruling apparatus (1,143 automobiles in the Belgian Congo on 31-12-1947); and the "Natives" of whom a small section (10 %), known as "clerks" forms a nucleus on which the colonial administration rests.

The social situation of this country is well-described by a professor of the University of Louvain, who writes, half-naively and half-cynically :—

"The evidence of the recent period... shows that the Blacks are calm and very cheerful. The Belgians use the Blacks up to the limit of their abilities and try to increase the latter... In the Belgian Congo there is no antagonism or competition between Blacks and Whites... The Black who has gone through the Mission-School... earns a good living, he lives in European fashion and drinks the white man's beer... The "clerks" only compose 10 % of the population. In addition to this, there are tens of thousands of labourers without the slightest qualifications who are badly paid and live in fairly wretched conditions. The Blacks take no part in political life."

In fact, as these words themselves show, the social situation of the country is that which is known to exist under the worst colonial regimes. The UNO delegation entrusted with an investigation in the Belgian Congo, specially mentioned this in its report.

Colonisation was for a long time left in the hands of the religious congregations who have veritable administrative officers in the colony. Paternalism has developed in all social relations. The existing European trade unionism is active enough but strongly impregnated with racialism. The trade union press never says a word in the defence of the interests of Africans. This state of division between European and native wage-earners is thus maintained for the benefit of the colonialists.

South Africa

To understand the living conditions of the workers in South Africa, it is necessary, first of all, to distinguish the different categories of the population :—

TOTAL POPULATION	EUROPEANS	NON-EUROPEANS
11,400,000	2,400,000	9,000,000

It is thus a country with a colonial structure whose main economic activity is the extraction of ore and its export. The exploitation of the non-European masses by the European minority is all the greater for the fact that the mineral wealth of South Africa is very important.

During the last years, moreover, there has been some development of manufacturing due to the contribution of British and American capital. The annual production of steel has exceeded 500,000 tons but is unable to satisfy the needs of the industrialisation of the country. The number of new companies is in the region of 3,500 to 4,000 every year. In 1947, 3,721 companies were set up, having a total capital of 400 million dollars, the majority being branches of American companies, which have officially invested more than 100 million dollars. South Africa is, moreover, an important outlet, not only for American capital, but also for American goods. In 1947, more than 45,000 American automobiles were bought in South Africa, in 1948 more than 60,000. These figures give us an approximate indication, at the same time, of the number of « ruling families » in this country. It is probably on this sort of fact that certain French economists and publicists base themselves when they state that the "standard of living of the population in South Africa is clearly superior to that in France."

In fact, as in all colonial countries, racial discrimination on the one hand and class discrimination on the other play such a large part that side by side with a handful of foreign and national representatives of the interests of monopoly capital who live in luxury and opulence, millions of workers of all races and all colours live in extreme poverty in the labour camps of the mining companies.

In order to study the situation of the workers in South Africa, it is therefore necessary to examine separately that of the white workers and that of the Africans, as well as the respective situations of the different workers of foreign origin.

The white workers have the right to organise in trade unions. Their trade unions are officially recognised once they are registered. Since 1924 the Industrial Conciliation Act, promulgated after the great uprising of the European miners of the Rand in 1922 has obliged employers to negotiate with the trade unions so that a strike is no longer likely until all other peaceful means of settlement have been exhausted.

In spite of their privileged situation in the country in comparison

with the African workers, the European workers have grounds for discontent. The 18th Trade Union Conference showed that, in spite of the fact that during the war production was considerably increased and the employers made high profits, the standard of living of the workers fell as a direct result of the rising cost of living. Official figures admit an increase in the cost of living of 45 % in comparison with 1938 and estimate the increase of wages through the cost of living bonus granted to the workers at 20 %. The trade unions have recorded an increase in the cost of living of 70 % in comparison with 1938 and estimate that the cost of living bonus amounts at most to 17 %.

In fact, the process of rising prices and wage-freezing creates the same situation for the workers in South Africa as in the capitalist countries, with the aggravation resulting from racial discrimination.

Monopoly capital in South Africa keep up the division among the workers by granting substantial advantages to a certain privileged layer. This working class "aristocracy" tends, in its turn, to exploit the African workers and allies itself with the employers to prevent the African workers from improving their living and working conditions out of fear of losing part of their "privileges."

As far as the African workers are concerned, the labour legislation gave them no right to association and there was no law permitting them to negotiate collective agreements. In spite of this state of affairs, certain European trade unions had created sections which admitted Africans. In this way, non-European trade unions were formed.

In face of this pressure by the workers, on the 16th May 1947 the Government published a bill on trade union rights for the Africans. This reactionary bill was, in fact, nothing more nor less than a flagrant violation of trade union liberties.

In particular, the new law prohibited "whites" from organising African trade unions and Africans from being members of mixed trade unions. This law permitted the setting-up of African "trade unions" in certain branches of industry, but formally prohibited them in the mines and in agriculture which form, in fact, the essential economic activity of the country.

Fines and prison sentences were laid down for any infraction. This law also legalised government interference in the internal affairs of the trade unions : elections, finance, publications, etc.

The reactionary government thus sought to create an ever-wider gulf between the "White" and African working classes, in order to divide the forces of the workers. Racial discrimination is thus carried further among the African workers. At the present time, more than 400,000 African workers and 40,000 Europeans are employed in the mines, of whom 300,000 are employed in the gold mines.

To understand the living and working conditions of the miners and the agricultural workers, we can take as an example, on the one hand the African workers in the gold mines and on the other hand the workers employed in the sugar cane plantations :—

Gold mines : The wage of the African miners is 2 shillings on the surface and 2/3d. underground for a working day of 10 to 14 hours.

The European miner earns a minimum of £1 : 10s. (sterling). And even from this slender wage of the African, a sum is levied to pay for the shoes, shirt, trousers and mattresses which each miner must acquire on his arrival at the camp, after having signed a contract for (on the average) 14 months. (The trousers represent five weeks' wages and the shirt one week's). During their contract the workers live away from their families. They are lodged in camps, hutments surrounded by walls. Eighty Africans live in each hut in cement bunks one above the other. The food is insufficient. The lack of hygiene and the total absence of labour security measures work havoc among them.

Sugar industry : This very important industry of South Africa is also that in which production costs are lowest thanks to the shameful exploitation of the workers. A ton of sugar costs £6 : 5 : 0d (sterling) as compared with £13 : 3 : 6d. in the United States and £11 : 15 : 0 (sterling) in Australia.

60,000 workers are employed in sugar cane cultivation, and 10,000 in the factories. Except for a few technicians, 60 % of this labour force is composed of Africans and 40 % of Indians.

The average monthly wage of a worker engaged in cultivation is £2 : 10 : 0 (sterling), which is clearly inadequate for subsistence, particularly in view of the fact that the cost of living bonus is not applied to workers in the sugar industry, as it is to industrial workers. The Indian workers receives such inadequate monthly food rations that he is obliged to expend 60 to 80 % of his income on additional food. The African worker is yet more poverty stricken and receives only meals made up of maize and beans.

Children are often employed in the industry. Their wage is 12/6d per month. Women receives about £1 (sterling).

The economic situation in South Africa is very precarious. Gold production is the main bulwark of the South African economy. It makes up for about 75 % of the foreign trade and represents 40 % of the State's revenue.

It is in the interest of the new industries, the secondary industries, to see the abolition of colour discrimination if they are to grow and develop. But they are not yet sufficiently powerful to conquer the mining interests which are determined that labour shall remain cheap.

For the moment, and since Malan came to power, we are witnessing a strengthening of social reaction, which is determinedly exercising even greater pressure on the coloured workers.

Discrimination is pushed by the Government to its limit, since this alone is capable of temporarily hindering the unity of the workers. Here are some recent examples of it :—

Before the provincial elections, the Daily Herald wrote on 9.3.49 :—

"If Nationalist Premier Malan does well in South Africa's provincial elections tomorrow he will go all out on his racial segregation policy.

"A Nationalist victory would strengthen the policy of placing coloured voters on a separate register, abolishing white representation of coloured people in the Lower House and segregating coloured people in transport, housing, education and trade unions."

There has been no delay in the implementation of these measures : a bill has just been put before the South African Parliament prohibiting mixed marriages between white and coloured people.

But they have raised protests even in religious circles : the different churches established in South Africa have just published a document protesting against the bill submitted to Parliament prohibiting mixed marriages.

Shortly after, on May 19th 1949, the Minister of Labour declared that the Government was no longer prepared to allow non-Europeans to attend conferences in foreign countries, "particularly in countries where there is no colour-bar or racial discrimination and from which they will return here afterwards, to conditions of which we are aware."

This declaration was closely followed by acts, since on June 2nd 1949, Senator W. Belinger and his wife were refused visas to go to Great Britain, and M. F. Sachs, Secretary of the Textile Workers Union was also refused a visa to go to Europe to attend the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It appears clearly from the preceding that these restrictions are only a prelude and that those to come will be increasingly harsh towards the coloured people.

THE MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST RECENT STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS IN FRENCH AFRICA

Algeria

18 April 1948. The strike in the Koulf phosphate mines was launched by the 2,000 miners employed in the undertaking.

June. Strike of Algerian land-workers. Almost everywhere they obtained satisfaction of their demands : 20 % wage-increase, legal working day and recognition of farm delegates.

September. After a total strike in the Algiers, Blida, Oran and Mostaganem factories, the workers obtained an increase of 12 francs an hour and the payment of a bonus of 2,500 francs.

30 September. Beginning of the dockers' strike lasting 4 days : 40 % increase.

11, 14 October. Strike of Oranie railwaymen. The Governor-General accepted the majority of the demands.

5 October. Start of the miners' strike. Those of the Kenadsa coal mines obtained satisfaction after 21 days. The strike continued in the ore mines of Benisaf, Ouenza, Guedalma and Timezrit. After 61 days of strike, the miners obtained a 20 % increase and a collective agreement. *Those of Timezrit had to hold out to the 72nd day of strike to obtain satisfaction.*

12 January 1949. After a 97 day strike in the M'zaita phosphate mines, the miners obtained satisfaction. The struggle had begun on October 8.

1 February. The dockers went out on a token strike to demand the application of the law of 6 September 1947. They decided to launch a total strike if they did not receive satisfaction. Beginning at Algiers, the movement affected all ports by the 15th.

7 April. End of new Tobacco workers' strike. After a struggle lasting a month, granting of a bonus of 7 francs an hour.

18 May. 4 hour token strike of Algerian gas workers and electricians.

Morocco

March 1948. Comrade Gronovsky, Secretary of the Agadir Local Union was expelled by the Residency. The Trade Union Congress of Morocco protested during its meeting of April 13 and 14.

These expulsions were followed in April 1948 by those of Ferrhat, member of the Bureau of the Local Union of Safi, and Ouali, General Secretary of the Djerada miners' union.

2 April. The Kouribga miners' strike in the phosphate mines began, with 7,000 on strike.

Several battalions and half an armoured division were sent to the scene. All May Day demonstrations were banned. Arrests and pressure were increased in order to force the workers to go back to work.

7 June. In the mining area, after the anti-semitic disturbances, the miners' leaders were arrested and the Djerada and Oudja trade union offices were closed down. Thanks to the action of the workers, the members of the bureau of the miners' union were released in July. Bouhamida remained in prison but the accusation of complicity in the Oudja murders was withdrawn, and only that of endangering the external security of the State was retained.

At the end of February 1949, Bouhamida was sentenced to hard labour for life, the court martial nevertheless having retained the charge of his responsibility in the Oudja massacres.

November. The Meknes Tobacco workers went on strike for 29 days.

November. The workers of the Casablanca naval yards struck for 32 days for satisfaction of their demands.

December 1948. Bank employees of Casablanca and Rabat went on strike.

January 1949. Casablanca dockers went on strike and obtained full satisfaction of their demands.

March and April. Strike of Moroccan railwaymen.

May. Strike of electricity workers in all towns of Morocco.

Tunisia

5 August 1947. On the order of the Residency General, the Army opened fire on strikers at Sfax, killing 33 workers and injuring hundreds.

August 1947. The dockers obtained a 10 % wage increase, after a whole series of movements and repeated strikes.

1948. Strike in the Guez weaving mills lasting 7 weeks, and in Sotumatex for one month.

The agricultural workers on the big estates obtained the reduction of the working day to 10 hours, through strike action.

September 1948. 15,000 workers took part in a series of strikes which led the Residency General to grant a wage-rise of 25 %.

The miners of Oued Maden struck for 33 days.

22 February 1949. 4,000 miners of Metladui, Moulares and Redeyef went on strike. The mines belong to the "Sfax-Gafsa" phosphate trust.

After a 45 day strike, the arbitration committee granted the miners :—

1. bonuses on work over and above set task
2. payment for days of strike
3. the guarantee that no sanctions would be applied.

17 May 1949. 2 hour strike of dockers of the port of Tunis to mark their solidarity with the struggle of the municipal workers against the dismissals.

French West Africa

January 1946. General strike for ten days at Dakar, of industrial workers and commercial employees, also affecting civil servants and domestic workers.

12-24 January. Strike of workers employed on the Markalan dam in the Sudan. The strikers were obliged to return to work without obtaining satisfaction. The workers and active trade unionists were subjected to repression and large-scale dismissals were carried out. Jacques Doumbia was arrested and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in April.

However, this strike was the point of departure for the obtaining of important advantages shortly after.

10 October 1947. Beginning of African railwaymen's strike *which lasted until 19 March 1948.*

After 5 months of courageous struggle, they obtained satisfaction for the majority of their most important claims.

5 January 1949. 24 hour token strike at Dakar. Among the demands was that for a minimum hourly wage of 19 francs (4,000 frs. a month) and the introduction of social security.

18, 19 February 1949. The industrial workers of Dakar launched a 48 hour strike which allowed them to obtain a wage-rise of nearly 30 %.

7 March. 2 hour strike at Dakar in protest against expulsion of Suret Canale, Secretary of the Trades Council. The strike took place among employees of the education profession to which Suret Canale belongs.

Cameroons

November-December 1948. Strike of plantation workers ending in a 33 % wage rise.

May 1949. N'Gom, General Secretary of the Trades Council was thrown into prison, accused of insulting a civil servant.

Haute Volta

June 1948. Constitution of the CGT Union of Trade Unions grouping 1,500 members, at Bobo Dioulasso. First results were felt immediately : wage increase of 50 %.

Ivory Coast

1st May 1984. Annual Congress at Abidjan of CGT trade unions, grouping 10,000 members.

February 1949. Jean Rigo, European Secretary of the Trades Council was expelled.

Dahomey

15 February 1948. The 2nd Congress of the Union of Trade Unions of Dahomey met at Cotonou.

Set up in 1946, the Union of Trade Unions contains more than 2,000 members.

ITEM 10 OF THE AGENDA

**TRADE UNION ACTIVITY
IN THE ASIAN, AUSTRALASIAN, AFRICAN
AND LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES**

**Report of LIU NING-I (*China*)
ON THE ASIAN COUNTRIES**

I. Introduction.

II. The Growth and Consolidation of the Trade Union Movement in the Countries of Asia.

1. China.
2. North Korea.
3. The People's Republic of Mongolia.
4. Viet-Nam.
5. Indonesia.
6. Japan.
7. South Korea.
8. India.
9. Burma.
10. Ceylon.
11. Malaya.
12. Siam.
13. The Philippines.
14. The Near East (Iran, Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey, Egypt).

III. The present tasks of the Trade Union Movement in the Countries of Asia.

I. TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA

Four years have passed since the London Conference and the Paris Congress of Trade Unions. This period is characterized by the immense growth of the democratic trade union movement in the countries of Asia.

The struggle of the freedom loving peoples for their own liberation, the debacle and capitulation of Hitlerite Germany and aggressive Japanese militarism swept millions of the working masses in the dependent and colonial countries of Asia into action. They have risen in a struggle for the improvement of their economic and social

conditions, for the liquidation of the colonial regimes and for the national independence of their own countries.

With the growth and widening of the National Liberation movement the democratic trade unions were developed and consolidated, the unity of the working class and the working people in the countries of Asia was developed and strengthened and the international solidarity and their contacts with the world trade union movement were fortified.

The formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the assistance and support rendered by the WFTU to the trade union movement in the Asian countries contributed to the further rise of the trade union movement in the countries of Asia.

The World Federation of Trade Unions enjoys well-earned prestige and growing support from the working class and the working people in the Asiatic countries.

In practice, they are convinced that the World Federation of Trade Unions is the true champion of the interests of the broad working masses and therefore the democratic trade unions of Asia wholly and completely support it.

The affiliation of the trade unions of Siam, the Philippines, Japan, the People's Republic of Mongolia, South Korea and others to the WFTU can be shown as brilliant evidence of the growing prestige of the WFTU.

The help and support rendered by the WFTU to the democratic trade union movement in the Asian countries corresponds to the decisions of the London Conference and the Paris Congress.

The basic demands of the working class had been shaped in the resolutions of the London Conference and the Paris Congress. Important decisions on the question about the conditions of the working people and the activities of the trade unions in the countries of Asia were also adopted.

The London Conference in its Manifesto stressed :—

“ It is necessary to bring to an end the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation and to facilitate immediately the development of free trade unions in those countries.”

In the course of four years since the London Conference and the Paris Congress, the national liberation movement in a series of Asiatic countries has gained remarkable historic victories.

In liberated China, North Korea and the democratic republic of Viet Nam the colonial regime and system of slave labour has been ended. Democratic reforms have been introduced, the result of which fundamentally changes the position of the working people.

The People's Republic of Mongolia is marked by remarkable progress in its economic, political and cultural development.

A completely different situation prevails in the other countries of Asia. The victory of the peace-loving nations in the war against Hitlerite Facism and Japanese militarism did not bring the long awaited liberation to the people of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaya, Siam, Burma and the countries of the Near East. Fraudulent promises about freedom and independence to the peoples of these

countries remained unfulfilled. International imperialism not only did not renounce its colonial regime established in these countries, but still attempts to maintain by force its domination over the countries of Asia.

The Anglo-American, Dutch and French imperialists attempt to use airplanes and tanks, bayonets and bullets, to maintain their rule in the Asian countries and strangle the national liberation movement in Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, South Korea and other countries.

The economic conditions of the working class and the working people of the colonial and dependent countries of Asia continues to worsen. The already low wages of the workers are further decreased, the living standard of the working people is more and more lowered and the number of unemployed grows.

The internal reaction supported by the imperialists, first of all the American imperialists, widely attacks the vital interests of the working people. No political rights, racial discrimination, anti-labour legislation, persecution of democratic trade unions, arrests and murdering of trade union leaders—these are the results of the activities of the imperialist bandits and their corrupt servants, the reactionary cliques of the Asian countries.

The working class and the working people in the countries of Asia have raised their powerful voice to defend peace, freedom and democracy. They have resolutely come out against the North Atlantic Pact directed against the USSR and the People's Democracies.

It is necessary to remind the gentlemen of Wall Street and the City that the working masses and the democratic trade unions in the Asiatic countries together with the working people of the whole world will resolutely struggle for peace against the instigators of a new world war.

In their struggle against the colonial regime and imperialistic oppression, the working people of the Asiatic countries need brotherly help and support from the world working class, the international trade union movement and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Already in the Paris World Congress of Trade Unions it was decided to convene an Asian Conference of Trade Unions with the aim of working out concrete measures to help the trade union movement in the countries of Asia. However, the splitters of the international trade union movement—the reactionary leaders of the TUC of Britain and the CIO of the USA did all they could to undermine the work of rendering efficient help and support to the trade union movement of the Asiatic countries.

It is precisely Deakin, Carey, Kupers and their ilk who openly sabotaged the decision of the Congress on the convening of the Asian Trade Union Conference.

Already in the first period of the formation of the WFTU, they prevented the establishment of a Colonial Department in the WFTU. And when this department was formed nevertheless, they converted it into an inactive organ through their own representatives, Germer, and later, Cope.

Deakin, Carey and Kupers furthered the appearance of government-sponsored police trade unions in the Asiatic countries with the

aim of maintaining and strengthening the rule of foreign monopoly in these countries.

Now, after their withdrawal from the WFTU, they energetically attempt to split and liquidate the democratic trade union movement in the countries of Asia. They want to repeat their unsuccessful attempt to form a puppet "Asiatic Federation of Labour" and unite the government-sponsored trade unions subsidized by the Anglo-American imperialists.

However, these attempts are clearly destined to fail. The democratic trade union movement in the countries of Asia is growing and consolidating, and the drive for national and international trade union unity is growing ever stronger, intensifying the support for and consolidation of the WFTU.

II. THE GROWTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA

1. China

The unity of the trade union movement in our country was laid 27 years ago. The idea of the unification of the workers of the whole country was raised in the First All China Labour Congress which was held in 1922 in Canton. After the 2nd Congress in 1925, the All China Federation of Labour was formed. Six Labour Congresses took place in the course of 27 years. The 6th All China Labour Congress, which was held in the liberated people's city of Harbin in August 1948 after a period of 20 years since the 5th Congress was an immensely happy event for the working people. The present programme of the Chinese labour movement was worked out in principle at this Congress. In its decisions, it is clearly stated that the decisive premise for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people is the "complete overthrow of the rule of American imperialism and its lackeys in China and the formation of a new democratic people's republic."

Delegates coming from all parts of the country and even from Kuomintang controlled areas unanimously declared that their main aim was to support the liberation war with all their strength.

These slogans were immediately put into action. In the offensive of the People's Liberation Army not only workers but also women and children protected the machines and equipment, in the factories from the destruction by the retreating Kuomintang troops. In this manner, thanks to the coordinative action of the working people, cities liberated from the Kuomintang troops are in most cases rehabilitated at an extremely speedy rate.

Industries in such big cities as Mukden, Tientsin and Peiping can be regarded as fully restored. Communications, factories and municipal establishments function normally.

In Manchuria which was liberated earlier than the other parts of China, industrial production has exceeded that in the Kuomintang-controlled days.

Here are some figures which characterize the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the working population in the liberated areas and their real heroism in the rehabilitation of the national economy.

In liberated China 15,700 out of the 21,300 kilometres of railway are already restored and function normally. And another 3,700 kilometres of railway will be restored within 1949 in North China and Manchuria.

Coal mining in Manchuria set itself the target to turn out 10,500,000 tons of coal in 1949. At present there are reasons to believe that this figure will be considerably surpassed.

Postal, telegraphic and telephone communications are completely rehabilitated.

The second day after the people's Liberation Army captured Shanghai and Nanking, telegraphic and telephone communications were completely restored.

This is the significance of the role played by the Chinese working class in the liberation and rehabilitation of its country. It is clear why the Chinese workers are occupying a leading position in present day China.

The improvement of the living conditions of the Chinese working people can be shown from the example of Mukden which was liberated in November 1948.

Under the Kuomintang regime, the average monthly pay of workers in a textile factory was nominally 155 catties of grain while virtually the workers only got 90 catties after deducting all the taxes and levies.

After the liberation of Mukden, the average monthly pay of workers in the same factory amounts to 330 catties, that is, 212 % higher.

In the heavy industries in Mukden wages increased 231 %.

In Mukden, before liberation, the working hours in the light industries were 12 hours a day, and in the heavy industries—11 hours. Now, in spite of the war conditions, the working day has been shortened to 10 hours in the light industries and 8 hours in the heavy industries.

Manchuria which was liberated earlier than the other regions affords rich materials for the study of the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the working people.

One of the most important indications is the system of social insurance rendered to all workers. Manchuria is the first place where social insurance has been introduced.

All 400,000 workers in the state-owned enterprises in Manchuria are insured. They are receiving medical care free of charge, subsidies for illness and paid leaves.

The Northeast (Manchuria) Railway trade unions were particularly active. It is interesting to list some of their undertakings for the well being of the railway workers whose number is about 160,000 in Manchuria. There were organized 79 baths, 54 barber's shops, 374 workers' clubs, 72 libraries, 49 cooperatives, 1,833 wall-newspapers and blackboard newspapers, 560 newspaper reading rooms, 66 schools with 423 teachers where 17,300 children of the railway workers are

studying. In the night schools for workers 28,000 had been graduated in 1948. At present almost all the leading personnel of the railways were promoted from the ranks of the workers.

Hundreds of workers now take direct participation in the administration of the industrial enterprises and occupy leading positions in the state and municipal organs.

In 1945 the number of organized workers in the country was 800,000. On the eve of the 6th All China Labour Congress held in 1948, it amounted to 2,830,000. The membership of the trade unions grows very quickly.

The All China Federation of Labour has decided to organize separate trade unions of handicraft, cultural, agricultural and dock workers. In this manner, the number of organized working people in China will reach 10 million in the near future.

The North China Trade Union Congress held recently in Tientsin pointed out that the basic task of the trade unions is to rehabilitate industrial production in the liberated cities basing on the political line formed by Mao Tse-tung, "Development of production, a flourishing economy, taking into account both public and private interests and benefits to both labour and capital." The efforts of the trade union organizations must be directed to the maximum development of the productive forces both in the nationalized enterprises and those which still remain in the hands of private owners.

In order to fulfil this important task the Tientsin Congress recommended the formation of factory administrative committees in the enterprises composed of representatives from the workers and the administration. At the same time, it is necessary to train the workers in directing industrial production and to convene workers' conferences in factories.

The following questions were also decided upon in the Tientsin Congress; the working out of collective agreements, the formation of a network of supply stores and consumers' cooperatives.

On the 30th of May 1949, an enlarged session of the Standing Committee of the All China Federation of Labour was held in connection with the coming 2nd Congress of the WFTU. The following questions were discussed :—

1) Problems in connection with the Second Congress of the WFTU and the convocation of the Asian Trade Union Conference.

2) Report of the delegation which attended the 10th Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR.

3) Strengthening of the leading organ of the All China Federation of Labour.

The Standing Committee affirmed that the All China Federation of Labour agreed with the general policy of the WFTU and the agenda of the Milan Congress. It approved the decision of the WFTU to convene an Asian Trade Union Conference in China.

New tasks arising before the labour movement of China after the liberation of such large cities as Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking and Shanghai demand new forms of organisation for work. It was decided

to establish the following eight departments under the All China Federation of Labour : organizational, cultural and educational, production, wage, labour insurance and social welfare, international liaison, juvenile workers and female workers departments.

A guiding spirit of full support to the WFTU and its policy in the struggle for peace and democracy prevailed throughout the work of the session from beginning to end. So also was the indignation expressed by the broad trade union masses at the policy of splitting the trade unions, which Deakin, Tewson, Carey and Kupers and representatives of the capitalist camp, whom the workers of the whole world truly hate, attempt to realize in contradiction to the interests of the working people of the world.

With great enthusiasm, the Chinese working people welcome the idea of the establishment of the Trade Departments. We have sent our delegates to these Conferences, because they will undoubtedly serve the cause of strengthening the unity of the international labour movement.

The brilliant achievements of the People's Liberation Army place before us many problems in connection with the organization of production in the rear of the advancing army and the restoration of normal life in the liberated areas. Great responsibility rests with the trade union movement of our country before which are placed immense tasks in the field of economic and cultural construction. We lack cadres. We lack qualified leaders from the ranks of workers to direct the enterprises. Of course, it is difficult for us, but the example of the Great Soviet Union inspires and encourages us. We intend to learn from the Soviet Union, whose experiences we widely apply. We are confident that in the rear of the liberation war, the Chinese people and the Chinese working masses will gain their victory as they have done at the front.

2. North Korea

As a result of the democratic reforms which have been carried out in North Korea, the social and economic conditions of the working people of North Korea have radically changed. The growth of industry, transport and agriculture led to the beginning of considerable economic and cultural progress of the people's democratic republic of Korea. In North Korea the number of the working class is steadily increasing and the ranks of the working intelligentsia are growing. The living standard of the people is improving, the wages of workers and employees are increasing and both the working and living conditions are continuously improving.

Progressive labour legislation has been adopted and introduced. The government of the people's democratic republic ratified the laws on labour, social insurance, annual paid leaves and holidays for pregnant women. The principle of equal pay for equal work is also introduced.

The number of trade unions in North Korea grows continuously. From 1945 to 1948, the membership of the trade unions has doubled (from 235,000 to 467,000). Thousands of workers have been promoted

by the trade unions to leading jobs in both central and local governments and as directors in factories and plants.

The trade unions of North Korea opened 11 rest homes and 5 sanatoria, 465 workers clubs, 2,142 reading rooms, 4,818 libraries and 175 factory theatres. This gives an idea of the scope of cultural work for the masses of the trade unions of North Korea.

3. *The People's Republic of Mongolia*

For the first time the Trade Union Centre of the Mongolian People's Republic has sent its representatives to attend our Congress. The working class of the Mongolian People's Republic is being born and its numerical strength is growing every year.

Economically backward as it was, the People's Republic of Mongolia is now transforming itself. Progressive labour legislation and social security have been carried out. The workers enjoy holidays with pay, women workers in pregnancy and after child-birth are granted paid leave.

The membership of the Trade Union of the People's Republic of Mongolia is already 27,000.

The Mongolian people are now exerting their efforts to fulfil the Second Year National Economic Plan of their first five-year plan. They firmly believe that they will achieve Socialism without passing through the stage of capitalism.

The working people of the People's Republic of Mongolia, standing together with the working class of the whole world, express their firm will that under the banner of the WFTU, they will fight for peace, freedom and democracy, will oppose the instigators of a new war and will struggle for the improvement of the livelihood of the Mongolian people.

4. *Viet-Nam*

The trade union movement of Viet-Nam is participating in the defence of the young Viet-Nam Democratic Republic so as to defeat the aggression of the French imperialists who are attempting to restore their rule in that country.

The Viet-Nam Labour Federation—the only centre of the national trade union movement, with a membership of more than 225,000—is now leading the Viet-Nam workers in increasing production, supplying the needs for national defence and in the patriotic labour emulation campaign which aims to improve the welfare of the Viet-Nam working people.

In the New Democratic Viet-Nam the social legislation that is being carried out has eliminated colonial exploitation of the working people; the trade unions have complete freedom to organise; they are participating in the factory administrative committees and in the popularly elected government administrations.

The situation in the areas occupied by the French army is completely different. Here, the system of oppression and exploitation dominates everything. In the rubber plantations and the coal mines, workers have to work 12-14 hours a day while the price of rice is three times dearer than in the liberated areas of Viet-Nam.

The workers in the French-occupied areas have no economic or social rights and are brutally persecuted. However, they are firmly resisting the aggressors and, disregarding any danger, are joining their fighting underground organizations.

The workers of Viet-Nam and their trade unions are the true fighters for national independence and democracy. They are actively supporting the WFTU in the struggle against the instigators of a new war and for the interests of the working people.

5. Indonesia

After the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945 the trade union movement in this country made giant strides forward. For the first time in history all trade unions in Indonesia, irrespective whether industrial or craft, rallied under the Central Indonesian Labour Organisation SOBSI. In the spring of 1947 the SOBSI membership consisted of 28 industrial and craft unions with a total membership approximately 1,200,000 of whom 1,000,000 were plantation workers.

The Indonesian workers clearly understood that without the liberation of the whole nation the emancipation of the Indonesian working class would be impossible. In addition to their struggles for better living and progressive labour legislations, they heroically fought to defend the young republic against the aggression of Dutch imperialism.

Unfortunately, from the very beginning the leadership of the national liberation movement has been in the hands of the Indonesian bourgeoisie. Its reactionary representatives Hatta, Soekarno and their type, who were afraid of the growing strength of the working class, accepted the bribery of American and Dutch imperialism and carried out a policy of national betrayal.

Under the orders of the American masters Hatta removed all progressive elements from the national government and organised masses arrests among the trade unions and other democratic forces.

Against all this betrayal the Indonesian working class remained staunch fighters in the national liberation movement, and demanded the conversion of the Hatta government into a truly national government. In order to strengthen the unity of the working class in their great struggle, a merger of all political parties of the Indonesian workers, supported by the trade unions, was realized in early autumn of 1948.

Attempting to crush this great unity of the working class, Hatta provoked a rebellion in Madura, calling it a "Communist insurrection." In this campaign of repression 25,000 Indonesian trade unionists and patriots were put into jail by the Hatta clique.

Last December the Dutch imperialists launched a new offensive against the Indonesian republic. Though the reactionary leaders of the republic were caught unawares, the people led by the Indonesian working class immediately began a new defence of their country by withdrawing from the main occupied cities and continuing their armed resistance.

Today despite the brutal terror committed by the Dutch fascists the Indonesian resistance movement is growing day by day. The partisans are cutting communications between towns occupied by the Dutch, and fighting has broken out deep in the Dutch occupied areas.

Undoubtedly, the decisive element of the struggle of the Indonesian workers today is the partisan movement. We are confident that the Indonesian working class which adopted the correct policy of uniting and leading the patriotic elements of all social stratas in the fight against imperialism and its lackeys, will lead to final victory and the liberation of the whole nation.

6. Japan

The labour movement in Japan in the post-war period has seen fast development. Before the war, there were only 973 trade unions throughout Japan with a membership of 420,000, that is, 7 % of the total number of workers. By May 1946, the number of organized workers already amounted to 2,000,000 and by 1948, 6,500,000. According to the official statistics up to the end of March this year, trade union organizations throughout the country amounted to 36,483 with a membership of 6,900,000. All these figures show the rapid growth of trade unions in Japan.

The Congress of Japanese Industrial Unions and the National Liaison Council of Trade Unions are the backbone of the democratic labour movement in Japan. In February this year, by the unanimous decisions of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, they became members of the WFTU. According to recent estimates, the membership of the CJIU already amounted to 4,000,000. Under the leadership of the CJIU and NLC, the Japanese workers despite the oppression of the occupation authorities carry on a stubborn struggle for the realisation of the improvement of livelihood, liquidation of monopoly, prevention of the resurgence of Fascism and militarism, national liberation, democracy and freedom.

In order to split the labour movement in Japan, McArthur and the representatives of AFL give full support to the reactionary leaders of the conservative Japanese Federation of Labour, attempting to destroy the unification movement of the working class demanded by the working masses and to undermine the cooperation of the Japanese workers with the WFTU.

But their action is persistently opposed by the workers in Japan. The number of workers united under the banner of CJIU and NLC are daily growing.

The salient feature of the strike movement of the Japanese workers

is its marked political character. In the course of three years, the Japanese working class has by its united efforts in struggle twice compelled the Yoshida and Ashida cabinets to resign. Since MacArthur proclaimed the anti-strike law, strikes broke out almost incessantly all over the country. According to incomplete figures, in the last two months of 1948, the number of workers who took part in strikes was more than 6,000,000.

The American imperialists, through MacArthur's dictatorship, have violated the principles necessary to ensure peace in the Far East as stipulated in the Potsdam agreement. They support Japanese monopolists and fascist organisations, which serve the interests of the American monopolists. To maintain the high level of their profits, they make use of the "starvation export" and "low-price policy" forcing down the wages of Japanese workers to the lowest level. According to the official statistics, the average monthly wage of the manufacturing workers in May 1948 was 4,145 Yen, that is, 10.35 American dollars. However, according to a survey of Japanese living conditions in 28 cities, the lowest living expenses of a worker's family in May 1948 should be 7,802 Yen. If we compare this figure with the wage mentioned above, we shall know how poverty-stricken the life of the Japanese working class is.

MacArthur has repeatedly adopted anti-democratic measures to suppress the justified demands of the workers. The most notorious example is the revision of the state and public employees law promulgated by the Ashida Cabinet in pursuance of MacArthur's directive. This law completely deprived several million workers in public enterprises of their right to strike. Among the numerous suppressions of strikes, cases occurred in which the American occupation forces took part directly. For example, in August 1948, after a strike broke out in the "Joho" Film Studio, American troops immediately dispatched 5 heavy "Hillman" tanks, armoured cars and 3 platoons of American infantry in coordination with 2,000 Japanese armed police to attack the workers on strike.

American Occupation Forces attempt to split the trade unions in Japan and forbid the Japanese trade unions to establish contact with the world democratic trade union movement. They have twice prevented representatives of the Japanese trade unions from attending the sessions of the General Council and the Executive Committee of the WFTU (in Prague June 1947 and in Rome May 1948). They did not permit representatives of the Japanese trade unions to attend the 10th Congress of the Trade Unions of the USSR.

Undoubtedly, the democratic trade union movement will grow and consolidate and the unity of the Japanese trade unions be strengthened. Neither the direct repression of the Japanese reaction and the American Occupation Forces nor the splitting tactics of the traitorous leaders of the Japanese Federation of Labour can stop the development of the Japanese trade union movement. The Japanese trade unions have become members of the WFTU and undoubtedly they will grow and consolidate in the future.

7. South Korea

The reign of terror and open persecution of the democratic trade union movement sponsored by the American occupation forces in Japan is seen more clearly in South Korea. As a result of the constant persecutions, the Confederation of Trade Unions of South Korea has been forced underground. The conditions of the working people is daily worsened. The number of unemployed grows and by now it has reached more than 1,000,000 strong.

In spite of the arrests and persecutions, the Confederation of Trade Unions of South Korea continues to exist. It unites more than 250,000 workers who struggle for the improvement of their own conditions, for the introduction of such democratic reforms in South Korea as introduced in North Korea, demanding the evacuation of American forces and the merging with North Korea in a united democratic republic of Korea.

By the decision of the Executive Committee of the WFTU, the Confederation of the Trade Unions of South Korea has been accepted as a member of the WFTU.

8. India

The All India Trade Union Congress is the true fighter for the genuine independence of India and the fundamental betterment of the economic conditions of the working people. Just for this reason the Indian reactionaries, together with British imperialism, take extraordinarily cruel repressions against the AITUC. By the end of 1948, 88 out of the 177 members of the General Council of the AITUC had been arrested or compelled to go underground. Since April 1948, Comrade Dange, the brilliant activist of the Indian trade union movement and a member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU has been imprisoned without trial and investigation. On the eve of the 23rd Congress of the AITUC, which took place in last May, the Nehru government greatly increased its repressive activities against the AITUC. Shortly before the Congress, Comrade Manek Gandhi, the General Secretary of the AITUC, was arrested. Only under the public pressure of the whole country, the Nehru government granted the convocation of the Congress. However, its work suffered strong restrictions imposed by the police.

According to the reports of the delegates to the Congress of the AITUC, 25,000 persons, who have actively participated in the democratic movement in India, are in prison. Moreover the majority of them were arrested for the sole reason that they have joined the AITUC. In addition to the repressions against the AITUC and its leaders there are also activities aimed at splitting the Indian trade union movement. These activities are carried out by the enemies of the working class, i.e., the Nehru government, which has established the police

controlled trade union centre, and the socialist leaders who maintain their breakaway trade union centre.

It was pointed out in the reports of the Congress, that the conditions of the workers in all industries are worsening daily. Concrete examples were given in the reports to show the decrease of the real wages in the last two years. For example, in Jabalpur it was estimated by the governmental commission in 1945 that the minimum living expense of a worker's family per month should be 63 rupees. However, the highest monthly wage of the workers in that area today does not exceed 40 rupees, despite the fact that prices have doubled since then.

The average wage in the coal and iron mines is most pitiful and is below 30 rupees per month, while the average wage of the workers in the plantations is only 10 to 15 rupees per month.

The conditions of the agricultural workers in India, numbering 70,000,000 are even more miserable.

It was stated in the resolution of the Congress that their wages are extremely low : only 2 to 20 rupees per month. Dreadful poverty, cruel exploitation and constant starvation, are their destiny.

At the moment, while 1.5 million unemployed workers are registered in the state labour exchanges, the Indian capitalists are receiving huge profits. According to the report of the Ministry of Industry the total profit of the factory owners in Bombay in 1948, has reached 2 billion rupees. That means that the factory owners of Bombay have extracted from each textile worker a profit of 992 rupees.

Many significant resolutions were carried by the 23rd Congress of the AITUC. The Congress called upon the working class of whole India to fight actively for the genuine independence of the nation.

In one resolution, adopted by the Congress, concerning the North Atlantic Pact, the opinion of the working class of the whole world was expressed. It reads : " The Congress condemns the North Atlantic Pact and regards it as being an aggressive pact, which is designed for the establishment of world domination of Anglo-American imperialism. The purpose of this Pact is to suppress the labour movement in all lands and the ever strengthening national movement in the colonies. The signing of this Pact is for the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union—a peaceful and socialist country. The great majority of the Indian people is, however, supporting peace, freedom and socialism.

" The Indian people regard the Soviet Union as the mainstay of peace and socialism. It is the fighting fortification against war and capitalism. "

The Congress appealed to the workers to struggle for the satisfaction of the basic demands of the working people of all India, for a minimum wage fixed on the basis of the increasing living expenses, the defence of workers' rights, the shortening of the working day and the realization of holiday with pay each year.

In regard to the question of unemployment, the Congress decided to organize special units for the unemployed workers in each province and district in order to fight resolutely for the defence of their rights.

In the resolution concerning trade union rights, the Congress strongly condemned the Indian government for the persecutions and repressions against the AITUC.

The resolution reads as follows :—

“ This repression, which deprives the trade unions of their fundamental rights is a part of the general plan of the Indian bourgeoisie. They attempt to suppress all democratic and progressive movements and to create conditions to turn India into a military base for the campaign of Anglo-American imperialism against the national liberation movement in Asia and for their preparation of a war against the Soviet Union. The All India Trades Union Congress demands the immediate cessation of this repressive policy; all detained trade union and peasants' leaders should be unconditionally released; all prohibitions and restrictions on assembly and demonstration should be abolished immediately; the right to publish trade union papers and other papers and periodicals of the working class should be observed; the right of the trade unions and the right to strike should be recognized without limitation; all laws restricting trade union activities and the right to strike should immediately be nullified; the legislation on compulsory arbitration should be abolished.”

The Congress agreed with the resolutions of the World Peace Congress. It elected Chakkarai Chettiar as President and S.A. Dange, who is still in prison as General Secretary of the AITUC.

Therefore, despite the brutal oppression from the government the Congress took place and concluded its work in an organized way. This fact proves that even the Nehru government was compelled to take note of the strong support given to the AITUC by the Indian working class, which stands at the forefront of the democratic camp of the world.

Greetings from the WFTU, the AUCCTU, the All China Federation of Labour and other progressive organisations of the world were read to the Congress to a storm of applause from the delegates and their repeated exclamations of welcome.

The World Congress of Trade Unions should express its solidarity with the Indian workers in their protests and support all demands of the All India Trades Union Congress.

9. Burma

The social and economic conditions of the working people in Burma become unbearable day by day. Under the direction of the British imperialists, the right wing Tha Kin Nu government is developing its offensive against the democratic movement in the country. Severe repressions from the police fall particularly upon the democratic trade unions. Mukerjee, the President, Bayan Alung, the General Secretary of the All Burma Trade Union Congress, and some other members of the working committee were arrested.

The Trade Union Congress was banned.

In order to split the trade union movement the right wing socialists organized the so-called Burmese Association of Labour, which carries out the functioning of the police.

However, the Tha Kin Nu Government failed to break the fighting will of the working people for the genuine independence of Burma and

for the radical betterment of the living conditions of the working people. In North and Central Burma partisan detachments are growing daily; workers are actively joining these detachments.

The general strike of the workers, employees, railway workers and students, which broke out in February 1949 under the leadership of the All Burma Trade Union Congress, proves the fact that despite all persecutions, the activities of the All Burma Trade Union Congress continue.

10. Ceylon

In Ceylon rules the Senenayak government, which assists in every way the British imperialists to maintain their rule.

The British imperialists utilize Ceylon as a military base from where they send troops to suppress the national liberation movement in Malaya. As a result of the betrayal policy of the government the conditions of the workers has considerably worsened. Prices of the main living necessities increased by 300-400 %. Many indirect taxes exist and unemployment is mounting. Even according to the official publications, the number of unemployed registered has exceeded 50,000. The reactionary government of Ceylon, following the instructions of their imperialist masters, creates bogus trade union organisation and anti-labour legislations attempting to split the trade union movement. The leaders of the British TUC are actively helping the Ceylon Government in this undermining work.

The labour law passed in 1948, deprives the agricultural workers of their right to organise trade unions and prohibits the governmental employees from keeping contact with the trade unions. The adopted law on "Citizens, immigrants and Indian residents" is, according to the plan of the reactionaries in Ceylon, for the purpose of increasing the split in the labour movement, inciting racial hatred and consolidating the system of slave labour. Through these laws the government tries to break the contact between the Ceylonese workers and the international trade union movement. It attempts to check the ever growing strike movement with the threat of deportation and loss of civil rights.

However, the Ceylonese workers are actively struggling for their rights and interests. This can be evidenced by the heroic strike of the workers in Gasnava and the numerous demonstrations of the working people protesting against phony independence and demanding genuine freedom.

11. Malaya

The misery of the workers in South East Asia is well-known to the world. Before the war, workers in the tin mines and rubber plantations in Malaya received only one shilling three pence per day.

In the post-war years owing to the steady increase of prices the real wages of the majority of the Malayan workers in 1947 dropped by half compared with 1939.

During the Second World War the Malayan workers heroically organised resistance against the Japanese fascist troops. As a result, after the surrender of the invaders, the trade union movement in Malaya began to develop rapidly. The workers fought successfully against the splitting plots of the labour betrayers supported by British imperialism. They also exposed the latter's plan to incite racial conflict among the Malayan, Indian and Chinese working masses. 300,000 workers in Malaya united, without discrimination of race and religion, around the Pan Malayan Federation of Trade Unions, which is also a member of the WFTU.

During the two years immediately after the war the Malayan workers struggled increasingly against the low wage policy and the undemocratic labour legislation of the British colonial government. According to incomplete statistics 258,215 workers in Malaya have taken part in strikes in 1946 and more than 350,000 in 1947.

As the trade union movement developed, the repressive measures of the British imperialists became intensified. Peaceful strikes were brutally attacked by the armed police. Between December 1945 and February 1946 alone, 8 trade unionists were deported without charge or trial, among whom are the president and the secretary of the General Labour Union in Singapore.

The Colonial Office in London sent out so-called "trade union advisers" headed by J. A. Brazier, a TUC official, to Malaya to break up the PMFTU and its affiliated unions, to set up government sponsored unions and to discourage the growing sense of international working class solidarity between Malayan workers and workers abroad. However, they failed to shake the solid foundation of the PMFTU.

In June 1948 the British imperialists declared the PMFTU illegal and ordered the arrests of its leaders and sympathisers. Bevin openly stated in the House of Commons on 15th September 1948 that 2,000 persons including 185 trade union leaders had been detained without trial. Great numbers of troops together with Spitfires and tanks were sent to Malaya, savage head hunters were used to pursue Malayan workers in the jungles. Whole villages were burnt down and innocent people killed.

More recently the British imperialists brutally hanged Comrade S. A. Ganapathy, President of the PMFTU and Comrade Veransenan crimes which aroused the indignation of the whole international working class.

However, the Malayan workers did not surrender. They carry on a partisan movement in the villages and jungles. The central tasks of the Malayan workers are therefore, how to mobilise the masses of the villages, how to master the correct strategy of partisan warfare and how to protect their organizations and cadres in the towns in order to wage a prolonged struggle against imperialism.

12. Siam

The wide spread national liberation movement growing up in the colonial and semi-colonial countries found its response in Siam.

During the war and particularly in its last years democratic trade union organisations rapidly developed in this country.

In 1947 the trade union centre of Siam, the General Federation of Trade Unions had united within its ranks more than 60,000 members.

The workers organised in trade unions carried on a struggle for the improvement of their working conditions, for the defence of the democratic liberties against the encroachment of the reactionary forces.

One of the important achievements of the General Federation of Trade Unions is the conclusion of collective agreements with owners of the rice grinding mills.

The growth of the progressive forces in Siam has caused strong anxiety in the imperialist circles of USA and England, which consider Siam as their colony and supporting base in fighting against the national liberation movement in countries of South-eastern Asia.

The agents of imperialism, the government of Siam have strengthened their attempts to undermine and weaken the trade unions and other progressive organisations.

Considerable part of the leaders of the trade union organisations, mostly Chinese, have been arrested and exiled from Siam to KMT China. Without any accusation, Jamai Rungsuvvari, the former leader of the resistance movement against Japan, Chairman of the Bangkok Trade Union Association, and Vice-Chairman of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Siam has been arrested. Despite the decision of the court concerning his conditional release, he is still in prison up to the present.

The reactionary group purposely kindles the national difference and racial hostility between the Chinese and Siam workers.

In April 1948, under the direct support of the government of Siam, a yellow trade union organisation, the Labour Union, was established, the leaders of which carry out the national chauvinistic policy to split the unity of the working class under the label of nationalism. One of the main tasks of this organisation is to prevent strikes.

Despite the energetic recruiting campaign and deception of the working people by promises of material aid, the overwhelming majority of the workers support the General Federation of Trade Unions of Siam.

The entrance of the Siam trade unions in the WFTU assists the further growth and strengthening of the Siam trade union movement, and brings them into the common struggle of the working people for peace and democratic liberties.

13. The Philippines

After the war, the working class of the Philippines were united around the CLO and the Federation of Labour of the Philippines. The number of organised workers reached 170,000. In addition to this, 300,000 agricultural workers have been organised in the Federation of Agricultural Workers. These three organisations cooperate closely on all questions. The Federation of Agricultural Workers led the peasants to carry out a land reform, because the peasants were not satisfied with the status quo of the land distribution. In April 1948 this Federation was outlawed by the puppet Philippine government which fulfilled the will of American imperialism, compelling it to take up armed struggles. The CLO continues legal activities in the cities, carrying on a persistent struggle against reactionary legislation, demanding wage increases and opposing the unequal commercial treaty concluded between America and the Philippines.

14. The Middle East

The American and British monopolists voraciously exploit the oil resources and inhumanly utilize the cheap labour in the countries of the Middle East. In these areas they support a group of mediaeval feudal rulers to suppress the trade union and democratic movement. Reports from Iran paint a picture of an unbridled reign of terror directed against the democratic forces in that country. The edge of the reactionary drive is directed against the Iranian People's Party and the trade unions affiliated with the WFTU. In the Lebanon, our dear Comrade El Ariss, Executive member of the WFTU and President of the Lebanon Federation of Trade Unions, was arrested and imprisoned for several months, for the only reason that he is faithful to the cause of the working class. In Turkey true fascism is reigning, no democratic party and trade union is permitted to exist. A similar situation exists in Iraq, Afghanistan and other countries. In Palestine, the American and British imperialists for their selfish interests, incited conflicts among Jews and Arabs, which imposed terrible disasters upon the working people of both nations.

But all these are unable to prevent the rallying of the workers of the Middle East around the democratic trade unions of the various countries.

Comrades, these are the general features of the activities of the trade unions in the Asian countries.

What conclusions can we draw on the basis of the above mentioned facts ?

The conclusions are as follows :—

The economic conditions of the working people in the liberated territories of China, North Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam are continuously improving. The trade unions enjoy complete freedom and play an important role in the democratic construction of these countries.

As to the remaining part of Asia, here, the imperialists who support the feudal landlord elements and big compradore bourgeoisie are more ferociously exploiting the working people forcing the broad masses of people to starvation and poverty.

To maintain their rule in the colonial and dependent countries, the imperialists in concert with internal reaction in these countries are brutally suppressing the national liberation movement and the workers' organisations there.

In many countries democratic trade unions have been driven underground and their leaders executed or imprisoned.

Thousands of workers have fallen victim to bloody repressions. The imperialists have tried every method to split the unity of the working class and break its growing resistance. Acting through their agents in the TUC, AFL, CIO and Force Ouvrière and hiring labour betrayers in the Asiatic countries, they have formed puppet-police trade unions, claiming them as fully representing the working class.

However, in the difficult conditions of struggle with the enemies of the working class, in the conditions of illegal and semi-legal activities and in the situation of brutal terror, the trade unions are all the more closely rallying their own ranks and consolidating their own strength. In this struggle the political consciousness of the workers is enhanced, the democratic trade unions developed and consolidated.

III. THE PRESENT TASKS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN ASIA

The trade union movement in the Asian countries has become an important link in the general struggle of the democratic camp for world peace and for the genuine liberation of the colonial and dependent countries from the yoke of the imperialists. Under these circumstances the WFTU must intensify its work in the Asiatic countries and should resolutely press the United Nations to meet the urgent needs of the working people in Asia.

The Congress of the WFTU should entrust the Executive Committee to ask in the Security Council of the UNO to discuss the question of withdrawing immediately the British, Dutch, French and American armed forces from China, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya, South Korea and the Philippines.

The examples of Chiang-Kai-Shek in China, Nehru in India, Soekarno and Hatta in Indonesia, who dealt with the imperialists and betrayed the national interests of their countries for the purpose of continuing the enslavement of the Asiatic working masses, clearly

show that, without the liberation of the nation, the struggle for a decisive improvement of the economic conditions of the working people would be inconceivable. Therefore the duty of the trade unions in the colonial and dependent countries is to mobilize effectively the working class to fight for a genuine liberation of the nation and to appeal to the workers of these countries to unite the patriots of all strata, first of all, the peasants.

In order to give immediate help to the trade unions in Asian countries, the WFTU should demand the Economic and Social Council of the UNO to hear in its next session a report from the WFTU concerning the violation of freedom of the democratic trade unions in the countries of Asia, and send a commission of the WFTU to India.

The World Trade Union Congress should demand the immediate release of Comrade Dange, a member of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and the general secretary of the All India Trades Union Congress and also of leaders of the AITUC, Comrades Manek Gandhi, Mirajikar, Jusuf and others. The Trade Union Congress should also demand the Iranian Government to nullify the death sentence of Reza Roustia, the General Secretary of the Central Council of the United Trade Unions of Iran.

The Congress should lodge a protest with the British Government against the criminal murder of Ganapathy and Veransenan, leaders of the Pan-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions.

The right wing socialists are the worst enemies of the democratic trade union movement in the Asiatic countries. They have done great harm to the working class of Japan, India, Malaya, Indonesia and other Asiatic countries through their splitting and undermining activities. The WFTU should assist the trade unions to expose the betrayal activities of the right wing socialists in the trade union movement and to develop a more energetic struggle for trade union unity. The imperialists have rested particular hopes upon the destruction of international trade union unity. For these purposes, the agents of the imperialists—leaders of the British TUC and the American CIO—have sabotaged in every way the convocation of the Asian Trade Union Conference. It is well-known that already at the Paris Congress held in October 1945, it was decided to convene a trade union conference in Asia. But owing to the conscious sabotage of the agents of the imperialists in the WFTU—Deakin, Tewson, Carey, Germer, Cope, Jouhaux, Kupers and their ilk, the conference has not taken place.

With the same splitting aims, the leaders of the AFL and TUC attempted to form the so-called "Asiatic Federation of Labour" from the government sponsored trade unions. Especially active in this connection are the leaders of the bogus trade union centre in India formed with police aims by Patel, Minister of Internal Affairs. At the beginning of May this year, the notorious splitter, Irving Brown, attempted to stage a meeting of the Preparatory Committee on the convocation of the trade union Conference in Asia. However, nothing came of this attempt, because the representatives of the trade unions in the Asiatic countries refused to go to Indore to attend the meeting organised by the representatives of the colonialists. In spite of their

evident failure, the leaders of the AFL and TUC did not renounce their attempt to call the Asiatic Conference of Trade Unions and organise the "Asiatic Federation of Labour."

They again planned to convoke the preparatory committee in June 1949 in Geneva. On behalf of the working class of Asia we can boldly state that this time too they will not have a single representative from the democratic trade unions in the countries of Asia.

Despite all the intrigues sponsored by the agents of the AFL and TUC they failed to undermine the confidence of the working people in Asia in the WFTU and split the trade union movement in Asia. After the withdrawal of Deakin, Carey, Tewson and Kupers from the WFTU, the question of the convocation of an Asian Trade Union Conference was again discussed in the session of the Executive Committee of the WFTU and it was unanimously decided that the convocation of the Asian Trade Union Conference could not be postponed in whatever circumstances. I was entrusted to find out the possibility of convening the Asian Trade Union Conference in Peking. I am very glad to inform you the following decision of the All China Federation of Labour.

"After having heard the report of Comrade Liu Ning-I that the WFTU has decided to convene an Asian Trade Union Conference in Peking, the Standing Committee of the Executive Committee of the All China Federation of Labour enthusiastically welcomes this decision and is willing to be responsible for the preparatory works of convening this Conference. We expect that the WFTU will give us instructions from time to time, so that the proceeding of the preparatory works will be facilitated. We further hope that the WFTU will send representatives to China before the Conference in order to give us the necessary instructions."

We propose that the Asian Trade Union Conference be held in this November in Peking, China, and that the representatives of all the democratic trade unions in the Asiatic countries, no matter whether they are affiliated to the WFTU or not, be invited to the Conference. We further propose to invite the representatives of the democratic trade unions in Australia and New Zealand for the reasons that both geographically and traditionally the working people of these two countries has very close connections with the trade union movement in Asia. Their participation will contribute greatly to the Conference.

In order to make preparations for the Conference, it is necessary to send a preparatory committee of the WFTU to China immediately.

This time the agents of the imperialists will not be able to prevent the convocation of the Conference, because the Conference will be held in Peking in liberated China where the representatives of the democratic trade unions of Asia and other countries will meet the heartiest welcome of the working people of China.

The convocation of the Asian Trade Union Conference will have great historical significance.

The Conference should work out concrete measures aiming to improve the social and economic conditions of the working people and to render help to the trade unions in the further struggle of the trade unions in the countries of Asia for peace and democracy and for trade union unity.

The Asian Trade Union Conference should work out measures to strengthen the organizational contacts between the WFTU and the trade unions in the countries of Asia.

The Conference should adopt a decision on the establishment of an Asian Liaison Bureau of the WFTU.

The Conference should work out measures to help the trade unionists under repression, and measures to strengthen the activities in the UNO, and to defend the rights of the working people in Asia. The Asian Trade Union Conference should further the growth and consolidation of the democratic trade unions in Asia and their connections with the WFTU.

Comrades, on concluding my report, I call on all the delegates of the Congress to discuss in detail the problems concerning the trade union movement in Asia.

ITEM 10 OF THE AGENDA

TRADE UNION ACTIVITY IN THE ASIAN, AUSTRALASIAN, AFRICAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Report of V. Lombardo TOLEDANO (*Mexico*)
ON THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION IN 1949

Since the end of the Second World War, Latin America has entered on a new phase of upheaval, which indicates serious economic troubles and shows itself in a breakdown of the democratic regime and of the independence of its nations.

To what is this crisis due? What is its scope? How does it concretely affect the working class and what are the prospects of a satisfactory solution of the problems which it embraces.

II. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

To understand the principal problems of Latin America and arrive at the formulation of valid solutions for them, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the changes which have taken place in the economy of the Latin American countries during the last ten years.

The Second World War brought about serious alterations in the economic life of the twenty Republics of Latin America and consequently in their political and social life also.

Among the changes undergone by these countries, the most far-reaching is certainly the increase of their economic dependence on the greatest imperialist power in history: the United States of America. This dependence followed the old channels opened by imperialism, which have become deeper and have produced new ramifications.

We shall indicate in broad outline the main aspects of Latin American economy from the outbreak of war, following the course of events in the international field.

1. *Changes undergone by the geographical distribution of Latin American foreign trade.*—The beginning of the conflict in Europe in September 1939 and its extension to the Pacific in 1941, changed the routes normally followed by the foreign trade of the Latin American nations, a large part of the traffic which was formerly carried out with other continents being diverted to the American sphere. This situation has continued up to the present day to a large extent, since the zones directly affected by the war have not re-established their former level of trade with Latin America.

The armed conflict provoked an increase in inter-Latin American trade; but since the end of the war trading relations between the countries of Latin America have tended to decline to the advantage principally of the United States of America, which has recovered its former markets in the Western Hemisphere and increased its influence there in many important respects.

2. *Changes in the international structure of Latin American foreign trade.*—The war not only altered the geographical distribution of Latin American foreign trade, but also its internal composition. In this respect, one must distinguish imports from exports, according to their origin and their destination.

As far as imports from non-Latin-American zones are concerned, the fundamental fact consisted in the lack of manufactured products—both consumer and producer goods as well as certain industrial raw materials. These scarcities included the special products which came from Europe and Asia, and principally those which the United States ceased to send as soon as they entered the war and set restrictions on their exports. When peace came, imports from the United States reached and even exceeded the pre-war volume. Imports from Europe and Asia, on the other hand, are recovering very slowly.

The lack of normal imports during the war contributed to raising prices and restricting certain branches of Latin American production which lacked machinery, reserves, basic industrial raw materials, etc. At present the problem consists, on the one hand, in the invasion of North American consumer goods, which sets up brutal competition for the young industry of Latin America, and, on the other hand, in the fact that the United States place unilateral conditions on their sales to Latin America, in such a way as only to develop the industries which do not endanger them and to restrict the centres of production whose existence in Latin America does not suit them.

As far as exports to non-Latin-American countries are concerned, they still consist mainly of agricultural and mining raw materials. In some cases agricultural exports have increased in comparison with minerals and in others the contrary has taken place, but the composition remains what it has always been.

The export of agricultural products lost some importance during the war, because certain traditional products ceased to be sold, whilst others, such as oleaginous products and cattle were in greater demand. The export of mineral products changed in the sense that precious

metals lost importance in face of industrial metals, affecting the countries which produce precious metals.

In another sense, the loss of many sources of supply of raw materials or minerals in other continents gave Latin America as a whole the important role of supplier to the United Nations; but this necessity to supply the countries which were fighting against the Nazi-fascist powers, carried to the extreme of exporting consumer goods, created deficits in the internal market of the Latin American countries, with a consequent rise of prices. In the post-war period, there has been no marked change in this situation, since the reconstruction of Europe and the preparation for a new war by the United States, keep up the agricultural and mineral exports of Latin America to these regions.

It is interesting to point out that, before the war the countries of Latin America played an important part as suppliers of agricultural and mineral products to the United States. This function is more important at the present time, which shows that the industrial apparatus of the United States requires, today more than ever, the raw materials and semi-finished products of the twenty Latin American republics.

Regarding inter-Latin American trade the war permitted Latin America to satisfy its own requirements in the way of many consumer articles. This fact contributed to a certain industrial development in some countries and a greater control of native capital within the total value of exports, consisting mainly of manufactured goods and foodstuffs. But what the Latin American countries could not provide from among themselves were production goods, that is to say, machinery, industrial raw materials, etc., the scarcity of which was a permanent problem. The relative progress achieved by the Latin American countries with the increase of their reciprocal commercial inter-change, did not, then affect the position of the United States as provider of investment goods.

With the re-establishment of peace inter-Latin American trade has not entirely disappeared, for two reasons: the first, the fact that European industry is in course of reconstruction; the second, that the United States, in addition to the fact that they are satisfying orders placed within their own territory, have set aside a considerable part of their exports for European countries. All this has allowed Latin American industry to avoid a definite crisis, even when, as we remarked earlier, it is threatened with death in those of its branches which the United States do not want to see fully developed.

3. Changes which have taken place in the balance of trade and the balance of payments.—The changes undergone by Latin American international trade, both in its geographical distribution and in its internal structure, produced a new group of changes in relation to the balance of trade, which influenced the balance of payments and finally had repercussions on the economic and financial situation of the nations of Latin America.

The total trade of Latin America maintains its traditional favourable trade balance, which covers the total capital deficit. But where trade with the United States is concerned the situation is different. From 1938 to 1940 the countries of Latin America had unfavourable balances with the United States for visible trade, which could be

compensated by the increase of the favourable balances with European countries, which already in 1939 represented more than 50 % of Latin American trade. But from 1941 to 1945, goods traffic with the United States brought about favourable balances for Latin America in a much greater than normal volume since the latter did not receive goods in the proportion in which it sold to the United States. To the European currency, which the Latin American countries possessed already, were then added the dollars of the United States and gold reserves were also increased. During the same years there was a more abundant flow of capital from the United States to Latin America in the form of loans, new direct investment, consignments of dollars from the Latin American workers who are working in the south of the United States and in the Panama Canal Zone and the expenditure of numerous tourists who, unable to go to Europe, visited the Latin American countries. The increase of internal means of payment allowed the Latin American countries to renew their foreign debt services and control other invisible aspects of their balance of payments. But unfortunately these gold and currency reserves belonging to the Latin American countries, could not be utilised by the latter to acquire many things they needed, and, on the other hand, they exert pressure on prices through the increase of bank deposits and of money in circulation. From another point of view, the favourable balances of trade were, in reality, veritable non-interest-bearing loans made by the Latin American countries to the United States and Europe, payable at the end of the war, but in a depreciated currency.

Once the conflict was over, the Latin American countries have once more favourable balances of trade with the United States, and in only two years the deficits have exceeded the total accumulated in the five preceeding years. The United States, indeed, have recovered their dollars and the greatest possible amount of the Latin American gold reserves, at a rate determined by the rate of increase in the prices of the goods which they sell to the Latin American countries. The foreign currencies which remain in the latter are for the most part European and therefore of little value at present for the acquisition of products in their country of origin. As far as existing gold reserves are concerned, they scarcely cover the legal backing of money in circulation. Their reduction would considerably increase the inflation which hangs over all the Latin American countries.

In face of this situation, since the beginning of 1947 many of the Latin American governments have adopted measures to defend their gold reserves and their American dollars. The methods employed were mainly, a more rigid *control of exchanges*, the prohibition of imports of goods considered as non-essential luxury goods, restriction of the export of capital and the devaluation of the national currency. These measures, which also play a part as protective measures for Latin American industry, have not always had the desired effects, since the economic forces of the United States employ many measures to render them ineffective. In the countries in which none of these measures has been carried into effect, the beginnings of industrialisation have been paralysed and the dollar has become, in fact, the currency which not only regulates international trading regulations, but also national economic life.

This desperate situation has led to a policy of bilateral treaties on the basis of barter between the Latin American countries, in face of the absence of means of payment, in order to promote foreign trade and maintain national economic activity. Inspired by this policy, attempts were made to set up customs unions and economic and financial alliances for the promotion of trade and of the interchange of natural resources. Unfortunately these praiseworthy efforts on the part of the Latin American countries have been openly interfered with by the economic interests of the United States, which have succeeded in giving a concrete form to their imperialist policy toward colonial and semi-colonial countries in the well-known Clayton Plan, which was approved at the International Conference held in Havana at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, under the name of the "Havana Charter", and which aims, essentially to preserve the peoples of Latin America as suppliers of raw materials and as cheap labour power and markets for their surplus capital.

III. INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE INTERNAL ECONOMY OF LATIN AMERICA

The war changed the economic relations of Latin America with the outside world, and culminated in greater dependence of the countries composing it on the United States. The changes undergone by Latin American foreign trade modified the national economic activities, since, as a general rule, one to two thirds of national activity depends on foreign sales. These facts accelerated the process of production in certain branches and held it back in others; in the field of public and private investments new situations arose which in their turn influenced the process of production and all these facts had their repercussions on the population and its general conditions of existence. On the other hand, the changes in the national order, have had repercussions in their turn on the international economic relations of the Latin American countries, especially on their position in regard to the United States. We must now observe how the economic strength of this power operates in the fundamental activities of Latin American economy.

1. *The influence on Agriculture.*—The scarcity of machinery and the lack of efficient transport kept down agricultural production in many Latin American countries, principally that of crops of low economic density, which at the same time are those of the greatest popular consumption; this sharpened the problem of subsistence. In other cases, for lack of markets and transport, unsaleable stocks of other products were built up, the prices of which were kept up by the governments by means of subsidies to the producers, but at the expense of the national treasury. In other branches of agriculture and cattle-raising, such as oleaginous products, hides, fats, animals,

fibres, there was marked progress due to the enormous requirements of the war. This circumstance produced social consequences of considerable importance in some of the Latin American countries.

Indeed the high prices reached by the products just mentioned impelled landed proprietors to produce them for their own account, and in other cases led to setting up enterprises which rented land for their cultivation. This, as a general rule, was not carried out according to the traditional system of share-cropping, but in the form of wage labour. In this way, in many countries of Latin America numerous groups of peasants attached to the landed estates were converted into agricultural workers, at the same time as other groups of labourers moved towards the cities or other occupations. This means that from this point of view the war accelerated the development of capitalist forms within the feudal agriculture of Latin America and in the class structure of the agricultural sector. But, as the land-owners come to capitalism with a completely fascist mentality or, in the best of cases, with a reactionary outlook, instead of forming a nationalist force in opposition to North American imperialism, they become the allies of the latter. Thus opens a new phase in the historic struggle of the peasants and natives of Latin America for agrarian reform.

2. *The influence in Mining.*—We have already pointed out that during the war there was a decrease in the production of precious metals at the same time as an increase in the exploitation of industrial metals in Latin America. Not only was a greater volume of industrial metals exported, especially to the United States, but greater quantities of them were also utilised. In some countries, such as Brazil and Mexico, metallurgical activity was intensified and in others, particularly Argentina, there was a development of the engineering industries. In hydrocarbons and fuel, increases were recorded in countries which were already producers, to satisfy war needs and partly the demands of Latin American nations, which suffered the consequences of the rationing by the belligerent powers, former suppliers of these products. At the end of the war, United States direct investment was largely directed towards petroleum and its by-products, towards copper, tin and other industrial metals.

3. *The Influence in Industry.*—Manufacturing industry in the Latin American countries presents the following characteristics: a) within the framework of productive activities as a whole it has preserved a position of notorious inferiority in relation to agriculture or mining, according to the peculiarities of each country; b) small-scale artisan or domestic production continues to occupy an important place, employing more than half the persons engaged in industrial activities; c) factory industry is reduced to small and medium establishments, large-scale establishments being the exception and being generally controlled by foreign capital; d) from the point of view of the nature of production, light industry dominates—consumer goods which only satisfy the most fundamental needs in the way of foodstuffs, peoples clothing and housing—heavy industry being almost non-existent; e) if one considers the stage of development, it is characterised by the great

ture of semi-finished goods - the milling of cereals, sugar refining, the cultivation of coffee, the extraction of vegetable oils, wood-cutting, the preparation of meat, the extraction of fibre from the "maguey", etc. destined for the most part for export, and by the greater volume of finished products destined for internal consumption; f) finally as a result of its technical backwardness, Latin American industry presents a picture of low quality production, high costs, insufficient wages and high prices.

This low level of Latin American industry, was, to a certain extent overcome during the war. The sources of supply of manufactured articles being partially or wholly closed, the nations of Latin America tried to produce many of the articles which were lacking, establishing new industries or extending those which already existed.

Moreover the temporary elimination of the competition of foreign products, not only on the home market, but also in the other brother countries, favoured the progress of industrialisation, the increase in inter-Latin American trade being characterised precisely by its basis of manufactured goods. In addition the high prices reached by finished products were an incentive to increase production of them. From another point of view, the factories had sufficient labour at their disposal, since there has always been a potential human labour force in Latin America of which full advantage has never been taken. Finally, the same can be said of the raw materials which were able to be utilised in greater quantity and variety during this period of industrial development.

As a result of all these facts, at the conclusion of the war the situation was the following: a) the value of factory production acquired great importance, in some countries—Mexico and Argentina—exceeding that of agriculture or mining; b) in almost all the countries native natural resources were used to a greater extent; c) the number of workers increased and at the same time the number of artisans decreased; d) a greater integration of industry took place as an effect of the development achieved in metallurgy and the chemical industry and of the variety attained by light industry; this increased the number of finished articles, in many cases improving the quality of the product.

Notwithstanding the importance of the progress achieved, the industrial development of Latin America must not be over-estimated, because much of its progress was obtained, not on the basis of modernising equipment, but by working installations to greater capacity and increasing shifts and overtime. This progress is not consolidated, since it is threatened by competition from foreign products obtained by means of a technique superior to that of before the war, and which surpasses the technological advances recorded in the Latin American countries since the year 1945; the fact that Latin American industry is more influenced than before the war by foreign capital, principally that of the United States, which has become master of many of the decisive establishments in manufacturing industry, thus largely neutralises the "national" content of this progress; similarly the Havana Charter, (Clayton Plan) has destroyed the main defences of the Latin American countries: customs tariffs as well as the quantitative and qualitative restrictions which are not destined to preserve reserves of currency and gold.

IV. MONETARY AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

The mobilisation recorded during the war in primary economic activities—agriculture and the extraction industries—and especially in secondary activities—manufacturing—also determined the expansion of tertiary activities—trade, *credit institutions*, *banks*, professional services, certain aspects of transport, etc.—which complement the process of economic activity. Within this picture of economic facts, financial problems stand out as most important, reflecting, as they do in the clearest way the effects of the war and the post-war period.

As far as public finance is concerned, a marked increase is to be observed in budget estimates in the Latin American countries, the estimates for expenditure being greater than the estimates of revenue in the majority of them. This deficit is due : *a*) to the fall in customs revenue, as a result of the change of orientation, structure or volume of foreign trade; to the cancellation of many excise tariffs, derived from the war controls imposed by the United States, and to the increase of internal prices; *b*) to the programme of public works intensified by almost all the Latin American governments, which constituted one of the characteristic features of their economy during the war and which were mainly oriented towards the construction of roads, port and sanitary installations, electrification and the promotion of industry; *c*) to the increase of official credits for industry and mining.

In order to cover the deficit in the budget estimates, the Latin American governments have resorted to three measures : *a*) a levy against the central banks; *b*) foreign loans; and *c*) the issue of bonds. These measures brought about the increase of money circulation and of the national debt. These facts, which characterised the economy of Latin America in war-time, have continued to the present day.

It is interesting to point out, however, that the great increase recorded in the circulation of money in Latin America was not solely and exclusively due to the causes noted above. The principal factor was the increase of gold reserves and foreign currency which took place from 1941 onwards for reasons which have already been mentioned and by the influx of capital due to various causes. This increase of reserves led to the issue of money and the increase of bank deposits, which are the elements of monetary circulation.

Born in this way, the phenomenon of inflation tended to develop as an effect of the secondary economic processes which it had, itself, generated. To this is due the fact that the means of circulation are not diminishing at the present time, in spite of the negative balance of trade of Latin America with regard to the United States, the marked reduction of gold and currency reserves and the suspension or restriction of the public works programmes. In some cases the cash in possession of the public began to diminish or to remain stationary; but, on the other hand, bank deposits continue to increase, fed by the gains of private individuals, obtained under the unbridled speculation which the Latin American countries have been experiencing, to which must be added the fact that many of the deposits which remained

idle during the war are today active and represent new means of payment.

The analysis of monetary circulation leads to another series of financial phenomena, the most important, as far as private activity is concerned being that of the development of credit and of the banking system itself. The development of the latter has taken place in two ways, by the increase of banking capital and the creation of new credit institutions, such as insurances, trust companies and savings banks. There has also been a development of individual credit in kind—essentially usurious—even when this phenomenon is less visible because it escapes the supervision of the State.

The expansion of credit and the growth of the banking system in Latin America, are the results of taking into account the amount of money in circulation and the settlements by cheque, since both of these elements are the raw material of credit activity. As a result of this process the banking commercial sector has acquired enormous preponderance in the countries of Latin America, assuming the role of principal directors of the economy, which they had never been before, and wrenching from the industrial sector the hegemony which it might have held within the normal development of the capitalist regime in the Latin American Republics.

V. THE PREDOMINANCE OF NORTH AMERICAN CAPITAL IN POST-WAR LATIN AMERICA

We have already proved that the fundamental problem which Latin America, considered as a sphere of influence of foreign capital, has had to face during the war and post-war years, consists in the dominant position of the United States in the field of investments in Latin America and in the decline in the capital of other nations which before the war also invested their money in this vast region of the American Hemisphere. Nevertheless, one must distinguish between direct and indirect investments, since during the war and after it certain situations have arisen which it is necessary to make clear.

We have already pointed out that the national debt has increased in the Latin American countries. This increase took place in the majority of countries in respect of the internal debt, whilst there was a similar decrease in the foreign debt. That is to say, until 1945 a decline in direct investments was recorded without any compensatory increase for this fall having taken place since that year.

The decline of the foreign debt or of indirect investments, in those cases where it has occurred, is to be explained for the following reasons: a) because it has been partly paid; b) because it has been partly remitted; and c) because both of these things have taken place. In the cases in which it has been partly paid, this fact is due to the acquisition—at least temporarily—of a certain ability to pay on the part of the debtor country, in virtue of the increase of gold and currency, arising out of the influx of capital for other reasons, such

as consignments of dollars by the Latin American workers in the United States, royalties on films, the influx of tourist traffic, and the repatriation of native capital; and also as a result of the positive balance of trade. In cases where the debt has been remitted, the principal factor has been the so-called "Good Neighbour" policy that is to say the political interest of the creditors, principally Anglo-American, in preserving their alliance with the Latin American countries.

One sure and objective fact is that, considering the problem in the Latin American countries as a whole, the internal debt weighs more heavily than the foreign debt both on the population and on the national budgets.

As far as direct investments are concerned, and more concretely, those of the United States, their increase has been achieved in the following ways : *a*) by re-investment carried out during the war; *b*) by new investments, carried out especially between 1947 and 1948; *c*) by the transfer of direct investments in the Latin American countries, made by European and particularly British investors, to the United States; *d*) by the surreptitious placing of disguised capital within the plan for so-called mixed companies, which are formed with 51 % native capital and 49 % foreign capital.

Finally, it is important to indicate the fact that when the main weight of new North American investment is placed, as before the war in activities connected with the acquisition of raw materials, especially petroleum, the tendency will arise to increase the placing of capital in manufacturing industry. But this investment will only be directed to those branches which cannot compete with United States industry and will be limited to the production of consumer goods, whose manufacture is extremely useful, because it has at its disposal cheap labour and raw materials and a national market and investment area of a certain scope. In other words, the investment of North American capital in the industry of Latin America has as its object to make enormous profits and at the same time to prevent the development of any real Latin American industry independent of foreign capital.

VI. THE SERIOUS RISE IN THE COST OF LIVING

In spite of the importance of the facts previously mentioned, the most serious problem confronting the peoples of Latin America has been that of the high cost of living. This is the meeting point of all the other aspects of economic life and it is here that one finds most vividly reflected the dramatic conditions under which the wide masses of the people of Latin America have been living during the war and during the last three years of peace.

In some countries—Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil—there was serious inflation even before the war; but the latter made it more serious still and extended it to the other nations. The phenomenon occurred especially after the United States entered the conflict. It

was then that the factors leading to a rise of prices became more numerous :—

a) The reduction of the supply of goods became more strongly felt as a result of the lack of imports and of the excess on the export side, and also because the deficits of the import of industrial raw materials, both basic materials and machinery—agricultural, industrial and electrical—led to a fall in production in certain branches of national activity;

b) Imports from other Latin American countries did not alleviate the situation, as they came with excessively high prices;

c) From 1941 onwards, monetary circulation increased at an accelerated rate for the before-mentioned reasons;

d) The transport system suffered intensely from the lack of equipment and repairs, making the normal distribution of goods difficult;

e) At the same time as the supply of goods diminishes and circulation is hindered, demand increases as a result of the expansion of industrial activity and public and private works;

f) There is an increase in the level of employment and in relation to this in the amount of workers' wages;

g) New and varied occupations make their appearance;

h) The transformation of share-cropping peasants into wage-earners increases demand for workers in the rural districts;

i) Fed by new money and current accounts, credit grows, thus increasing the means of payment themselves;

j) Finally, all the conditions are created for the development of voracious and unlimited speculation.

The Latin American governments try in vain to control the phenomenon by means of formulas extending from the fixing of prices to the creation of bodies with the task of stabilising the national economy. The working class demands wage-increases; but even when in certain cases it wins partial victories in this respect, it lags behind and below the rise in prices. This produces, as its consequence, a decline in real wages. The marked increase recorded in the majority of Latin American countries in the total and per capita national income is fictitious; measured in terms of purchasing power, it proves lower than the already low level of the pre-war years.

It is therefore in the field of prices and wages that one sees most clearly and with all its dramatic force the harmful influence exerted by the war on the living conditions of the masses of the people in semi-colonial countries such as those of Latin America. The relative progress achieved in some of them in the economic field is neutralised by the decline in the standard of living of the population. It is for this reason that the mere announcement of plans such as the Clayton Plan and the Marshall Plan, intended to canalise the economy of the countries influenced by the United States towards fresh military aggression, brings about an aggravation of the economic depression which Latin America has suffered from during the last few years.

VII. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The economic changes which have taken place in the countries of Latin America during the Second World War and the years following the conclusion of the conflict, have had their logical and immediate repercussion in the political field.

For the first time in history, the nations of the American hemisphere fought together to achieve a common aim : the military, economic and political defeat of the bloc of fascist countries. This collective attitude was mainly due to the following causes :—

a) The democratic parties and the workers organisations of the Latin American countries, took into their own hand the banner of a just war against the nazi-fascist powers, and of determined co-operation with the United Nations;

b) The President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, changed the attitude of the United States towards Latin America, establishing the so-called " Good Neighbour " Policy;

c) The traditional forces of reaction, which have systematically hindered the progress and independence of the Latin American countries, openly made common cause with the fascist powers and with the régime of Francisco Franco, and by their conduct increased popular revulsion against the governments under Adolf Hitler's command;

d) Under pressure from the people and in the then prevailing American international atmosphere, certain of the typical Latin American tyrants changed their attitude to some extent, as happened in Brazil, and the people began to enjoy certain liberties;

e) Finally, and this is perhaps the decisive factor, many of the representatives of the governments of the Continent and political and social leaders of all the American countries, promised the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, that once victory was won against the nazi-fascist powers, a new period of history would open, based on the full exercise of individual rights, the extension of democratic regimes and the economic progress of nations which were backward in material development; this according to these clauses of the Atlantic Charter and other solemn pledges made by the heads of the United Nations.

When the war was over, the situation changed, indeed, but in a negative form. The United States came out of the conflict with enormous economic power : the great American monopolies, enjoying this great power, went on to plan a policy of expansion and domination over the majority of the countries of the world; they started the " cold war " against the Soviet Union, attributing to it the plan of world conquest which the North American monopolies themselves had set going; imitating the tactics of Adolf Hitler they unleashed everywhere an anti-communist campaign, to hide their true plans of plunder and reaction; and in regard to the countries of Latin America, which depended on the United States, as has been explained above, more

than ever before in their history, they exerted pressure on the governments to adopt a policy of repression against individual liberties, the rights of the wide masses of the people and economic progress, which should contribute to the emancipation of the Latin American nations from foreign imperialism.

It can be stated that the Good Neighbour policy has been abandoned and that the main preoccupation of the United States government is to complete its economic influence in the military, political and trade union fields.

In order to attain the compulsory military collaboration of the Latin American countries with the United States, the so-called Truman plan was formulated, which had as its object to oblige these countries to submit themselves to the leadership and fate of the United States, should this power be at war against another non-American power, and to unite the armies of Latin America with that of the United States, creating permanent machinery in the form a General Staff of the armed forces of the Hemisphere. At the Conference of the American countries, held in Rio de Janeiro in August 1947, a resolution was approved in virtue of which the countries of the American Continent are obliged to make common cause with any of them which is attacked by a non-American power, the question of the creation of the Continental General Staff having been left for a later Conference. This Rio de Janeiro pact has not yet been ratified by the majority of the countries of Latin America.

As to the results of the renewed political influence of the United States on the governments of Latin American countries, the first was that many of them rallied to the "anti-communist" campaign, and believing that the third world war was to break out immediately, they turned their backs on their peoples, taking truly monstrous measures against the essential contents of the Atlantic Charter and the best traditions of the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

The following should be noted as some of the most scandalous cases of this violation of democratic principles in Latin America :—

a) The sudden change of the President of the Republic of Chile. Gabriel Gonzales Videla with regard to the rights of the masses of the people and the interests of the Chilean nation. Gonzales Videla was elected with the co-operation mainly of the working class of his country and thanks to the support of definitely democratic parties. He formed his cabinet with ministers of the parties which had raised him to power and declared that there was no other national and international policy for Chile than that contained in the electoral programme which won him the votes of the people. He suddenly changed his attitude : he trampled on his electoral pledges and his first declarations as head of the government tended to annul the rights of the working class; he used force to prevent the exercise of the legitimate rights of the workers; he deprived Chilean communists and all those whom he called such of their citizenship; he set up concentration camps for those whom he pointed out as his political enemies; he slanderously accused the Soviet Union and the governments of the peoples democracies of intervening in the domestic matters of Chile; he denounced imaginary plots on the part of the communist partisans of other countries against the stability of his regime; he

filled the prisons throughout the country with individuals belonging to all parties and with many persons who had never been members of any political group; he adopted a revolting attitude of servility towards the North American Monopolies; he devoted himself to the task of persecuting the most outstanding personalities of the Chilean intelligentsia, and on this basis he has presided over a government of political dementia such as has no parallel in the history of personal dictatorships of Latin America;

b) In the same way, the sudden and violent change of the President of the Republic of Brazil, General Gaspar Dutra, as against the slight democratic progress which had taken place in his country during the war. The Unified Labour Movement of Brazil was declared "communist"; the Brazilian Communist Party was outlawed; the right of trade union association was prohibited, and a return made to the compulsory trade unionism of a fascist nature which, under the name of "Estado Novo" (The New State), had been set up in Brazil years earlier, servilely imitating the corporative organisation in Italy; the country was laid wide open to investments by foreign enterprises, without any conditions whatever; the system of police terror against free-thinking men and women was revived, and laws were dictated against individual liberties, which amounted in practice to their abolition.

c) The official attempt of the Cuban government to divide and tie the hands of the working class movement and abolish trade union liberties in this Republic, a process begun by President Ramon Grau San Martin, which has started a period of unprecedented political corruption in the country and of submission of national interests to those of North American imperialism.

The government one day officially declared that a tiny group of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba was the legitimate representative of this organisation, ignoring the leaders democratically elected by the immense majority of the workers; it confiscated the property of many of the trade unions; it allowed the organisation of armed groups who, under the direction of public officials, went about sowing terror in the cities and in the country, and it suspended in practice safeguards of individual safety, leaving the lives of persons at the mercy of the armed groups, as a result of which, in a short period of time, various outstanding leaders of the Cuban working class have been assassinated.

d) The participation of elements bound up with the North American monopolies in the coups d'état which have taken place during the last three years against the democratic governments of Costa Rica, Peru, Venezuela and Paraguay.

e) The participation of elements also linked with the North American monopolies in the many movements aiming to overthrow the legitimate governments of certain Latin American countries, such as Guatemala. This country enjoys a democratic government for the first time in its history; nevertheless it has already been the target, in three years, of fifteen conspiracies to overthrow it, and a few weeks ago it was the object of a total economic blockade on the part of the United Fruit Co., which is proprietor not only of the banana plant-

tions, but also of the railways and the docks in the ports of this Republic. As the result of a normal dispute, in accordance with the laws of the country, between the workers and this enterprise, the latter suspended the sending of ships to the country. These are the only ships which carry out import and export with the Republic of Guatemala, and this was done at the moment of gathering the coffee crop, which is one of the fundamental products of the national economy.

In all the other countries of Latin America, without a single exception, a persistent campaign is carried out against democratic institutions and the rights of the working masses, in order to submit the people to redoubled exploitation to prevent the development of the national liberation struggles and convert the Latin American nations into docile instruments of the North American imperialist plans for domination and war.

VIII. THE TRADE UNION SITUATION

When political repression tries to smash or abolish the democratic regime in any country, it always begins by persecuting the workers' trade union movement, and this fact has already been pointed out earlier. It is important to give a concrete picture of the trade union movement of Latin America as it is today.

Until 1938, the trade union movement was characterised by the lack of national trade union centres in the majority of Latin American countries and by the complete lack of relations between these which did exist. On the birth of the Confederation of Workers of Mexico, in the month of February 1936, its Constituent Assembly decided to initiate a series of negotiations aiming at the formation of a Latin American trade union international. After the preparatory work, the CTM convened a workers' congress of trade union groups in Latin America, which was held in Mexico City in the month of September 1938. This congress gave rise to the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (CTAL) which united from the first moment all the groupings which existed in the twenty brother countries of the Western hemisphere.

The birth of the CTAL was not only an event known on the American Continent. The Congress of September, 1938, was attended by the President of the CIO of the United States John L. Lewis, and a numerous delegation of the North American trade union movement; by leaders of the French working class movement, Benoît Frachon, Léon Jouhaux, and other representative elements of the CGT; the President and other delegates of the Spanish UGT; the President of the International Transport Federation, Eddo Fimmen and other outstanding leaders of the European working class movement; representatives of the workers of certain Eastern countries and observers from all democratic American groups. The only body which refused to accept the invitation to attend the foundation of the CTAL was the American Federation of Labour (AF of L). This refusal was due to the fact

that the AF of L has always claimed the control of the working class movement of Latin America, trying to apply in the workers' camp the dollar diplomacy carried on for many years by US monopolies in the Latin American countries.

In 1918, the AF of L, in agreement with Luis N. Morones, leader of the Mexican Regional Confederation of Labour (CROM) set up the Pan-American Confederation of Labour (COPA) which was in reality a body including only two countries: the United States and Mexico, since the groups which figured as affiliated in the other Latin American countries were insignificant guild organisations, without influence in the working class movement or in social and political life. The mass of Latin American workers, instinctively seeing in the COPA a foreign instrument contrary to their interests, never gave it their support and thus this organisation, weak from its origin, died of consumption a few years later, leaving no trace of its passing.

At the inception of the CTAL, the leaders of the AF of L realised that the Latin American workers' movement had grown, that there was already a strong class consciousness in almost all the countries, that there was also a clear sense of Latin American solidarity and that, to put it briefly, the trade union organisations of Latin America had escaped from their clutches for ever. This was why the AF of L was not present at the foundation of the CTAL and this was also why, at the height of the war, when the CTAL was the champion of the democratic unity of the Continent and of the struggle against the nazi-fascist powers, the leaders of the AF of L devoted themselves to slandering and systematically attacking the young and powerful organisation.

As soon as the Second World War was over and the economic and political relations of the Latin American countries with the United States had changed in the way described earlier, the AF of L considered that the moment had come to realise its old ambition to control the workers of Latin America in order to manipulate them from Washington. Serafino Romualdi, a representative of the AF of L, at the annual Convention held by the latter in Chicago in the year 1947, stated that the control of the Latin American workers by the American Federation of Labour was indispensable as a complement to the economic and military control which the United States are obliged to exercise over the Latin American workers, since in the case of any international conflict, the Latin American workers, if they operated independently, could upset the military and economic plans of the United States or turn their backs on them. The AF of L already at that time speaking barbarous language of imperialist intervention in the private affairs of the countries of Latin America, publicly arrived at an agreement to utilise several million dollars to destroy the CTAL and to organise in its place, a body after the nature of the COPA of 1918.

After an intensive propaganda campaign supported by the reactionary forces in Latin America and the agents of Yankee imperialism, the AF of L convened a congress which was held in the city of Lima, capital of Peru, in the month of January, 1948, in order to declare the inauguration of the Inter-American Confederation of Labour (CIT). This meeting was such a farce, and the intervention of the American Federation of Labour to control the few spurious delegates meeting in

Lima was so shameless, that Luis N. Morones, the former Vice-President of the COPA, the man who had lent himself to the creation of that body thirty years earlier, and who attended the constituent assembly of the CIT, rose up to protest vigorously against the speech of Serafino Romualdi, who was the real dictator of the small group of delegates economically and politically controlled by himself. Thus was born this agency of the AF of L and the North American monopolies, which has failed to prosper, in spite of the material resources at its disposal, since the only slogan which cannot be put forward with success in Latin America is that of handing over the sovereignty of the countries composing it to the North American monopoly interests and their agents.

The present situation of the trade union movement in Latin America is the following :—

1. Organisations affiliated to the CTAL, in alphabetical order :—
 - a) The Trade Union Confederation of Workers of Bolivia;
 - b) The Confederation of Workers of Brazil;
 - c) The Confederation of Workers of Columbia;
 - d) The Confederation of Workers of Costa Rica;
 - e) The Confederation of Workers of Cuba;
 - f) The Confederation of Workers of Chile;
 - g) The Confederation of Workers of Ecuador;
 - h) The Confederation of Workers of Guatemala;
 - i) In Mexico, the Confederation of Workers of Mexico is divided, because its present leaders have fallen into political corruption, they have rallied to the “ anti-Communist campaign ” ordered by Yankee imperialism and have linked themselves to interests foreign to the working-class movement. The majority of the representative groups of the Mexican proletariat have left it and with other independent organisations created the Workers’ and Peasants’ Alliance convening for the 20th, 21st and 22nd of the month of June, 1949, a national assembly from which will arise the new representative organisation of the Mexican proletariat and peasantry. The groups belonging to the Alliance affiliated to the CTAL at the Third Ordinary General Congress held by this organisation in March 1948.
 - j) The Confederation of Workers of Nicaragua;
 - k) The Trade Union Federation of Workers of Panama;
 - l) The Federation of Workers of Cuzco; the Railway Workers’ Union and the Federation of Petroleum Workers, the three organisations of the Republic of Peru;
 - m) The General Confederation of Workers of Puerto Rico;
 - n) The General Workers’ Union of Uruguay;

o) The Federation of Workers of the Federal District and the State of Miranda; the Federation of Workers of Anzoteagui and the Unitary Trade Union Confederation of Petroleum Workers, the four National Textile organizations of Venezuela.

2. The groups affiliated to the CIT are the following :—

a) A small dissident group of the Confederation of Workers of Chile, controlled by the Government of President Gonzales Videla;

b) A group of Peruvian trade unions recently dissolved because the party known as APRA which directed these trade unions politically, organised an armed rising which was put down by the Government and which provoked the extremely grave political situation at present existing in Peru, to the great detriment of the interests of the workers and of democratic principles;

c) A small group of dissident leaders of the Confederation of Workers of Cuba, controlled by the Government of the country;

d) The denominational trade union organisation of Costa Rica, known under the name of Rerum Novarum;

e) The denominational trade union organisation of Columbia, which includes only a small provincial group, directly under the control of the Catholic clergy;

f) An insignificant group of two or three guild organisations, also denominational, in Ecuador;

g) A group without any importance, known as the Proletarian Confederation, in Mexico, controlled by former anarchist leaders;

A group of trade unions controlled by the Government of the dictator of the Republic of Santo Domingo, Generalissimo Leonidas Trujillo, which carries out the task of holding back the struggle for the rights of the labouring masses of the country.

3. Characteristics of other countries : In the Republic of Honduras and the Republic of El Salvador, as in the Republic of Haiti, the trade union movement has not been able to develop because of the dictatorial regimes under which the peoples have suffered for many years. Nevertheless, certain liberties begin to be observed as far as the workers of El Salvador and Haiti are concerned, with whom the Confederation of Workers of Latin America maintains relations. In Honduras also the prospect has been opened of an incipient movement for trade union organisation.

4. The case of Argentina : The General Confederation of Labour of the Republic of Argentina stands aside from the international trade union groupings of Latin America. The leaders of this organisation are directly controlled by the Government of the Republic, presided over by General Juan Domingo Peron. As is well known, this official is the representative on the American Continent of the so-called "Third Force" which is the political line of the Vatican and which outside Argentina has only two Governments in the whole world : that of Francisco Franco in Spain and that of Carlos Oliveira Salazar, in Portugal.

IX. THE STRUGGLE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT FOR THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKING CLASS, FOR DEMOCRACY, FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND FOR PEACE.

But independently of the fact that the workers' groups controlled or influenced by the American Federation of Labour (AF of L) and by Latin American reaction, do not represent, as can be seen from the preceding information, any considerable force, the social picture in Latin America is marked by the grave struggle carried out by the great majority of the workers united under the banners of the CTAL and the WFTU both for their class interests and in defence of democracy, of national independence for the countries oppressed by imperialism and of the cause of world peace.

The attempts of the Yankee monopolies, allied to native reaction, to destroy the independent trade union organisation of Latin America and hinder its just struggles has already failed completely. In spite of the violent repression unleashed, as we have already pointed out, by many anti-democratic government agents of imperialism, and of the powerful pressure everywhere exerted against the working class movement, the latter has kept its fundamental forces intact, it has preserved its legal structure and far from sinking into passivity, it gives frequent and growing signs of successfully resisting the offensive of its enemies and even of passing over to the counter-attack.

The independent trade union centres of Latin America are able to appear at this Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions to tell the proletariat of all the countries of the world that in that region of the Continent the flag of workers' and peasants' struggle remains high and will never be furled.

In the face of the conditions of greater poverty, due to the economic situation described in the first chapter of this document, the working class finds itself obliged to struggle vigorously by all means at its disposal and it has done so uninterruptedly during the last three years. Great demonstrations against the cost of living, great strike movements have taken place in all countries, but particularly in Chile, Cuba, Guatemala, Bolivia and Columbia. Even in countries where during this period of time and up to the present, the trade union movement has been subjected to the influence of reactionary Governments, such as that of Argentina, or of cliques of traitorous leaders like the CTM in Mexico, the movement of working class and peasant struggle has reached great dimensions.

Alongside this day-to-day untiring struggle of the masses of the people for their rights and elementary interests develops the great battle of the workers in union with all the progressive forces of Latin America to maintain the existing democratic regimes and break the dictatorships where they are in power. In this respect, we should mention the sustained effort carried out by the workers of Brazil, Cuba,

Chile, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Paraguay, and El Salvador and, indeed, of all the countries in this region of the world.

Thanks to the unbroken force of the working class and peasant movement, the wave of reaction fostered by imperialism has not been able to subject the whole Continent and it can be stated that in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador and Uruguay, there exist up to the present day governmental regimes which, in spite of their serious difficulties and inconsistencies constitute centres of liberty and democracy in the Continent.

The working class, organised under the banners of the CTAL and the WFTU has also carried on an unceasing struggle to unite all the forces of each nation and of Latin America as a whole for the defence of the interests of their countries and of national sovereignty and in order to organise great fronts of a patriotic tendency to promote economic progress and defend it from Yankee imperialism.

Finally it must be said that in the last few months, parallel with the unprecedented aggravation of the international situation and the development of the aggressive plans of the Yankee monopolies and of the so-called "Western Block", the working class of Latin America has taken firmly into its hands the banner of the fight for peace, considering that the outbreak of a war would seriously endanger both the economic interests of the people and its social and political gains and threaten the Latin American nations with the complete loss of their independence and their liberty.

It is clear that the representatives of each of the trade union centres of Latin America will, at this Congress, put before the world proletariat more detailed information on the great class struggles which have taken place during the last three years in these countries and that this information will give all the representatives of the world working class a vivid and clear idea of the way the working masses of Latin America are fighting indefatigably and unflinchingly for their interests, for democracy, for national independence and for peace; but I wish to affirm categorically that the general picture that we, fighters of the Latin American working class movement, are here to present is enormously positive, above all if one takes into account the conditions of serious pressure to which the weak countries of Latin America are subjected, being considered by Yankee imperialism pre-eminently as its natural property. The following is our balance sheet:—

a) The independent working-class movement of Latin America has been preserved with its fundamental force intact;

b) The aims of the leaders of the American Federation of Labour, to organise in the American continent a workers' movement which would be a docile instrument of North American imperialism, have been defeated;

c) The Latin American working-class movement is on a fighting basis against poverty, for its trade-union rights, for democracy, national independence and peace;

d) Overcoming the tremendous pressure of which it is the object, the Latin American working-class movement needs to continually strengthen each of its national organizations, extending to the countries

in which no organisation exists or where one hardly exists in an incipient form, and to strengthen its unity on the international scale;

e) The orientation of the working-class movement must be reinforced to achieve closer organic and militant collaboration with the great peasant masses who, in Latin America, form a decisive majority of the working class.

X. THE RELATIONS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT WITH THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Before the holding of the World Trade Union Conference in London in February, 1945, the Confederation of Workers of Latin America had agreed to submit to the workers' movement of the United States (CIO), to the British TUC and to the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions the need for convening a congress of workers of all countries of the world to set up a truly representative organisation of the trade union movement of all continents. It was for this reason that when the TUC of Great Britain convened the London conference, all groups affiliated to the CTAL welcomed this news with great joy and the majority of them sent representatives to the meeting. The President of the CTAL represented the Latin America trade union centres unable to send delegates for lack of funds and he was accepted as an observer, independently of his participation as President of the CTAL itself. It may be said, therefore, that there is not a single trade-union organisation in Latin America, affiliated to the CTAL which has not always considered itself as affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions since the foundation of the latter in Paris in 1945.

From the point of view of the Constitution of the WFTU however, not all the trade union centres of Latin America have fulfilled the necessary requirements to be considered as active members of the WFTU, since the economic crisis which they are undergoing materially prevents them from fulfilling these obligations.

The WFTU concerned at the situation of the Latin American workers, agreed to reduce as far as possible the dues of trade union bodies in countries where the situation is difficult.

To further improve the links of the CTAL organisation with the WFTU, the Executive Committee of the latter, meeting in January and February of the present year 1949, adopted the following resolutions.

"1) To consider the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (CTAL) as the body linking and coordinating the World Federation of Trade Unions and the National Centres of Latin America.

"2) To instruct the General Secretary of the WFTU to make an immediate study of the establishing of a permanent link with the Bureau of the CTAL with the aim of bringing about the effective cooperation of the WFTU in the study of the problems of the working class of Latin America and of its demands, in agreement with its representative bodies.

"3) To instruct the General Secretary to study the possibility of sending delegations to enquire into the situation of the trade union movement in the Latin American countries where the exercise of trade union rights by the workers is contested or prevented."

It is evident that in the special case of the Latin American workers' organisations, the WFTU must continue to give help, as it has up to the present, with understanding of their problems, since it is not a question of old and well-established organisations of countries with high economic development, but of young organisations belonging to weak nations constantly subject to the economic and political pressure of the forces of imperialism and reaction.

It will moreover, be clear to the workers of the whole world from this explanation of the great problems of Latin America: that the World Federation of Trade Unions can rely on the representative trade union organisations in Latin America; that apart from the latter, there are no very important groups and that the enemies of the WFTU only dispose of small conservative and provocateur groups belonging to the so-called Inter-American Confederation of Labour (CIT). To assist the Latin American workers' movement at this difficult stage which it is passing through, due to the profound crisis of democracy in this important part of the globe, is therefore not only to help the working class movement of an important part of a whole continent, but also to help the working class movement in general and to consolidate the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions itself.

XI. PROGRAMME FOR LATIN AMERICA

The CTAL, as the genuine expression of the Latin American peoples, has kept essentially the same programme during its eleven years of existence. The events which have occurred during that time are subjected to critical analysis and the conclusions arrived at are incorporated in its original programme, enriching it and bringing it up to date. The last time the leadership of the CTAL dealt with the main features of its programme, was on the occasion of a study in connection with the election of the President of the United States, Harry S. Truman. This programme says:—

1. For the workers, as for the progressive and patriotic electors of Latin America, the principal aim at the present stage of the historical development of our peoples is to achieve the economic and political emancipation of the twenty nations of our hemisphere.

In view of this, at the same time as we hold high the banner of the particular demands and aspirations of the working class, we reaffirm the need to maintain and further the policy of national unity which the working class of our oppressed countries has been the first to proclaim and to put into practice.

The policy of national unity consists in uniting in one single front and in a single movement all the social forces which, independently of the diversity and even antagonism of their interests and class aims, are

agreed to fight effectively for national independence and for the economic development of the country.

National unity has been proclaimed by the working class of Mexico and Latin America with full consciousness of the fact that such a policy has not meant and could not mean the abandonment on the part of the workers of their principles, of their rights or of their class aims. This policy of national unity is entirely in keeping with the essential principles of the scientific theory of the proletariat and has been successfully put into effect in Mexico and other countries of Latin America, since it is beyond doubt that the struggle for national independence is a factor of progress and revival and in the last analysis a revolutionary factor, not only in colonial and semi-colonial countries like our own, but also in certain other countries which—suffering also from the intervention of the expansionist and aggressive plans of North American imperialism—have become countries whose sovereignties are seriously threatened or interfered with.

2. In order to achieve the emancipation of the countries of Latin America, it is necessary to obtain above all :

a) Agrarian reform in all the Latin American countries, doing away with the regime of latifundia, and distributing the land among the peasants, preventing the purchase or exploitation of land by foreigners and drawing up and putting into effect a programme for the modernisation of agriculture, so as to vary it, raise the standard of living of the rural masses and provide raw materials for national industry;

b) A firm basis for industrialisation in each country, the transformation of its raw materials and the rational exploitation of its resources:

c) A national policy which directs and canalises public and private credit towards productive activities;

d) A national fiscal policy which protects domestic industry not only by means of custom duties, which are in many ways inefficacious, but also by other measures of a technical nature;

e) A national financial policy which prevents inflation and deflation by centralising the main banking operations and controlling the traffic in foreign currencies;

f) Treaties and agreements to facilitate trade between the different regions of the Latin American continent, like those concluded between the Republics of Greater Columbia;

g) The organisation of regional or general enterprises in Latin America to control sea, land and air transport, giving an impulse to the development of national agriculture and industry;

h) A general policy in all the Latin American countries, to direct foreign investments in the interests of the progress of each country and with complete respect for national sovereignty;

i) A national and general policy for the foreign trade of the Latin American countries, permitting them to extend their relations with the countries of other continents;

j) A national policy of protection of the vital interests of the broad

masses of the people, preventing the high cost of living, increasing wages and guaranteeing fair prices for rural products;

k) The maintenance of effective respect for individual liberties and the social rights of the manual and intellectual workers;

l) The existence of a genuine democratic regime, based on the free play of political parties; on the scrupulous respect of the suffrage, on the system of proportional representation for the election of the members of municipal governments and of the regional and national congresses or legislatures;

m) The respect of the independence of the working class movement in relation to the State;

n) The unification of the working class.

In the international field :—

a) The strengthening of friendship and alliance between the countries of Latin America;

b) Making effective the Good Neighbour policy between the countries of the American continent;

c) The strengthening of the United Nations Organisation in accordance with its constitutional structure;

d) Not to create blocs or carry out acts tending to form regional groups of countries outside or against the UNO;

e) To maintain friendly relations with the peoples of the whole world;

f) To fight against war between the American countries or between any other countries;

g) To struggle for an understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States;

h) To work untiringly for the maintenance of world peace.

**FRATERNAL GREETINGS FROM THE
IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS
TO THE JAPANESE TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

1st July 1949.

Second World Trade Union Congress meeting Milan decided unanimously in 30 June session to send General MacArthur vigorous protest against obstacles raised by occupation authorities to journey of Japanese delegates to World Congress—stop—Congress instructed WFTU Secretariat to protest to United Nations against this infringement of trade union rights—stop—In name of seventy million organised workers of 59 countries Second World Congress sends warmest fraternal greetings to representatives of 6,700,000 Japanese unionists meeting in Congress July first—stop—Asks them intensify yet more their activity to organise Japanese working class in trade unions which will be most effective weapon for democratizing Japanese people and for defence of living standards rights and liberties—stop—Japanese Unions must resist manœuvres for division of Japanese Workers and consolidate their unity in Zen Ro Ren—stop—Must despite obstacles strengthen links with world working class organisations united in WFTU—stop.

For Second World Trade Union Congress :

Louis SAILLANT,
General Secretary.

PROTESTS

LETTER OF PROTEST TO GENERAL MacARTHUR
ON THE JAPANESE TRADE UNIONS

July 1 1949.

General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR,
Supreme Commander Occupation forces,
Tokyo (Japan).

Sir,

At its session yesterday the 400 delegates present at the Second World Trade Union Congress, representing 70 million organised workers of the world, were informed of the decision of the American Occupation authorities to refuse exit visas to Japanese trade union delegates who had been elected to represent the workers of their country at the Second World Trade Union Congress.

On receiving this information the Congress unanimously instructed the Praesidium to draw your attention to the fact that the obstacles put in the way of the Japanese delegates, resulting in the hindering of the free functioning of their unions and their right to representation in the international field, is in flagrant contradiction with the policy of the democratisation of Japanese social life to which the American Government is theoretically committed. It is also in opposition to the policy which the United Nations Organisation has recommended should be applied in Japan.

I am therefore instructed by the Congress to register its vigorous protest at the measures applied against the Japanese trade union delegates and ask you, in your capacity as Supreme Commander, to review the refusal made and to grant permission to the delegates freely to take part in the Second World Trade Union Congress.

I trust you will give this your immediate consideration,

Yours faithfully,

Louis SAILLANT,
General Secretary, WFTU.

On behalf of the Praesidium
of the Second World Trade Union Congress.

**LETTER OF PROTEST
TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
ON THE JAPANESE TRADE UNIONS**

1st July 1949.

His Excellency Mr. TRYGVE LIE,
Secretary General of the United Nations.
Lake Success, N. Y. (USA).

The Second World Trade Union Congress, meeting in Milan, unanimously decided at its session of 30 June 1949 to send the United Nations a protest against the fact that the delegates of the Japanese Trade Unions were not permitted by the American Occupation Authorities to attend the Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Similar difficulties prevented the Japanese representatives from attending both the Prague session of the WFTU General Council in June 1947 and the Rome session of the Executive Committee in May 1948. The Japanese Trade Unions had been invited to send observers to both of these sessions since their application for affiliation had not yet been accepted by the WFTU. Numerous protests sent at that time to General MacArthur by the Secretariat and by the Executive of the WFTU remained without success.

In the present case, the necessary visas have been refused not to observers but to delegates regularly elected by the Japanese organisations whose application for affiliation to the WFTU was accepted by the Executive Bureau and Committee during their February 1949 session. These delegates were to participate in a statutory meeting of the sovereign body of the WFTU.

By opposing the journey of these delegates, the American Occupation Authorities are committing a direct infringement of the trade union rights of Japanese workers, to whom they are refusing the right to be represented within the ranks of the international trade union movement. They are refusing to recognise the validity of the mandate entrusted to democratically elected representatives by the Japanese Trade Union Organisations.

In the name of 70 million workers, the Second World Trade Union Congress makes a solemn protest to you against the arbitrary decision of the representatives of the American Government in Japan.

The Second World Trade Union Congress therefore takes the liberty of informing the Economic and Social Council of this clear infringement of the exercise of trade union rights by the Occupation

Authorities representing the American Government which is a member of the United Nations and of the Economic and Social Council.

Furthermore, it wishes to stress that the fact of systematically depriving the Japanese organisations of any contact with the democratic trade unions of the rest of the world would only serve to slow down considerably the democratisation of the Japanese people, and consequently is contrary to one of the essential aims which the United Nations set itself in Japan.

Yours truly,

For the IInd World Trade Union Congress
For the Praesidium of the Congress

The General Secretary,
Louis SAILLANT.

TELEGRAMS OF PROTEST ON THE 10 GREEK TRADE UNIONISTS

8 July 1949.

TRYGVE LIE,
Secretary General UNO,
Lake Success, New York.

Second World Trade Union Congress meeting at Milan and representing seventy one and a half million organized workers of whole world raises unanimous voice in indignant protest against death sentence pronounced by Greek Government against ten Greek trade union seamen whose only crime is trade union activity—stop—Congress requests your organization intervene with Greek Government to prevent execution and demand immediate liberation of these innocent victims of monarcho fascist terror.

Bureau of Second Congress.

8 July 1949.

TSALDARIS,
Prime Minister,
Athens.

Second World Trade Union Congress meeting at Milan and representing seventy one and a half million organised workers of whole world raises unanimous voice in indignant protest against death sentence pronounced by Greek Government against ten Greek trade union seamen whose only crime is trade union activity—stop—Congress requests Greek Government forego execution and immediately release these innocent victims.

Bureau of Second Congress.

8 July 1949.

Ernest BEVIN,
Foreign Office,
London.

Second World Trade Union Congress meeting at Milan and representing seventy one and a half million organised workers of whole world raises unanimous voice in indignant protest against death sentence pronounced by Greek Government against ten Greek trade union seamen whose only crime is trade union activity—stop—Congress requests your Government intervene with Greek Government to prevent execution and demand immediate liberation these innocent victims of monarcho fascist terror.

Bureau of Second Congress.

8 July 1949.

DEAN ACHESON,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

Second World Trade Union Congress meeting at Milan and representing seventy one and a half million organised workers of whole world raises unanimous voice in indignant protest against death sentence pronounced by Greek Government against ten Greek trade union seamen whose only crime is trade union activity—stop—Congress requests your Government intervene with Greek Government to prevent execution and demand immediate liberation these innocent victims of monarcho fascist terror.

Bureau of Second Congress.

RESOLUTIONS
adopted by
the IInd World Trade Union Congress

RESOLUTION

**OF THE IIND WORLD TRADE UNIONS CONGRESS ON
THE GENERAL REPORT OF ACTIVITY OF THE WORLD
FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS PRESENTED BY THE
GENERAL SECRETARY**

1) The IInd World Trade Union Congress declares that during the 45 months since its Constituent Congress, the World Federation of Trade Unions has acted in full conformity with the tasks and objectives stated in its Constitution; its essential goal has been to implement the fundamental resolutions adopted at the London World Trade Union Conference and at the Paris Congress as well as at the meetings of the General Council and the Executive Committee.

During all this time the WFTU has concerned itself with the problems of the day which are vitally important for the workers of all countries.

2) The IInd World Trade Union Congress approves the policy and activities of the Executive Bureau and Committee since the creation of the WFTU. The Congress recalls the efforts of the WFTU concerning :—

a) The energetic condemnation of the persecution inflicted on the trade unions and their leaders in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

b) The practical assistance given to the organisations affiliated to the WFTU.

c) The measures taken for the creation of Trade Unions Internationals by branch of industry (Trade Departments).

3) The IInd World Trade Union Congress approves the action taken by the WFTU to obtain representation within the United Nations. Despite the systematic opposition of the Governments of the USA, Great Britain and other capitalist countries, the WFTU after stubborn and repeated attempts, was able to obtain certain rights in the Economic and Social Council of UNO where it now holds the official status of a non-Governmental International Organisation.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has placed vital questions for the workers of the world before the Economic and Social Council, particularly :—

a) guarantees for the exercise and development of trade union rights and liberties.

b) infringements of trade union rights and liberties.

c) the application of the principle "equal pay for equal work" for men and women workers.

d) the concrete struggle against inflation and for the preservation of the purchasing power of wages.

e) the improvement of the living standards of the workers in economically backward countries.

f) the fight against unemployment and for the application of a full employment policy.

On all these questions, the IInd Congress recalls the efforts made by the WFTU in order to direct the Economic and Social Council towards solutions satisfactory for the workers. The Congress considers that the WFTU must carry out persevering action on all these problems without allowing itself to be held up by already existing difficulties or by those which may arise in the future, both in the United Nations Organisation and in the Inter-Governmental Institutions and Specialised Agencies in which the WFTU is represented.

On this point, the Congress protests strongly against the action of certain governments at UNO who oppose the legitimate rights of the WFTU and prevent the discussion of problems of vital importance for the workers put forward by the WFTU.

4) The IInd Congress records that the WFTU has frequently protested in the name of the World Trade Union movement against the fascist dictatorship regimes existing in Spain and Greece and against the colonial wars in Indonesia. The WFTU has worked for the accelerated and the complete demilitarisation, denazification and democratisation of Germany, for the demilitarisation and democratisation of Japan and for the creation in these countries of democratic trade unions, widely representative of the organised workers on the basis of complete trade union unity.

All these actions are consistent and concrete manifestations of the World Federation of Trade Unions' struggle for peace and democracy in the world.

5) The IInd World Trade Union Congress approved the action of the WFTU Executive Bureau which in its September 1946 session at Washington warned the workers of the world of the aggressive objectives of international reaction, which had appeared again less than a year after the end of the IInd World War. The WFTU has on many occasions denounced the encroachment by reactionary Governmental circles and the employers on the legitimate rights and the standards of living of the working masses. The WFTU has unceasingly appealed to the working men and women to react energetically against all infringements of their rights and liberties. This direct action, exercised both on public opinion as a whole and on the working class has been completely indispensable to the activity of the WFTU in the United Nations for the defence of these same rights and liberties.

The IInd Congress observes, nevertheless, that the offensive of the reactionaries and the imperialists has not ceased to intensify. In spite of the continuous resistance of the trade union organisations and the working class in capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries, the purchasing power of wages has fallen during these last few years,

unemployment has increased, the exploitation of the workers has intensified and their standard of living has deteriorated. The attempts of the workers and their trade union organisations to improve the situation of the working class meets with continuous opposition from the owning classes and Governments which apply policies favourable to the capitalist interests. In spite of the heightened repression, strike movements are continually multiplying. Anti-trade union and anti-labour laws are being passed to arrest the extension of this widespread social struggle, which, however, is continuing in all countries where the rights of the workers and their living conditions are being challenged.

The IInd Congress notes that in all countries where social conflicts are taking place, the trade unions, whatever the political tendencies and the religious opinions of their members inevitably carry on struggles dealing with the claims of the workers on the basis of the programme of economic and social demands which was drawn up by Ist World Trade Union Congress.

6) The IInd World Trade Union Congress endorses the declaration of the General Council of the WFTU in 1947 that :—

“ Everywhere, the forces of monopoly capital are attempting to split the unity of the working class, divide and weaken its forces and destroy its political power. Should these efforts succeed, a stable peace with economic security and rising living standards for all will become impossible to attain and the world would once again take the tragic path that leads to economic depression, international conflict and inevitably to another and far more terrible war. ”

The policy of the most active capitalist monopolies is expressed in the action carried on by American capitalism : the plan for hegemony and the economic, financial, political and military domination, called the “ Marshall plan ”, is one of the manifestations of this policy of force on the part of monopoly capitalism which the General Council of the WFTU denounced at its Prague session in 1947.

The World Trade Union Congress affirms that it is now evident to the organised workers of the world as a whole that the application of the “ Marshall Plan ” has entailed in the countries in which it has been imposed, considerable increase in capitalist income and profits, clear restrictions to the free development of national industries and consequently a progressive and considerable rise in unemployment, worsening still more the already inadequate living conditions of the working populations.

7) The IInd World Trade Union Congress notes that, in order to pursue their objectives of domination and social reaction, the imperialist forces subsidise a vast propaganda aimed at creating a propitious atmosphere for a new world war. In order to attain these objectives, the reactionary forces seek to weaken the working class and to divide its ranks in order to prevent its organised resistance to their criminal designs against humanity.

8) The WFTU constitutes one of the most serious obstacles to the accomplishment of the abominable designs of the imperialist forces. It is not surprising therefore, that these forces and their agents have

made furious attacks against it aimed at discrediting, dividing and destroying it.

9) *The IInd World Trade Union Congress fully endorses the action of the majority of the Executive Bureau and Committee in January 1949, in refusing the discreditable proposal of the leaders of the British TUC and the American CIO aiming at suspending the activities of the WFTU and thus doing away with this world trade union organisation. By maintaining the WFTU and by pursuing the implementation of the decisions of the World Trade Union Conference of London and the Constituent Congress of Paris, the Executive Bureau and Committee of the WFTU have inflicted a defeat on the reactionary forces and the warmongers, who, in fact, had put all their hopes on the interference of the leaders of the American Federation of Labour and of a few leaders of the TUC General Council and of the CIO to accomplish within the ranks of the international trade union movement the objectives of the Anglo-American imperialist policy.*

10) *The Congress condemns the breakaway leaders acting under the orders of the reactionary and imperialist clans against the interests of the workers and against the organisations which courageously defend the programme and policy of the WFTU. Those members of the Executive elected at the time of the Ist World Trade Union Congress, who have not presented themselves to the IInd Congress to give account of their mandate, have thereby demonstrated their contempt for democracy and for the pledges contracted in common.*

The IInd World Trade Union Congress has been clearly informed of the attempts made by the leaders of the TUC and the CIO to sabotage the application of the most important decisions of the WFTU, (creation of Trade Departments, convening of the Pan Asian Trade Union Conference, WFTU policy in Germany and Japan and the democratic unification of the trade unions of these countries, etc.): the Congress considers their withdrawal from the Executive Bureau on 19th January 1949, as the confession of the failure of their policy aimed at paralysing the WFTU.

11) *The Congress notes with satisfaction that the attempts of the leaders of the TUC and CIO to do away with the WFTU have met with complete failure. In spite of the fact that the TUC, the CIO and several other National Centres have left the WFTU, it continues to be the powerful and combative trade union organisation which unites the trade unions of the immense majority of the countries of the world irrespective of race, nationality, religion or political tendencies.*

The reports of the Auditing Committee and the Credentials Committee have given proof that the financial situation of the WFTU is sound and that the immense majority of organised workers throughout the world have remained united in the ranks of the WFTU.

The IInd World Trade Union Congress can therefore, in the name of 71,786,515 actual members of the WFTU, endorse the activity of the directing bodies, the Executive Bureau, the Executive Committee and the General Council.

The Congress confirms the necessity of applying in an even firmer manner the trade union policy of the WFTU which should strive to

maintain and consolidate the unity of the world trade union movement and to create within the WFTU the widest possible rally of organised workers without any discrimination.

The Congress recommends the future directing bodies of the WFTU to make endeavours by means of continuous and sustained action to draw all workers and also members of organisation which have broken away from the Federation into participation in the common action of the working class on the basis of the economic and social programme of the WFTU.

12) Having endorsed the activity of the WFTU in UNO, the IInd Congress recommends the Executive Bureau and Committee:—

a) energetically to pursue the work undertaken to guarantee full rights of representation for the WFTU in the Economic and Social Council and in Inter-Governmental Institutions and Specialised Agencies.

b) to defend the vital interests of the workers with tenacity and perseverance in all international institutions including the ILO.

13) The IInd Congress instructs the Executive Bureau to extend the work of liaison between the World Federation of Trade Unions and all the National Trade Union Centres and with all trade union organisations which are maintaining their relations with the WFTU. It calls on all these organisations to support the day to day and continuous activity of the WFTU in favour of the interests of the workers by implementing an extensive propaganda plan (radio, conferences, meetings, journals and reviews, pamphlets) aimed at making known the role and activities of the WFTU on economic, social and political questions of capital importance for the world working class.

14) The IInd World Trade Union Congress expresses its firm conviction that the National Trade Union Centres, the Trade Unions Internationals for each branch of industry (WFTU Trade Departments) and all the trade unions of each trade in every country, will assist by every means in their power to maintain a continuous and direct link between the tens of millions of workers, men and women, spread throughout the world, and the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The application of the decisions and resolutions of this IInd World Trade Union Congress shall be the highest duty of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

RESOLUTION

ON THE GENERAL POLICY AND STRUGGLE OF THE WFTU FOR PEACE, THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES AND FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY

The Second World Trade Unions Congress notes with satisfaction that in the very complicated post-war international situation and in spite of the obstruction of the major leaders of the British TUC and American CIO, the WFTU firmly occupies a place of first importance in the camp of peace and democracy, and that it has victoriously defended the unity of the world trade union movement.

Present-day conditions of the struggle of the working class on behalf of its vital interests are markedly different from those which existed at the time that our Federation was created. At that time, the peoples hoped that an era of lasting peace and prosperity was opening up in front of them, that measures would be taken to ensure the extension of their democratic rights and to satisfy their economic and social needs. Today, these hopes are things of the past. The capitalist states have not honoured the commitments which they made during the war. More, reactionary monopolist circles have begun to prepare a new world war.

The "Marshall Plan", "Western Union" and the "Atlantic Pact" are so many links in one aggressive policy of the British and American imperialists who aspire to world domination. The reactionaries are engaged upon a violent offensive against the standard of living of the working class, while unemployment and misery are increasing. Systematic attacks are being made by them against the democratic movement. Trade union freedom is being attacked from every angle. In many countries, both metropolitan, colonial and semi-colonial, the trade unions have been driven underground; the workers have been deprived of their right to strike and of other democratic rights even of the most elementary nature. Thousands of working class leaders have been killed or imprisoned.

However, the efforts of the warmongers and of those who seek to stamp out democratic liberties are meeting with the ever growing resistance of the peoples, for whom a stable peace, fraternal international cooperation and the failure of the plans of the reactionary forces are a vital necessity. This will found striking expression in the World Peace Congresses of Paris and Prague.

In these circumstances, the World Federation of Trade Unions must be in the front ranks of the struggle against the fomentors of a new holocaust; it must act in favour of the democratic rights of the peoples and in favour of developing the well-being and the unity of the working class.

The Congress resolves :—

1. To approve the decisions of the Paris and Prague Peace Congresses. The Federation, its executive bodies, the Trade Union Centres and their affiliates, must take the most active part in the work of the Permanent Committee of the World Congress for Peace and, in particular, in all activity of an organisational or propaganda nature.

2. The trade unions of all countries must wage a broad campaign to denounce the war mongers and to rally all the workers organised in trade unions affiliated to the WFTU, as well as those affiliated to other trade unions and those who are not organised, to a broad people's movement for peace and democratic liberty. In accordance with the particular situation of each country, they must determine the appropriate campaign forms. Where circumstances permit, the trade unions must set up Peace Committees in factories and offices.

3. The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to submit, without delay, to the Permanent Committee of the World Congress for Peace a proposal having as its aim the organisation as rapidly as possible, of an International Day of Struggle and People's Demonstrations for Peace and Democratic Liberties.

4. The Congress recommends to all affiliated Trade Union Centres to pursue a systematic work of enlightenment so as to denounce the splitting and anti-labour activities of the principal AF of L, TUC and CIO leaders.

5. In view of the special importance of the struggle for peace, democratic freedom and trade union unity, the Congress believes it indispensable to issue a Manifesto to the workers of the entire world, calling upon them to extend their activities ever more broadly in favour of these aims.

6. The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to act energetically for the affiliation of new Trade Union Centres favourable to international trade union unity, and, in particular, of the Trade Union Centres in the colonial and dependent countries. The Congress states that the doors of the Federation remain wide open to all trade union organisations, even those with the smallest membership, which are conscious of the urgency of the common struggle of the workers and trade unions of all tendencies, for essential economic interests, peace and democratic liberties.

7. The efforts of the executive bodies of the WFTU must also tend to the reconstruction of trade union unity on the national scale, particularly in the countries where the enemies of unity are seeking to achieve or increase the division of the trade union movement, as for instance in Germany, Japan, India and in the Latin American countries.

8. The Congress is of the opinion that the best way of cancelling the effects of the split and of creating favourable conditions for the strengthening of trade union unity is to practise a policy of unity of action for the defence of the common demands of all the workers, in accordance with the examples given by the French CGT in the factories

and public services, and by the Italian CGIL during the recent victorious strike of agricultural workers.

9. *The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to make wide use of the Press, the Radio and mass meetings as propaganda weapons in the struggle for peace, international trade union unity and the defence of democratic liberties.*

10. *The Federation's various bodies and those of the national trade union centres are called upon to do everything in their power to mobilise the greatest number of workers for the defence of trade union freedom, which is being trampled underfoot by capitalist governments. All means, such as appeals to UNO, petitions to the various governments and the organisation of mass protests must be used in the struggle for this just cause.*

11. *The Congress addresses fraternal greetings to the heroic militants of the trade unions and of the working class of China, Malaya, Indonesia, Viet-Nam and Greece, who are in the front ranks of the struggle against imperialism, and to the militants and democratic trade unions of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Chile, India, Burma, Siam, Iran, etc. who are carrying on a clandestine and tenacious struggle in the interests of the working class.*

In addition, the Congress sends its cordial and affectionate greetings to Comrade Dange, courageous fighter for the trade union cause, as well as to all the militants and workers at present imprisoned in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries.

12. *The Congress instructs the executive bodies of the Federation to pay particular attention so that the maximum assistance may be given to the young trade union movements of the colonial countries by calling regional conferences, sending commissions and fraternal delegations to enquire into the situation of the trade unions and by editing special publications in the particular languages of these countries.*

The Second World Trade Union Congress, conscious of the role which the World Federation of Trade Unions must play, and confident of the immense power and possibilities of the working class, appeals to all trade union organisations, whether affiliated or not, to do everything in their power rapidly to achieve the widest unity of all those whose ideal is well-being, social progress and democratic liberty; this unity is the guarantee of certain victory over the warmongers.

RESOLUTION

ON THE REPORT OF ACTIVITY OF THE WFTU AND THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRES IN DEFENCE OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS

1) *The 2nd Congress notes that the WFTU and the National Trade Union Centres have waged and are still waging a determined struggle for the achievement of the programme for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers adopted at the World Conference of London and at the Paris World Trade Union Congress.*

The World Federation of Trade Unions has put the question of equal pay for equal work before the United Nations Organisations; it has supported the workers of different countries struggling for the improvement of their living conditions; it has shown itself to be the organiser of the international solidarity movement and of aid to the striking French miners, the American dockers, the Canadian seamen, and other sections of the working class of various countries. The WFTU has put to the National Centres of the metropolitan countries the problem of aid to the unions of the colonial countries in their struggle for the improvement of the economic and social situation in the colonies, and against racial, sex or religious discrimination.

2) *Immediately after the end of the war the trade unions of a series of capitalist countries attained certain successes in the improvement of the workers' economic conditions, which took the form of the adoption in some countries of laws relating to the creation of Works Committees, to the prohibition of the dismissal of workers and to the institution of cost-of-living bonuses, the introduction of unemployment benefits, holidays with pay, etc. Recently, however, as a result of the attack by monopoly capital against the workers' standard of living, the material situation of the masses of the people in the capitalist countries has considerably worsened.*

3) *The Marshall Plan, imposed on the peoples of Western Europe by American imperialism, leads to mass unemployment and poverty, to the loss by the Marshallised countries of their economic independence and the reduction of their national industry.*

The Marshall Plan aggravates the living conditions of the American working class itself.

4) *The deterioration of the economic situation of the workers in capitalist countries is accompanied by the intensification of reaction's offensive against the democratic rights and liberties of the working*

class. In many countries anti-labour legislation of the type of the American Taft-Hartley law has been introduced; strikes are declared illegal and repression of trade union organisations is growing.

The divisionist leaders of the Trade Union Centres of Britain, the USA, Holland, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark have caused great harm to the interests of the working class by defending the Marshall Plan, which is bringing unemployment and poverty to the workers of their countries. The leaders of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the USA, and of the British Trades Union Congress and of certain other Trade Union Centres are, by their policy of splitting trade union unity, weakening the forces of the working class in its fight for its vital interests. In doing so they reveal themselves as accomplices in the policy of the imperialist circles which is tending towards the aggravation of the economic situation of the workers in their countries.

5) The economic and social conditions of the workers are particularly hard in the colonial and dependent countries. There, forced labour still exists in various forms, and savage exploitation of the working class is further aggravated by discrimination based on sex, race and age. Free trade unions are persecuted by the governments, and their leaders are subjected to monstrous repression.

Discrimination in the sphere of work and wages for reasons of race and nationality exists not only in the colonies, but also in the United States of America. In this country, access to skilled work is forbidden to negroes and also to Mexicans, Porto Ricans, Chinese and Japanese. Special scales of wages are applied to negroes, providing for a lower wage than that of white workers in the same category.

6) The Congress greets the democratic trade unions of France, Italy, India, the countries of Latin America and the other capitalist and colonial countries which are waging a heroic struggle for the defence of the economic and social rights of the workers. This struggle is being carried on under conditions of savage repression on the part of capitalist governments. It is the object of the undermining activity of the splitters of labour unity, an activity carried on by the reformists and governmental trade unions.

7) The Congress notes with satisfaction that in the USSR the material and cultural well-being of the workers is growing continuously.

These successes have been obtained thanks to the Socialist nature of the Soviet State where there is no private ownership of the means of production nor contradictions between the State and the workers. Soviet trade unions take an active part in Socialist construction, ensuring rising living standards for the country's workers.

The speed of post-war reconstruction and of the development of the national economy, a speed achieved by the Soviet Union without foreign assistance, bears witness once more to the superiority of the Socialist system of economy over the capitalist system.

8) Important successes in the improvement of the workers' economic situation and in the defence of their social rights have been won by the trade unions of the Popular Democracies which have started along the path of Socialist development. These successes are expressed in

the achievement of the principle of equal pay for equal work, in the introduction and development of progressive labour legislation and State social insurance, in the abolition of unemployment, and in the raising of the workers' real wages and living standards.

9) *The decisions of the London Conference and of the Paris World Trade Union Congress fixed the tasks of National Trade Union Centres of all countries in the sphere of their activity for the defence of the economic and social interests of the workers.*

The Congress calls the National Trade Union Centres and the trade unions in all countries to a decisive struggle for the application of these decisions, and against the attempts of the employers and capitalist governments to make the working class bear the whole brunt of the approaching economic crisis.

The 2nd World Congress considers that the essential weapon in the struggle to improve the economic and social conditions of the workers against the growing offensive of capital is the reinforcement of working class trade union unity and the consolidation of the WFTU.

The Congress calls on the trade unions to fight for the economic independence of their countries and for the safeguarding and development of their national industries—the sole means for the effective solution of the post-war economic break-down and for the raising of the standard of living of the masses of the people; furthermore, it appeals to them to fight for the reduction of military budgets.

The trade unions must fight for the economic independence of the colonial and dependent countries, against forced slave labour in the capitalist and colonial countries and against discrimination amongst workers on the grounds of age, sex, race or nationality.

It is necessary for trade unions to wage a struggle to repeal anti-labour laws and to obtain the adoption of progressive social legislation providing for the reduction of the working day, the introduction of unemployment benefits and the establishment of social insurance paid for by the government and the employers as well as for free medical care and holidays with pay. They must also carry on a fight for stability of employment, against wage freezing and wage reductions, and for an increase in the real value of wages.

10) *The Congress instructs the Executive Bureau of the WFTU to diffuse widely the programme for the economic and social interests of the workers adopted by the World Trade Union Conference of London and by the World Trade Union Congress of Paris, taking into account the economic and social changes and the experience of struggle which the working class has meanwhile gained.*

11) *The Congress instructs the Executive Committee of the WFTU to create an international solidarity fund for the workers and for assistance to trade union organisations, made up of voluntary payments from trade union organisations, trade union members and from persons and organisations supporting the working class in the struggle for its vital interests.*

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE TRADE DEPARTMENTS OF THE WFTU

Having heard and discussed the reports by Comrade Di Vittorio and Gebert on Article 13 of the Constitution of the WFTU, the 2nd World Trade Union Congress stresses that the Executive bodies of the WFTU have done everything possible to reach agreement with the leaders of the International Trade Secretariats in order to achieve the participation of the ITS in the Trade Departments.

For three-and-a-half years the WFTU carried on negotiations with them. It met their demands on the conditions for their participation in Trade Departments more than half way.

On September 16th, 1948; during a joint meeting with the representatives of the ITS, the Executive Bureau once more proposed that they should collaborate with the WFTU on any conditions which they might judge desirable.

They replied to these proposals by rejecting the question as a whole.

By their negative attitude to the subject of their collaboration with the WFTU in the creation of Trade Departments uniting all the workers of the whole world, the leaders of the ITS demonstrated that they were not defending the interests of the working masses but were supporting the imperialist policy of dividing the trade union movement.

Cutting across national frontiers, the great international trusts are developing their anti-democratic activity. They control entire branches of industry in different capitalist countries. They exploit all workers without distinction, who find their conditions of poverty worsening, particularly as a result of the fall in their real wages and the increase in unemployment.

In such a situation it is vitally necessary to organise the workers yet more firmly and to unite them still more closely on the basis of their common demands for the defence of their trade union rights and economic and social interests.

The Congress endorses the decisions of the Executive Committee of January 1949, and the practical measures for the establishment of the Trade Departments which followed. It notes with satisfaction that as regards Teaching, the Metal Industries, Textiles and Leather and Hides, Trade Departments have begun to function.

The Congress calls on the Executive Committee of the WFTU actively to pursue its work of building Trade Departments.

It decides that the Trade Departments of the WFTU shall bear the following title :—

"Trade Unions International" preceded or followed by the title given to the corresponding industry, and "TD of the WFTU", e.g. "Transport Workers Trade Unions International (TD of the WFTU)".

The Congress affirms that the door of each Trade Unions International (TD of the WFTU) is open to all workers irrespective of race, nationality, or political, philosophic or religious conceptions. It also specifies that any trade union organisation or group of workers, whatever its structure or composition, may join a Trade Unions International (TD of the WFTU) whether or not the National Centre to which it belongs is affiliated to the WFTU.

The Congress recalls that the essential task of the Trade Unions Internationals (TD of the WFTU) is to assure the permanent defence of the vital interests of the workers, fraternal co-operation, and international mutual assistance and class solidarity between them without any discrimination a single consideration being borne in mind :—

The organisation of the workers' victorious struggle by a constant search for their international unity in the trade sphere.

It also recalls that the Trade Unions Internationals (TD of the WFTU) aim at coordinating the struggle of trade union organisations :—

--to achieve the success of the workers' economic and social demands;

—to defend their trade union rights, consolidate weak trade unions and create trade unions where they do not already exist;

—to raise their real wages and guarantee their purchasing power;

—to obtain the reduction of working hours;

—to protect workers and their families against unemployment;

—to obtain guarantees of annual paid holidays, and sanitary and health services within the framework of complete social security plans;

—to impose the principle of "equal pay for equal work".

In conclusion, the Congress expresses its conviction that the Trade Unions Internationals (TD of the WFTU) will lead the workers in victorious struggle for the defence of their demands and of peace

RESOLUTION ON THE REPORTS CONCERNING TRADE UNION ACTIVITY IN THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AUSTRALASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

Drawn up by the Secretariat of the WFTU on the basis of the recommendations of the IInd World Trade Unions Congress, the Executive Committee and the Resolutions Committee

The second World Trade Union Congress reaffirms the principles laid down by the London Conference and the Paris Congress concerning colonial, semi-colonial and economically backward countries, namely :—

—to put an end to the system of colonies, protectorates and dependent territories as spheres of economic exploitation;

—to develop trade union organisations in these countries, free of any discrimination based on race, colour, nationality or belief and to establish labour legislation guaranteeing protection to the workers and an effective participation in the elaboration and direction of the economic policy of the country;

—to fight against all social, economic or political discrimination based on race, colour, belief or sex, and for equal pay for equal work, both in private industry and in the public services, and to oppose all immigration restrictions based on racial discrimination;

—to assist the peoples of these countries to obtain the application of their right to self-determination and to win complete national independence;

—to assure to colonial and economically backward countries the necessary help in developing their national economy, free from all interference and control by international trusts and monopolies and foreign powers;

—to send enquiry commissions to colonial and semi-colonial countries with a view to enquiring into the economic and political conditions in these countries.

—to convene an Asian Trade Union Conference.

The Second World Trade Union Congress notes that in application of these principles the executives bodies of the WFTU have taken a certain number of practical steps, amongst which were the sending of enquiry commissions to Iran, Tunisia, Japan and Korea; the sending of a WFTU representative to different African countries in preparation for the Pan-African Trade Union Conference and the holding of this Conference in Dakar.

Furthermore, the Congress notes that the WFTU has taken advantage of every opportunity to put before the United Nations and defend the principles established at London and Paris in 1945.

The Second World Trade Union Congress expresses its strong condemnation of the actions of the TUC and CIO representatives who, by their opposition to the practical application of the above-mentioned principles, succeeded in preventing the organisation of the Pan-Asian Trade Union Conference, the sending of an enquiry commission to Palestine and the implementation of the Dakar Conference decisions. The Congress, however, notes with pleasure that the Executive Bureau and Committee have taken the decision, in January 1949, that a trade union conference of Asian and Australasian countries should take place in China before the end of 1949 and that, in conformity with this decision, the Secretariat has undertaken the preliminary work for the convening of the Conference in Peiping in November, 1949.

The Congress notes, as the evolution of the situation since the First World Trade Union Congress has shown, that contrary to the promises of self-determination made during and after the Second World War by the colonial powers to the peoples, imperialist exploitation accompanied by political and military oppression of colonial countries, has intensified.

As the menace of economic crisis looms before the capitalist world, the ruling classes of the capitalist countries are attempting to solve their difficulties, not only by increasing the exploitation of the workers in the metropolitan countries, but, in particular, by exercising added political, economic and military pressure upon colonial workers with a view to augmenting profit returns.

This move towards heavier burdens and still more inhuman conditions for colonial workers is clearly shown in the recent "Five Year plan" of the British Government, which lays down large sums for colonial "development", and by President Truman's inaugural speech of January, 1949, the Fourth Point of which contains similar investment proposals.

By this latter declaration can be clearly foreseen an intensification of American interest in colonial countries and the establishment of plans for large-scale investments based on principles in complete opposition to those agreed upon by the London Conference and the Paris Congress for the development of economically backward countries.

This post-war capitalist interference in colonial countries is accompanied by the systematic oppression of the trade union movement and of democratic liberties, as well as by attempts to create trade union organisations under control of the employers and governments and to group them on the basis of continents in fake international federations.

The Congress warns the workers of colonial, semi-colonial and economically backward countries that if these plans are allowed to mature, complete political and economic control will pass into the hands of the strongest imperialist power in the world and the task of economic and political emancipation will be rendered more difficult.

Already, Marshall Plan funds have been allocated to preliminary surveys in Africa, with the aim of further increasing the profits of American monopolies and the production of strategic raw materials under conditions of low wages and absence of trade union rights.

Military bases are being established for a future war of aggression, and widespread recruitment of colonial troops is being carried on, for the purpose of crushing other colonial peoples in different parts of the world who are fighting for their freedom.

In these circumstances, the Second World Trade Union Congress condemns the colonial wars at present raging in Viet-Nam, Indonesia and Malaya and the mobilisation of colonial peoples for use against their oppressed brothers.

The Congress vigorously opposes the intensified exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries, the limitation of trade union liberty which makes this exploitation easier and the attempts of the colonial powers working through their puppets to engineer splits in the labour movement aimed at weakening it, and to sponsor regional groupings of so-called trade unions with the aim of diverting the workers and their organisations from their real ends.

In particular, the Congress denounces to the workers in colonial and dependent countries the declarations of certain TUC, CIO and American Federation of Labour leaders, by which they have openly claimed to be at the root of this policy and have clearly expressed their intentions of showing the way in its application.

The Second World Congress, therefore, calls upon the executive bodies of the WFTU.

- 1. To increase their activity in favour of the colonial peoples along the lines of the basic principles of the WFTU and of the plan of action adopted by the Prague General Council after the Dakar Conference. The Congress is of the opinion that this plan of action is broadly applicable not only to Africa but to other colonial, semi-colonial and oppressed countries.*

- 2. To consider seriously the setting up of Regional Liaison Bureaux in those parts of the world where they may be considered necessary for the improvement of the conditions of life of the working class and the development of trade unions.*

- 3. To consider means for furthering trade union education in colonial and semi-colonial countries directed towards the fundamental object of enlightening the workers on the necessity for trade union activity.*

- 4. To continue and increase every possibility afforded by the United Nations to defend the rights of the peoples in colonial territories, and especially to seek guarantees for the exercise and development of trade union rights.*

- 5. To continue the sending of enquiry commissions to colonial countries and to give every practical help by these means to the young trade union movements in these territories.*

- 6. To develop the participation of the organisations of these countries in the activities of the WFTU Trade Departments.*

The Second World Trade Union Congress also calls upon the trade unions in colonial and semi-colonial countries to do everything in their power to achieve trade union unity where this does not exist. In cases

where groups of workers have been misled into supporting organisations antagonistic to the aims of the working class, this work, while exposing the real purposes of those who have deceived the workers, must be carried on in a broad and non-sectarian spirit.

The Congress calls upon the trade union movements in metropolitan countries to give fraternal support to the struggling colonial peoples for their freedom and independence and to their trade union organisations. Congress points out that the struggle of the world working class for peace, freedom and the democratic rights of the peoples, for the betterment of the economic and social conditions of the workers is one and indivisible. The key to success in this great battle is the unity of the working class everywhere. The quicker the colonial peoples are free the quicker will the workers in the imperialist countries be freed of the crushing burden of war budgets and other charges which serve not to increase the standard of living of the metropolitan working class, but to add to the profits of the capitalists and to the means of attacking the workers and their trade union organisations.

The Congress congratulates the Chinese people and their trade unions on the ever increasing role which the trade unions are playing in the life of the Chinese nation.

RESOLUTION ON THE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION OF LABOUR, EQUAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS FOR IMMIGRANT WORKERS

Drawn up by the Secretariat of the WFTU on the basis of the Recommendations of the IInd World Trade Union Congress, the Executive Committee and the Resolutions Committee

1. The Congress observes that migration, as a mass phenomenon, exists only in countries having a capitalist economic system: it is the result of economic depression, unemployment and the difficult material condition of the workers in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries.

Many cases of the violation of the elementary rights of immigrant workers can be cited.

2. Considering that the defence of the interests of immigrant workers is one of the tasks of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Congress calls on the National Trade Union Centres to make representations to their Governments for the application of the following principles :—

a) The migration of labour from one country to another should be permitted only on the basis of bilateral agreements between the Governments of the countries concerned and with the participation of the representatives of trade union organisations;

b) Measures must be taken to prevent immigrant labour being used to lower wages and living conditions or to attack trade union rights and liberties. As a general rule, migration of labour must not be permitted to countries where the need for workers of the corresponding trades can be satisfied by internal labour reserves. For this reason the conclusion of bilateral agreements must be preceded by detailed information on the labour requirements of a country seeking to conclude an agreement;

c) The recruitment of labour must be carried out solely by means of the conclusion of individual agreements with the migrant workers, with the participation of the trade union organisations, and the immigrant workers must be fully informed on the working conditions in the country which they are entering and on the legislation enforced in these countries regarding labour and social insurance;

d) The organisations which are concerned with labour questions should be charged with the drawing up of individual agreements and with the supervision of their application; they should also ensure that no false information is supplied to the workers;

e) *The conclusion of bilateral agreements should provide for :*

—the guarantee of the economic and social rights of the immigrant workers, including the right to join trade unions and the right to social insurance;

—the guarantee that no discrimination based on nationality, race, language, religion or sex will be applied to the immigrants, and consequently the guarantee to all emigrants without exception of the full enjoyment of all civil rights.

—the guarantee of the interests of the immigrant workers should the employer not implement the conditions of the individual agreement, and the guarantee against any deterioration in working conditions in relation to the conditions fixed in the country in question by legislation and collective agreements;

—the right to return to their own countries, both for the immigrants themselves and for the members of their families;

—the reimbursement of the costs of the outward and return journey to their countries, should this be motivated by the failure to execute the conditions of the individual agreement or contract.

3. The Congress calls on all the National Trade Union Centres to render the maximum assistance to immigrant workers and to adopt measures to prevent all violations of their rights and interests.

MANIFESTO

OF THE IIND WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS ON THE DEFENCE OF PEACE, DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS, FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Working men and women of all countries,

This Manifesto is addressed to you by the representatives of more than seventy-one-and-a-half million trade union members assembled at the 2nd World Trade Union Congress in Milan.

We have come to this Congress from all parts of the world to discuss the most important questions of the international trade union movement, such as the improvement of economic and social conditions for the working people, the assurance of their democratic rights and the questions of peace and friendship among peoples.

Nearly four years have elapsed since the 1st World Trade Union Congress was held in Paris in October, 1945. Following this meeting the World Federation was born, uniting within its ranks the trade unions of nearly every country of the world, without distinction as to race, nationality, religious or political convictions. For the first time in the history of the world labour movement, the combined efforts of the workers of the whole resulted in the creation of a real Trade Union Federation, powerful and universal.

Since the WFTU practises no discrimination, neither racial, religious nor political, and unites within its ranks workers of all countries and continents, it is and will remain the only real international trade union organisation; nothing and nobody can deprive us of our representative character, nor of our title—the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is an achievement of the greatest moment to the working class, for the strength of the working class is in its unity.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has proved by all its activities on behalf of the vital interests of the workers that it is the surest defender of the interests of the working masses.

The World Federation of Trade Unions defends the rights of trade unions, fights for the establishment of equal pay for equal work and against all forms of discrimination.

The World Federation of Trade Unions carries on an uninterrupted fight for the satisfaction of the vital demands of the working class, for progressive social legislation, for the introduction of social insurance at the state's and employers' expense, for work for all and the repeal of anti-labour laws.

The World Federation of Trade Unions strongly opposes the persecution of trade unions and trade union leaders in capitalist and colonial countries and defends the fighters in the cause of labour. It gives its support to the workers of the colonial countries in their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

The World Federation of Trade Unions makes it its aim to develop and strengthen co-operation and international solidarity among the workers of all nations; it is setting up international associations of trade unions in various industries (WFTU Trade Departments) in order more effectively to defend the interests of the workers in their respective trades.

In the interests of peace and international security, the World Federation of Trade Unions vigorously opposes the fascist regimes in Spain and Greece and acts to obtain the speediest and most genuine demilitarisation and democratization of Germany and Japan... essential conditions for peace and the security of the peoples.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is active in the world-wide peace movement and heads the struggle of the working class for a stable and lasting peace against the warmongers.

Workers and Intellectuals !

The World Federation of Trade Unions is today carrying on its activities in the midst of a complex international situation, when the imperialists are again threatening to start a world war.

The freedom loving peoples who shed their blood to ensure victory over fascism hoped for a better future; they hoped for progress, and that the world would at long last be rid of the danger of a new war. They believed that friendly international co-operation would become a reality, that full employment would be assured and that democratic rights and liberties were indefeasible.

But the capitalist governments perfidiously broke their solemn promises given during the war. The tears of widows and orphans have not yet dried, towns and villages wrecked by the fascists still lie in ruins, but the imperialists are already preparing for a new war in order to establish their rule over the world.

To the capitalists, war is a source of unprecedented enrichment. An armaments drive is on in the USA, Britain and other, capitalist countries, and the capitalists are trying their best to shift the heavy burden of war expenditure on to the shoulders of the working class and on to all the workers. Inflation is growing, taxes are increasing, and prices of prime necessities are rising catastrophically. At the same time, wages are speedily dropping and the army of unemployed, already numbering tens of millions of people, is swelling.

The policy of the imperialists is most glaringly expressed in the so-called Marshall Plan and in the Atlantic Pact, both of which serve the aim of enslaving nations economically and politically, and are the instruments for furthering the aggressive designs of the instigators of a new war.

The Marshall Plan means the shutting down of factories and mills; it means growing unemployment, want, privation and impoverishment

of the masses; it means the loss of independence and the ruthless trampling underfoot of the state sovereignty of Western European countries.

The Marshall Plan means new burdens and privations for American workers also.

The Atlantic Pact is a compact for the preparation by aggressive forces of a new world war; it is a plot against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies—a compact to crush the democratic and national liberation movement throughout the world.

In preparation for a new war the imperialists are endeavouring to suppress the democratic movement, and in the first place the labour movement. They are passing anti-labour laws and are employing ruthless methods of police terrorism against the trade unions.

In order to put their criminal designs into effect, the imperialists are striving to destroy the world unity of the workers and to demoralise and disperse the ranks of the working class in every country.

Within the WFTU were to be found certain men who tried in vain to defend the policies and acts of their own warmongering imperialists. The representatives of the British TUC and American CIO who supported a policy in such opposition to the peoples' interests tried at the same time to paralyse the work of the World Federation of Trade Unions. They opposed by every means the establishment of unity among the trade unions of Germany, interfered with the rendering of assistance to the labour movement in the colonial countries, hindered the formation of Trade Departments and opposed the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

They were out to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions and to split the unity of the world labour movement. When their attempts failed, Deakin, Carey and Kupers, in gross violation of the principles of democracy, and without troubling to ask the opinion of the workers in their countries, declared that they withdrew from the Federation.

Now they are trying to form a dissident organisation as a counterpoise to the World Federation of Trade Unions and to break up and disorganise the ranks of the working class in the face of the monopolies' offensive against the vital interests of the working people.

But these attempts at dividing the workers' forces, led by the enemies of peace and of the working class, are doomed to defeat. Nobody will succeed in destroying the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The Congress expresses its firm confidence that all the intrigues of the enemies of international working class unity will end in ignominious failure.

Opposed to the criminal plans of the imperialists and their servitors is the unbending will of hundreds of millions of men and women of all countries who want peace, unity and co-operation. The forces of democracy in favour of peace are great and powerful. They are much superior to the forces of reaction and are capable of checking them. The forces of peace are backed by the mighty democratic and labour movements, by the growing national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries and by all honest people who stand for peace and progress.

It is our common task, the task of the workers of the whole world, to build up an impregnable barrier against the intrigues of the warmongers and to defeat the treacherous schemes of the imperialists.

Workers and intellectuals !

We unanimously endorse the decisions of the World Congress for Peace and strongly appeal to you :—

To develop widespread action in favour of the defence of peace, to draw up a concrete programme for this action, within the grasp of the broad masses of the workers, and to unite without distinction of race, religion or opinion to achieve the triumph of this programme;

Where circumstances permit, to form committees for the defence of peace in factories and offices and bring into their ranks all workers by hand and brain.

The World Congress of Trade Unions, in deciding to propose to the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress the organisation, as quickly as possible of an international day of struggle and mass demonstrations for peace, is convinced that it is answering the feelings and the will of the peoples to fight against the warmongers.

The World Trade Union Congress invites all workers to organise this day under the slogans of struggle against fascist regimes, against colonial wars, against the infringement of trade union rights, for peace, freedom and democracy and for the consolidation of international working class unity.

Working men and women, be vigilant !

Remember that the enemies of unity, who serve a cause which is not yours, will not give up their attempts to break the ranks of the working class and that they will resort to every means and every provocation in their efforts to undermine the unity of the workers. This unity is based on voluntary and free co-operation between trade unions as non-party organisations of the working class. The community of the vital interests and social aims of the workers is greater than any differences—ideological, political or religious.

Workers and intellectuals !

Always remember that our weapons are unity, organisation, solidarity, mutual assistance. In unity and mutual assistance lies the main guarantee of the success of the workers and all the working people in the struggle for their interests. As long as we are united we need fear no enemy. Firmly united, we can stand up for our rights. Divided and dispersed, we will be powerless in the struggle against capitalism.

Always remember that the split in the international labour movement

paved the way in the past for the accession of fascism to power and made it easier to unleash the Second World War.

Comrades and friends, work untiringly to consolidate your ranks and to consolidate world trade union unity.

Let the imperialists and their lackeys know that nothing can break the will of the working class to be united in the struggle for peace, for freedom and for its vital interests.

LONG LIVE THE WORLD UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, ENERGETIC AND CONSISTENT FIGHTER FOR A FIRM PEACE, FOR FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS AND FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR LABOURING HUMANITY !

ADDRESS

FROM THE SECOND WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS TO THE WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE THE LEADERS HAVE DECLARED THEIR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WFTU

Working Men and Women,

The delegates of the Second World Trade Union Congress speak to you in the name of more than seventy-one-and-a-half million workers of different countries of the whole world.

Together with you, we created in October, 1945, the first organisation known in the history of the labour movement to embrace all countries—the World Federation of Trade Unions. It unites in its ranks trade unions including workers of the whole world, irrespective of race, nationality, religion or political convictions. In the struggle against the most implacable enemies of humanity, the fascists, international unity of the workers was forged and strengthened. The workers of all countries have clearly understood that if they had closed their ranks sooner and had directed their united efforts towards the struggle against fascism, the war, which has cost an incalculable sum in victims and in suffering, could have been avoided.

The organised workers of the whole world represent an indestructible force.

The World Federation of Trade Unions defends the vital interests of the workers of the entire world. The aims of the Federation inscribed in its Constitution are as follows :—

- To organise the common struggle of trade unions of all countries;*
- Against all encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and on democratic liberties;*
- For the satisfaction of the need of the workers for security of full employment;*
- For the progressive improvement of wages, hours and working and living conditions of the workers;*
- For full and adequate social security to protect workers and their families against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, accident and old age;*
- For the adoption of all other measures furthering the social and economic well-being of the workers;*
- To fight for the complete extirpation of Fascism, against war and*

the causes of war, for a stable and lasting peace and for friendly co-operation between all peoples and for the democratic rights and liberties of the workers.

We have fought together with you and are continuing to fight, for the achievement of these great aims.

The threat of a new economic depression, the whole weight of which is falling on the workers, is becoming more definite. The capitalist monopolies are conducting a heightened offensive against the vital interests, the rights and the liberties of the workers. Under the direction of the American imperialists, aggressive blocs are being formed and a new war prepared. In these conditions, the unity of the workers of the whole world is more indispensable than ever.

It is precisely in this period, when the workers' well-being as well as the destiny of the world depends on our unity, that we find ourselves separated. There have been no representatives from your Trade Union Centres at the World Trade Union Congress which has discussed the most important questions affecting the defence of workers of all countries, peace, liberty and democracy.

Who is responsible for the fact that the unity of our ranks, which cost us so much, is now broken ?

The responsibility falls on certain leaders of your Trade Union Centres who left the World Federation of Trade Unions, without having asked the opinion of their organisations. They are giving you false and unfair information on the activity of the Federation, by concealing their splitting activity. By means of these hypocritical tactics, harmful to the workers' interests, they are seeking your approval of their work of destruction.

The splitters slanderously inform you that the Federation is allegedly responsible for the failure to reach agreement with the International Trade Secretariats (ITS). They assert that this was the principal reason for their withdrawal from the WFTU.

The World Trade Union Congress declares to you that this is a slander directed against the Federation. The WFTU met the requirements of the ITS more than half-way, guided by the desire rapidly to create effective and really international organisations of trade unions in each branch of industry (Trade Departments) for the defence of the interests of workers in different trades. This was precisely what the ITS leaders did not want. They deliberately protected the negotiations, only later to refuse collaboration with the WFTU under any conditions.

Having undertaken the creation of the Trade Departments, the WFTU made a new appeal to the ITS. The doors of the World Federation of Trade Unions and of its Trade Departments are still open wide to all trade union organisations. The Federation once more appeals today to the International Trade Secretariats to collaborate with it on conditions acceptable to them. They are and there can be no insoluble differences between labour organisations if they really aim at defending the vital interests of workers.

The leaders of your National Centres are deceiving you, when they tell you that the World Federation of Trade Unions declared itself against certain governments contributing any economic assistance to others, and that the Federation is opposed to the reconstruction of national economies destroyed by the war.

The Congress affirms that this is a lie. Every trade union organisation affiliated to the WFTU has always considered and continues to consider it natural and desirable that economically stronger countries should give assistance to weaker ones. But, in doing so, countries contributing the assistance must not infringe the national independence of those which receive it. As the World Trade Union Congress of Paris emphasised, there must be no interference in the internal affairs of countries in need of assistance, nor any attempt to place them under the influence of international trusts and cartels.

The so-called Marshall Plan in no way corresponds to these vitally important principles.

Amongst us, the delegates to the Second World Trade Union Congress, are to be found representatives of France, Italy, Holland, Luxembourg and other countries covered by the Marshall Plan. The workers of these countries have had bitter experience of the painful consequences of this Plan. Not only has it not improved their conditions of life, but this Plan has resulted in further privations and in misery and unemployment. To British workers this Plan has brought the lowering of their standard of living and wage freezing. For the workers of America, the Marshall Plan has also meant an increased burden. Far from stopping the growth of unemployment, it has aggravated the workers' situation. It is for these reasons that we are opposed to this imperialist plan of servitude, and are for the maintenance and development of the national economy and the liberty and independence of every country.

Your leaders attempt to conceal their dictatorial acts by making demagogic declarations on "Communist domination" of the WFTU.

By means of an ultimatum, they demanded that the Federation endorse the Marshall Plan; but when they realised that they would not succeed in imposing their point of view on the majority, they refused to discuss this question within the WFTU; they are lying to you in saying that the Federation refused to discuss the Marshall Plan.

The World Trade Union Congress reaffirms once more that unity within the WFTU is based on free and voluntary co-operation between trade unions. The Trade Union Centres belonging to the WFTU have complete latitude to have their own opinions on different questions and no Centre can impose its point of view on the others.

The TUC and CIO leaders wished to impose on the WFTU their anti-democratic policy of discriminating between workers. They sabotaged the application of the most important decisions of the London Conference and the Paris World Trade Union Congress.

Basing itself on the decisions of the Paris Congress the World Federation of Trade Unions consistently seeks the unity of the German trade union movement. For this purpose, it insisted to the Occupation Authorities on the creation in Berlin of a Liaison Bureau between the WFTU and the German trade unions in order to assist them to set up a single Trade Union Centre and to speed-up the denazification and democratization of Germany. The Occupation Authorities of the Western powers ignored the requests of the WFTU and Deakin and Carey accepted this situation. They encouraged the split by intervening against the unification of the German trade unions.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has made considerable

efforts to avoid fratricidal war in Greece, constantly intervening in favour of the democratic development of the country. The WFTU helped the Greek trade unions to set up a democratic Confederation of Labour. But the Greek monarcho-fascist authorities, supported by the American and British imperialists, broke it up, threw its leaders into prison and savagely murdered the General Secretary of the Greek General Confederation of Labour, Paparigas.

In place of the democratic Confederation of Labour, fascist leaders formed a so-called national Trade Union organisation. The CIO and TUC leaders are collaborating with them, although previously they had officially recognised those elected by the 8th National Trade Union Congress as being the only real representatives of the Greek CGT.

The leaders of the British TUC and American CIO intervened against any assistance to trade unions of the colonial countries, struggling under conditions of most savage exploitation and terrorism for improvement of the workers' situation and for their trade union rights. The TUC and CIO leaders caused the failure of the decisions of the World Trade Union Congress of Paris regarding the dispatch of a WFTU Commission to the Asian countries and the convening of the Pan-Asian Trade Union Conference.

Working Men and Women :—

Ask the leaders of your trade unions whose will they were carrying out in blocking the defence of the vital interests of the working class and in giving up the fighters for the cause of labour in Greece, Iran, India, Malaya and other countries.

If the leaders of your National Centres had the interests of workers and labour unity at heart and if they really based themselves on the sentiment of "good will" which they are now hypocritically invoking, they would not have sabotaged the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions and would not have attempted to destroy it.

In order to avoid an open discussion, the leaders of your Trade Union Centres have refused to come to the World Trade Union Congress. They feared that their activities as partners of the imperialists would be revealed to the workers of all countries. Only the imperialists profit from division of the workers' forces and from incitement of workers in certain countries against those of other countries—since it is thereby far easier to provoke animosity between the peoples and to unleash war.

Working Men and Women :—

Under the banner of anti-communism, the leaders of your Trade Union Centres, together with those of the AF of L are forming their splitting organisation in order to combat the World Federation of Trade Unions and the democratic trade union movement of the whole world.

Working Men and Women :—

Oppose the creation of this organisation of splitters.

Wherever possible, organise Committees of Co-operation and Liaison with the World Federation of Trade Unions. Circulate and discuss the

Manifesto and decisions of the Second World Trade Union Congress.

Demand the affiliation of your trade union organisation to the Trade Unions Internationals in each branch of industry (Trade Departments), created by the World Federation of Trade Unions to defend the vital interests of the workers in different trades, and for the organisation of international co-operation between workers.

Working Men and Women :—

Endeavour to obtain the return of your Trade Unions Centres into the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which mounts guards over the workers' vital interests, defends democratic trade union rights and fights for a stable and lasting peace and against the instigators of a new war.

LONG LIVE THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION OF THE WORKERS OF THE WHOLE WORLD !

LONG LIVE WORLD LABOUR UNITY !

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS !

THE CONGRESS PROTESTED AGAINST THE SENTENCING TO DEATH OF TEN GREEK SAILORS

RESOLUTION

The Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions energetically declares its support of the ten seamen, active members of the Greek trade union movement, condemned to death by the Greek monarcho-fascist Government.

Faithful sons of the working class, they have been active fighters in the Resistance Movement during the Hitlerite occupation of Greece. After the liberation of the country they fought for its democratisation and for raising the workers' standard of living. For having placed themselves unreservedly at the service of their people, they were condemned to death in 1948 by the monarcho-fascist Government of Athens. It was only through the intervention of the democratic mass organisations and of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation that this criminal sentence was not carried out.

However, the Greek monarcho-fascists are burning with the desire to carry out the sentence passed on the imprisoned seamen.

In the name of seventy-one-and-a-half million workers united in the ranks of the WFTU, the Congress protests against the death sentence passed on the ten Greek seamen and demands the immediate release of the innocent victims of monarcho-fascist terror.

The Congress instructs the Secretariat of the WFTU to take the necessary steps to make representations to UNO and to the Greek, British and American Governments in the spirit of the present resolution.

THE NEW EXECUTIVE BODIES
of the WFTU

MODIFICATION OF THE EXECUTIVE ORGANS OF THE WFTU

In view of the present situation in the world trade union movement, the Congress, on proposition of its Standing Orders Committee, adopted two annexes to the WFTU's Constitution, to be in effect during the period between the Second and Third World Trade Union Congresses. First, it re-enacted, for this period, the annex to the Constitution adopted by the First World Trade Union Congress, entitled : " Interim Powers of General Council and Executive Committee." Second, it adopted a second annex to the Constitution, dealing with the Executive Committee in office during the period between the Second and Third World Trade Union Congresses. The full text of this second annex is as follows :—

SECOND ANNEX TO THE CONSTITUTION

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD CONGRESS

I. — The Executive Committee elected by the Second World Trade Union Congress and to hold office until the Third Congress shall consist of thirty-six members, which number includes the General Secretary and three Secretaries.

II. — The Executive Committee elected by the Second World Trade Union Congress shall be composed as follows :—

(a) Members and substitutes distributed as follows

COUNTRIES	MEMBERS	SUBSTITUTES
USSR	3	3
United States & Canada.....	3	3
Great Britain	2	2
France	2	2
Italy	1	1
Latin America & West Indies.....	3	3
China	1	1
Australasia	1	1
India & Ceylon.....	1	1

COUNTRIES	MEMBERS	SUBSTITUTES
Africa	2	2
Scandinavia	1	1
Holland	1	
Luxembourg		1
Japan	1	
Korea		1
Germany	1	
Austria		1
Czechoslovakia	1	
Hungary		1
Poland	1	
Albania		1
Rumania	1	
Bulgaria		1
Yugoslavia	1	
Greece		1
Israel (Histadruth)	1	
Lebanon	1	
Iran		1

(b) One member elected from among delegates nominated by the Trade Departments already formed at the time of the Second World Trade Union Congress. The Executive Committee itself, at its first meeting in 1950, is empowered to complete the election of two more members and substitutes from among candidates nominated by the Trade Departments then in existence.

All members of the Executive Committee shall represent the Congress as a whole and not any particular geographical or trade division thereof.

The Executive Committee at its first meeting following its election by the Second World Trade Union Congress shall elect from among its members the President and eleven Vice-Presidents who, together with the General Secretary, shall form the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which shall be the Governing Body of the World Federation of Trade Unions between meetings of the Executive Committee. The Executive Bureau shall, subject to confirmation by the Executive Committee, appoint three Secretaries, who shall together with the General Secretary compose the Permanent Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

III. — Sections III to IX inclusive of Article 6 of the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions shall be in full force and effect concerning the powers and duties of the Executive Committee elected by the Second World Trade Union Congress.

THE NEW GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE WFTU

COUNTRIES	DELEGATES		NAMES OF DELEGATES	
	del.	sub.	DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES
S. Africa (Non-European TU's)	1	1	D. BUCKLE	
Albania	1	1	P. PERISTERI	K. MISHA
Germany (FDGB)	3	3	H. WARNKE	H. SCHILIMME
			B. GOERING	F. MALTEI
			A. DETER	W. MASCHKE
Australia	1	1		
Burma	1	1		
Bolivia	1	1	F. BRUN	G. ORELLANA
Brazil	1	1	R. MORENA	P. DE CARVALHOBRAGA
Bulgaria	1	1	R. DAMIANOV	B. BLAGOEV
Ceylon	1	1	S.A. WICKREMASINGHE	L.B. JAYASENA
Chile	1	1	S. OCAMPO	G. SANCHEZ
China	2	2	CHU HSUEH FAN	CHANG WEI-CHENG
			LIU CHANG SHENG	CHAD KUO-CHANG
Cyprus	1	1	A. ZIARTIDES	A. PHANTES
Columbia	1	1		
N. Korea	1	1	ZOI GENDEX	ZOI CHO MINE
S. Korea	1	1	SO CHAN SOB	RIM CHEN AI
Costa Rica	1	1	R. GUZMAN	G. SIERRA CASTILLO
Cuba	1	1	F. CALCINES	S. GUINCOSA
Egypt (TUC)	1	1	Y. EL MEDARREK	
Spain (UGT)	1	1	A. ROSAL	J.R. VEGA
Finland	1	1	E. HUUNONEN	A SUMU
France (CGT)	3	3	G. MONMOUSSEAU	E. HENAFF
			H. RAYNAUD	E. EHNI
			J. MARION	J. FORGUES
Greece	1	1		
Guatemala	1	1	P. FERNANDEZ	F. HERNANDEZ
Hungary	2	2	A. APRO	J. MEKIS
			J. HARUSTYAK	J. RACZ
India (AITUC)	1	1	S.A. DANGE	Manek GANDHI
Iran	1	1	REZA ROUSTA	
Italy (CGIL)	3	3	G. DI VITTORIO	Cl. BONAZZI
			H. BITOSI	A. RIZZO
			F. SANTI	M. DE STEFANO
Israel (Histadruth) ...	1	1	R. BURSTEIN	B. LINN
» (Arabs)	1	1	Mun'em JARJURA	SALIM EL QUASEM

COUNTRIES	DELEGATES		NAMES OF DELEGATES	
	del.	sub.	DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES
Japan	3	3		
Lebanon	1	1	M. EL. ARISS	H. ZERQUA
Luxembourg (Free TU's)	1	1	J. GRANDCENET	
Mexico (General Union of Workers and Pea- sants)	1	1	A. GARCIA MORENO	P. DURAN
Mongolia	1	1	D. ADILBISH	SANGOTCHIN TSERENPANGA
Netherlands (EVC)	1	1	B. BLOKZIJL	B. BRANDSEN
Panama	1	1		
Philippines (CLO)	1	1		
Poland	2	2	A. ZAWADSKY S. CWIK	A. BURSKY I. PIVOVASKAYA
N. Rhodesia	1	1	A.C. STEVENS	
Rumania	2	2	G. APOSTOL L. KISINEVSKI	G. STOICA S. MORARU
Czechoslovakia	2	2	E. ERBAN J. KOLSKY	V. CIPRO J. SMIDMAJER
Trieste	1	1	A. SLAVEC	E. RADICH
Tunisia (USTT)	1	1	HASSEN SADAQUI	G. POROPANE
» (UGTT)	1	1	F. HACHED	N. BOUDALI
USSR	5	3	V. KUZNETSOV L. SOLOVIEV K. KUZNETSOVA V. BEREZINE L. ILLISONE	R. TROFIMENKO A. SHEVCHENKO A. ROMANOV
Uruguay	1	1	RODRIGUEZ	PASTORINO
Viet-Nam	1	1	LUU DUC PHO	
Yugoslavia	2	2	D. SALAJ I. BOZICEVIC	M. PAVICEVIC M. VIVODA
Syria	1	1	I. BEKRI	J. OSMAN

THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WFTU

MEMBERS	SUBSTITUTES
L. SAILLANT (General Secretary).	
S. ROSTOVSKY (Secretary).	
B. GEBERT (Secretary).	
(And one Secretary to be nominated later.)	
V.V. KUZNETSOV (U.S.S.R.).	V. I. BEREZINE (U.S.S.R.).
L.N. SOLOVIEV (U.S.S.R.).	L.A. ALLAHVERDIEV (U.S.S.R.).
K.S. KUZNETSOVA (U.S.S.R.).	K.V. OLUNINA (U.S.S.R.).
3 seats to be filled later (U.S.A. and Canada.)	3 seats to be filled later (USA & Canada).
2 seats to be filled later (Great Britain.)	2 seats to be filled later (Great Britain).
B. FRACHON (France).	G. MONMOUSSEAU (France).
A. LE LEAP (France).	J. FORGUES (France).
G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).	F. SANTI (Italy).
V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Mexico).	B. ARAYA (Chile).
LAZARO PENA (Cuba).	V.M. GUTIERREZ (Guatemala).
AMAZONAS (Brazil).	E. RODRIGUEZ (Uruguay).
LIU CHAO CHIH (China).	LIU NING I (China).
1 seat to be filled later (Australia).	1 seat to be filled later (Australia).
S.A. DANCE (India).	S.A. WICKREMASINGHE (Ceylon).
H. SADAoui (Tunisia).	Fahrat HACHED (Tunisia).
A. DIALLO (W. Africa).	Desmond BUCKLE (Transvaal).
1 seat to be filled later (Scandinavia).	1 seat to be filled later (Scandinavia).
B. BLOKZIJL (Netherlands).	GRANDGENET (Luxembourg).
1 seat to be filled later (Japan).	ZOI GENDEX (Korea).
H. WARNKE (Germany).	1 seat to be filled later (Austria).
F. ZUPKA (Czechoslovakia).	A. APRO (Hungary).
A. ZAVADSKI (Poland).	P. PERISTERI (Albania).
G. APOSTOL (Rumania).	R. DAMIANOV (Bulgaria).
D. SALAJ (Yugoslavia).	1 seat to be filled later (Greece).
M. JARBLUM (Israel).	F. BENDORI (Israel).
M. EL ARISS (Lebanon).	REZA ROUSTA (Iran).
E. THORNTON (Australia).	
(nominated by the T.D.'s already set up).	
Plus two delegates to be nominated when all the T.D.'s are set up.	

THE NEW EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE WFTU

(Consisting of the President, the General Secretary
and 11 Vice-Presidents)

<i>President :</i>	G. DI VITTORIO (Italy).
<i>General Secretary :</i>	L. SAILLANT (France).
<i>Vice-Presidents :</i>	V. V. KUZNETSOV (USSR).
	A. LE LÉAP (France).
	V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Latin America).
	LIU CHAO CHIH (China).
	B. BLOKZIJL (Netherlands).
	F. ZUPKA (Czechoslovakia).
	S. A. DANGE (India).
	L. PENA (Cuba).
	A. DIALLO (W. Africa).

Plus two seats reserved for the Trade Union organisations of the
USA and of Great Britain.

THE NEW AUDITORS

V. BORISOV (USSR).
J. HARUSTYAK (Hungary).
J. VAN WIJNGAARDEN (Netherlands).

**LIST OF DELEGATES
AND GUESTS**

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS OF THE WFTU

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUESTS
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
<i>Albania</i>	General Union of Trade Unions, CSTB. CTB.	64,000	K. MISHA.	N. BAKIRI.	
<i>Bolivia</i>		45,000	L. LUKSIC.		
<i>Brazil</i>		150,000	R. MORENA.	G.R. DOS SANTOS.	F. TRAJANO DE OLIVEIRA. J. DOS SANTOS. A. FERREIRA. I. AMAZONAS.
<i>Bulgaria</i>	Workers' General Trade Union.	750,000	R. DAMIANOV. B. BLAGOEV. T. PRACHOFF.		
<i>Ceylon</i>	Trade Union Federation. CTC. CTCR. CWC.	20,230	S.A. WICKREMASINGHE.		
<i>Chile</i>		200,000	S. OCAMPO.		
<i>Costa Rica</i>		50,000	R. GUZMAN.		
<i>Cuba</i>		500,000	L. PENA.		
<i>Cyprus</i>	Pancyprian Fed. of Labour. Cent. Council of Trade Unions.	13,200	F. CALCINES. A. ZIARTIDES.	G. TENBRIOTES.	A. LYBOURIS.
<i>Czechoslovakia</i> ..		3,000,000	E. ERBAN. F. ZUPKA. J. KOLSKY.	J. KOLAR. J. SPIC.	

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued)

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUEST
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>			D. BÉNAU. E. VOJANEC. J. SMIDMAJER. J. HLAVICKA. F. KOKTAN. K. PFEIFEROVA. L. KOUBEK. J. HVIŽDAK. M. NETUSILOVA.		
<i>Ecuador</i>	CWE.	100,000	N. MARTINEZ.		
<i>Finland</i>	TU Confed.	260,000	E. HUONONEN.		
<i>France</i>	CGT.	5,100,000	B. FRACHON. A. LE LÉAP. G. MONMOUSSEAU. H. RAYNAUD. J. MARION. E. EHNI. R. ARRACHARD. A. CROIZAT. J. GRUENAI. O. TOURNADE. A. SALLEYRETTE.	V. DUCUET. A.G. ROUSSET.	

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued)

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUESTS
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
France			R. DUHAMEL.		
			A. DROUARD.		
			L. SALVAGE.		
			J. LACAZE.		
			M. GUGLIARDI.		
			B. DELAVIER.		
			GUESSEM DAHMANE.		
			A. LEROY.		
			H. WARKE.		
			B. GOERING.		
Germany			E. KRUGER.		
			W. MASCHKE.		
			T. BRYLLA.		
			F. APELT.		
			E. OTTO.		
			R. JAHN.		
			R. NEYE.		
			W. GIENGER.		
			P. VOITEL.		
			A. WERNER.		
			F. DUNKE.		
			P. PESCHKE.		
			F. GEISLER.		
		5,049,000			
	FDGB Zone and Berlin.				

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued)

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUESTS
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
Germany			A. DETER. H. SCHLIMME. F. KRUGER. G. NIKIFOROS. M. GUTIERREZ. A. APRO. J. HARUSTYAK. A. KOVES. S. GASP. R. S. GASP. R. P. FORCACS. M. JARBLUM.	J. DOMINGO SEGURA. M. SZONKI. I. HAVRAN.	
Greece	Gen. Conf. of Labour.	50,000			
Guatemala	CWG.				
Hungary	Central TU Council.	1,600,000			
Israel	Histadruth.	250,000		F. BENDORI.	B. LINN. R. BURSTEIN. A. REISS.
Israel	Arab Workers' Congress	20,000	M. JARJURA.	T. TOUBI.	G. MONTELATI.
Italy	CGIL.	5,558,000	G. DI VITTORIO. F. SANTI. R. BITOSI. L. LAMA. G. ROVEDA. T. NOCE. I. BOSI. G. GRASSI.	E. GUIDI. R. PICCOLATO. A. PIZZORNO. G. ANTONIZZI.	A. BIBIOTTI. D. DE GIORGIO.

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued)

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUESTS
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
<i>Italie</i>			N. STROBINO. Z. NEGRO. E. DE FRANCESCHI. G. INVERNIZZI. F. MARIANI. G. MASSINI. C. MAGLIETTA. C. BONAZZI. N. GAETA. E. ROMEN. M. POTENZA. F. ROSSI. D. BIANCO. M. DE STEFANO. M. EL ARISS.		
<i>Lebanon</i>	TUF of Workers and Employees.	25,570			
<i>Luxembourg</i> ...	Fed. of Free TU's.	10,000			
<i>Mexico</i>	Gen. Union of Workers and Peasants.	500,000	J. GRANDENET. V. LOMBARDO TOLEDANO. A. GARCIA MORENO. D. ADILBISH. B. BLOKZIJL.	SUNNU OCHIR. W. STUIT.	
<i>Mongolia</i>	Central Council of TU's.	28,000			
<i>Netherlands</i> ...	EVC.	170,000			
<i>Northern Rhodesia</i>	Mine Workers' Union.	3,000	F.S. MAYBANK.		

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued)

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUESTS
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
<i>Poland</i>	Cent. TU Commission.	3,500,000	A. ZAWADSKI. S. CWIK. B. GEBERT. J. KOFFMAN. A. MARINIAK. A. KOURYLOWITCH. H. KOLASOVA. A. CHVEDA. M. BARYLA. M. CHERVINSKI. E. KOUROCZKO. F. APRYAS. K. SOYEVA. K. FIJALKOVSKA. G. APOSTOL. G. STOICA. W. NIKOLSKI. S. MORARU. I. TURCU. N. SVART. A. IOAN. A. DEL ROSAL.	V. KRASNOWIECKI. A. RATIS. P. TRZCINSKI. F. DELECTOWNA.	A. KOLODZIEJ. J. PAVLICHKA.
<i>Rumania</i>	CGT.	1,716,279		D. VASILESCU. M. BIRO. I. SPATARU. M. VISAN.	P. VANCHELE. G. ROMAN. R. VEINBAUM. G. COMANESCU. D. DIMA.
<i>Spain</i>	UGT (Paris).	31,250		J. MOIX.	

DELEGATES TO THE IInd WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued)

COUNTRIES	ORGANISATIONS	MEMBERSHIP	NAMES OF		GUESTS
			DELEGATES	SUBSTITUTES	
South Africa ..	Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions.	119,000	D. BUCKLE.		
Syria	Workers' Cong.	17,250	B. SOUBAHI.		
Trieste	United TU's.	80,000	E. RADICH.		
Tunisia	UGTT.	56,370	F. HACHED.		O. SLAVEC.
"	USTT.	33,000	H. SADAQUI.		M. MESSADI.
USSR	AUCCTU.	28,500,000	V. KUZNETSOV.		
			K. KUZNETSOVA.		M. DOMBRACHEV.
			L. SOLOVIEV.		A. ZUSINE.
			I. ALLAKHAVERDIEV.		D. MONINE.
			V. BERESINE.		V. CHERKASKAJA.
			L. BEISENOV.		E. ALEVEEV.
			L. BAKACHOVA.		
			P. BIKOV.		
			V. BORISOV.		
			K. VOLTMAN.		
			A. VDOVINE.		
			P. YEFANOV.		
			S. ZAITSEV.		
			L. ILLISON.		
			A. KOLYBANOV.		
			I. KOTCHULAMASA-CHVILI.		
					T. BORSALI.

SECRETARIAT OF THE WFTU

L. SAILLANT
S. ROSTOVSKY
B. GEBERT

TRADE DEPARTMENT DELEGATES

<i>Leather, Fur and Leather Goods Workers' Trade Unions International</i> (Trade Dept. of the WFTU)	F. MAURICE. K. PFEIFEROVA.
<i>World Federation of Teacher's Unions</i> (Trade Dept. of the WFTU)	P. DELANOUE.
<i>Trade Unions International of Metal and Engineering Industries</i> (Trade Dept. of the WFTU).	E. THORNTON. H. JOURDAIN.
<i>Trade Unions International of Workers of the Textile and Clothing Industries</i> (Trade Dept. of the WFTU).....	E. AUBERT. A. BURSKE.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

COUNTRIES	NAME OF ORGANISATION	NAME OF DELEGATE
<i>Argentine</i>	Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions.	R. ISCARO.
<i>Australia and New Zealand.</i>	Federated Ironworkers Assn. Waterside Workers Union.	E. THORNTON. E.W. ELLIOTT.
<i>Austria</i>		G. FIALA.
<i>Belgium</i>	United Miners' Union.	H. ROZIER. L. REVIRE. L. DEFRANCE. S. LEIT. G. STUIYTS.
<i>Canada</i>	United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (District 5, Canada).	G. HARRIS.
<i>Ceylon</i>	Trade Union Federation.	D. C. P. BENARACAMA.
<i>Finland</i>	Metal Workers' Union.	J. KIVI.
<i>Guatemala</i>	Trade Union Federation.	M. PINTO USAGA.
<i>Iceland</i>	Trade Union Federation of Reykjavik.	B. BJARNASON.
<i>Pakistan</i>	Trade Union Federation.	F.A. FAIZ.
<i>South Africa</i>	S.A. Trades and Labour Council.	J. WOLFSON. R.M. HALDANE. A. SCHEEPERS.
<i>Venezuela</i>	United T. U. Committee of Oil Workers of Venezuela.	J. FARIA. L. TABORDA. P. GARCIA. E. TORRES. R. QUINTERO. M. MARVAL. L. MIQUILENA.

GUESTS

ORGANISATIONS	NAMES OF REPRESENTATIVES
<i>World Federation of Scientific Workers</i>	J.G. CROWTHER. Prof. A. BANFI.
<i>Women's International Democratic Federation</i>	M.M. ROSSI.
<i>World Federation of Democratic Youth</i>	B. WILLIAMS. E. DENES. A. ADAN.
<i>International Organisation of Journalists</i>	J. HRONEK.
<i>United Nations Organisation</i>	L. GROS.
<i>International Labour Organisation</i>	J. SCHULL. G. GALLONE.
<i>Food and Agricultural Organisation</i>	A. VAN HOUTTE.
<i>UNESCO</i>	M. MONTAGNIER.

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